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The Shape of Things

BY OVERRIDING THE PRESIDENT'S VETO OF the Wartime Labor Disputes Bill, Congress has not only made a reckless attack on labor morale but, at the same time, has encouraged the unions to abandon their anti-strike pledge by providing a procedure which positively encourages the use of the strike weapon. And in the same week it contributed to labor unrest by turning down subsidy proposals which offer the last hope of holding the line on prices. It is hardly surprising that G. F. Hughes, the well-known contributor to the financial section of the New York *Times,* should have wondered out loud whether enemy agents were feeding "loco weed" to Congressmen. The only other explanation would seem to be that the "loyal opposition" of office-hungry Republicans and Roosevelt-hating Democrats is deliberately creating confusion which it hopes the electors will blame on the Administration. This may be smart politics but it certainly is a hell of a way to run a war. In its anxiety to assert itself, no matter what the cost, Congress paid no attention whatever to the terms of the President's veto message on the anti-strike bill. Yet it was couched in moderate terms and expressed approval of those clauses which authorized the government to take over war-plants threatened with labor disputes and to impose sanctions against strikes in such plants. But Mr. Roosevelt struck hard at section eight of the bill, which, as he said, "ignores completely labor's 'no-strike' pledge and provides in effect for strike notices and strike ballots." In spite of the passage of the bill Philip Murray of the C. I. O. and William Green of the A. F. of L. have loyally renewed this pledge but, as rising prices undermine existing wage rates, there is going to be strong pressure inside the unions for resort to the strike machinery which Congress has authorized.

*

SOME PROPONENTS OF THE BILL DECLARE that its main object was to "get" John L. Lewis but we find it hard to think of a set-up more convenient for the miners' leader. He has ordered his men back to work for another armistice period and we have no doubt will be able to prove his innocence if the return to the pits proceeds more slowly than the urgent demand for production requires. Meanwhile, the coal-owners are denouncing an alleged agreement between the Administration and the U. M. W. for continued government operation of the mines. Apart from an ambiguous statement by Lewis no evidence of such an agreement exists, but the new Labor Disputes Act will make it difficult for the government to relinquish its hold. If it does, all Lewis has to do is give thirty days' notice and arrange with the National Labor Relations Board to supervise a strike ballot. There can be little doubt that the members of the U. M. W. would vote for a walk-out and then the only way of preventing a perfectly legal stoppage of production would be for the government to seize the mines once more. We are not much impressed by Mr. Roosevelt's alternative proposal for drafting strikers but it is, at least, more realistic than the Congressional method of curbing strikes.

✻

THE FARM BLOC, REPUBLICANS, AND OTHER groups with economic or political motives for upsetting existing price-control regulations continued to go to town last week with predictions of a severe food shortage if prevailing OPA practices were not reversed. As the conservative *Barron's* points out, "inflation is now being pushed by a powerful coalition in Congress as a *solution*" for the food shortage. Unfortunately for the prophets of despair, the latest official report on crop conditions throughout the country indicates a marked improvement in food prospects. Warm, dry weather in the chief growing regions has greatly improved the chances for both wheat and corn, and the hay harvest, now well begun, has been excellent in many parts of the country. Despite newspaper reports to the effect that farmers were being forced by OPA policies to dump their cattle on the market because of a feed shortage, authentic estimates by the livestock industry point to a surplus of more than 15,000,000 head of cattle by next January—the largest in the country's history. The slaughter of one-half of this surplus is estimated to be enough to supply a normal amount of beef for a year to 200,000,000 persons. Hog supplies are similarly high, and pork production is considerably above last year's level. Undoubtedly, the farmers of the country face difficult days in trying to harvest their crops with an inadequate supply of skilled labor, but nothing in the situation justifies the scare headlines in the opposition press, and certainly nothing justifies opening the gates to the final disaster of inflation.

✻

MIDSUMMER IS PAST BUT THE EASTERN FRONT remains stagnant. Has the threat of a second front in the west or south forced Hitler to abandon plans for a new attempt to knock out Russia? Certainly the news points in that direction but if, in fact, Germany has definitely turned to a defensive strategy the need for a new initiative by the United Nations becomes imperative. For Germany could still win victory by means of a defensive policy if that encouraged the United Nations to slacken their efforts, to refuse to take risks, to wait for a collapse of enemy morale. We cannot be certain that our side is completely immune to war-weariness and, indeed, the recent American news may have suggested to German strategists that, given time, the arsenal of democracy might blow up with exasperation. It is not surprising, then, that Moscow should again be raising the question of a second front and pointing out the dangers of delay. It is hard to believe that the Soviet government has not been fully informed of Anglo-American plans. So this prodding suggests that no definite time has yet been fixed for the beginning of those "amphibious operations of great complexity" of which Winston Churchill spoke in his last speech. But indications are that these operations may be confined to the Mediterranean, with either Sicily or the Greek islands the first target. So far as Western Europe is concerned, the air school of thought is in the ascendancy and it appears that the Summer is to be devoted to an attempt to bomb Germany into surrender. Undoubtedly the terrific hammering of the Ruhr is proving very effective in reducing both German production and morale. But even if this industrial area is wiped off the map, Germany may still be able to carry on unless forced to expend its resources in resisting actual invasion of its fortress.

✻

THE FAILURE OF EAMON DE VALERA'S PARTY, the Fianna Fail, to obtain a majority in last week's Irish elections may have far-reaching consequences on the relations between Britain and Eire. Although discontent with De Valera's neutrality policy ostensibly had no influence on the results, an analysis of the returns shows that the voters tended to blame the government for domestic difficulties that grew out of De Valera's foreign policy. The party achieving the most spectacular gains in the election was not the conservative Fine Gael led by William T. Cosgrave, but the Farmers' Party, whose remarkable showing reflected the prevailing dissatisfaction with the effects of isolationism on Eire's agricultural economy. The success of the Labor Party in doubling its representation in the Dail is attributed to the resentment of the workers against the government's policy of pegging wages while the cost of living has soared. It is not yet clear whether De Valera will be forced out as a consequence of his defeat or obtain enough independent support to remain in power. His resignation would be welcome news in London. While there seems little likelihood that even a coalition government embracing all the present opposition groups would abandon neutrality in the war, such a government would undoubtedly seek a basis for closer economic and political relations with Britain. As a minimum, this should bring a check on the espionage activities of the Axis in Eire and possibly a suspension of diplomatic relations with the Axis powers. But the long-standing dispute over the status of Ulster remains as a rocky barrier to any final settlement between Eire and Britain.

*

THE RUMORS OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN General Franco and the Spanish Pretender may be untrue or at least premature. But there are many indications that the old British plan of placing Don Juan on the throne has lately been revived with apparent support from the Vatican and certain influential American Catholics. It is not, however, supported by the Spanish people, the majority of whom remain as Republican as they were in 1931, when Don Juan's father was forced from the throne by an overwhelming vote. The suggestion that the United Nations might, through a restoration of the monarchy, secure the friendship of Spain, is hardly impressive. It is not the Monarchists but the common people of Spain who are our allies; it is they who fought for three years against our present enemies while the Monarhcists fought on the other side. What is needed in Spain in place of the hated Franco regime is not a discredited dynasty but a government that represents the will of the Spanish people. To restore the throne in Spain would make sense only as part of a general plan to establish reaction in post-war Europe. It could have no other meaning.

*

SO LITTLE NEWS HAS COME OUT OF INDIA in recent weeks that the average American is apt to assume that the British have the situation there completely in hand. This, we are assured by competent observers, is far from being the case. While the wave of sabotage—largely unreported in this country—that accompanied Gandhi's hunger strike has died down, India as a whole is still in a ferment of discontent. It is widely predicted that in the event of another hunger strike Britain would be unable to keep the railways operating. The military position of the United Nations in India would thus be seriously endangered. This is of particular concern to the United States since the American troops in India are located several hundred miles from the coast and are completely dependent on a single railway line. Of even greater concern to American strategists is the effect of British Indian policy on United Nations plans for the reconquest of Burma, Thailand, and Indo-China. A year ago American troops would have been welcomed in any of these countries; but as a result of America's failure to intercede in India the attitude of native populations has undergone a marked change. No longer is a sharp distinction made between the British and Americans. American landings in any of these countries would have to overcome at least some native resistance. The appointment of General Wavell as Viceroy of India does not indicate any change in British policy. In most quarters it is felt that only strong intervention by President Roosevelt on the ground of protecting our troops can effect a change in time to aid in the coming United Nations offensive against Japan.

*

THE HEART OF THE NEW REPORT RELEASED by the Kilgore committee lies in its warning that if the Office of War Mobilization displays "the weaknesses of its predecessors and confines itself to the adjudication of personal and agency disputes, it cannot but fail." It might have added that everything one knows of James F. Byrnes, its director, leads one to believe that he will confine himself to this umpiring task among contending agencies. But that will not be enough to achieve what the committee rightly says we need, "a vigorous policy of programming, scheduling, and actively directing the war agencies in the performance of their mutually dependent programs." Instead of moving in that direction, Byrnes is now trying to stop the work of the Kilgore committee and place all investigation of the war program in the hands of one picked committee which the war agencies and departments can control. Unfortunately, while Under Secretary of War Patterson is courageous enough to protest publicly against the lag in war production and the over-confidence and complacency it reflects, he is still letting himself be used by the army-navy bureaucracy to fight the establishment of the kind of over-all agency which alone can end that lag.

*

A FRUITFUL FIELD WOULD HAVE OPENED for our native bigots, alien-baiters, and witch-hunters had the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the government's effort to revoke the citizenship of William Schneiderman. "If, seventeen years after a federal court adjudged him entitled to be a citizen," Justice Rutledge said in a concurring opinion, "that judgment can be nullified and he can be stripped of this most precious right by nothing more than reexamination upon the merits of the very facts the judgment established, no naturalized person's citizenship is or can be secure." Schneiderman would have been penalized for membership in a party to which native Americans may legally belong. Imposition of that penalty would have jeopardized not merely naturalized Communists but any naturalized leftists or trade unionists who might some day seem imperfectly attached to what a Dies considers the spirit of the Constitution. The country owes a debt of gratitude to Wendell Willkie for having argued the case and to Justice Murphy and his colleagues of the majority for having upheld his argument. If a belief in the right of revolution is un-American, then Jefferson and Lincoln —among many others—were un-American.

Defeat at Detroit

THE Axis is losing battles in Europe and the Pacific, but it can console itself with victories recently won in the United States. In Mobile, Los Angeles, Beaumont, and Detroit Americans infected with the spirit of fascism have attacked our fighting forces in the rear, damaging production and, what is far worse, shattering democratic morale. A succession of Detroits could conceivably mean the loss of the war; it would certainly mean the loss of the peace.

It is time for us to clear our minds and hearts of the contradictions that are rotting our moral position and undermining our purpose. We cannot fight fascism abroad while turning a blind eye to fascism at home. We cannot inscribe on our banners: For democracy and a caste system." We cannot liberate oppressed peoples while maintaining the right to oppress our own minorities. As Horace R. Cayton writes in an article on page 10, "There must be achieved in America and in the world a moral order which will include the American Negro and all other oppressed peoples. . . . In terms of the safety and welfare of our country and of our way of life, the struggle for the rights of the American Negro is as important as the struggle for military victory over the enemy."

Most intelligent and socially responsible Americans would give at least lip-service to this sentiment. They would not attempt to defend denial of opportunity, social inequality, exclusion from the polls, or segregation. They know such things are incompatible with democratic ideals, but they shy from the implications of their own moral standards, and like James Boyd, in his article in last week's *Nation,* urge the Negroes not to raise awkward issues, to trust to gradual reform, to take a historical perspective. The alternative, Mr. Boyd suggested, was explosion, and perhaps he would point to the Detroit riots as the kind of incident which an aggressive Negro policy made inevitable.

Mr. Cayton sharply disagrees with Mr. Boyd's arguments, but that does not mean that he or any other responsible Negro leader advocates a policy of violence. He points out that since America is at present deeply concerned with living up to democratic principles, it is the logical moment for the Negro to seek to improve his position. Nor can his claims to justice be abated in order to check hostility, for every improvement in his status provokes reaction from the bigots. Even Mr. Boyd's program of concentration on the economic front is no guaranty against explosions. Indeed, the root of the trouble in Detroit seems to have been largely economic. For there the Negro is working side by side with the white man on equal terms, to the fury of those whose first object in life is "to keep the nigger in his place."

Detroit is a tense, overworked, overcrowded city. It has experienced a large influx of workers, both white and colored, since the war began. They are earning high wages but finding it difficult to enjoy them, and they are constantly aware of the uncertainty of the future when the war orders cease to pour in. This atmosphere of insecurity has proved favorable to the professional promotion of hatred, and Detroit has become an important center of the Klan as well as the headquarters of Gerald L. K. Smith's anti-Semitic, anti-foreign America First Party and a dozen lesser breeders of social and racial strife. Of course, the outburst of mob violence last week was "spontaneous" in the sense that the time, place, and manner of the outbreak was not controlled by an organized group. But the spirit that inflamed the rioters and led to indiscriminate attacks of Negroes was the result of deliberate propaganda, and if its creators were not directly inspired by the Axis, they were doing its work.

The authorities in Michigan are reported to be launching a sociological study of the causes of the riots. That can do no harm and may do some good in the long run. But if other outbreaks in the near future are to be prevented, the police and the FBI should seek the focal points of infection. The majesty of the law cannot kill prejudice, but it can do much more than has been done in Detroit.

Another urgent necessity is an attempt to instil into the police a realization that it is their duty to protect Negroes as well as whites. Most of the victims of the Detroit riots were Negroes, and so were most of those arrested. When the white mobs ran amok, pulling Negroes from automobiles and street cars, the police seem to have done little to intervene. But when the Negroes began to retaliate on white property, the police were quick to use both night sticks and guns. One picture, published in the New York *Times,* showed a Negro under arrest being hit in the face by a white hoodlum. The two policemen holding his arms appear to be making no move to intervene. It is a striking symbol of uneven-handed justice.

The tendency of the police to take sides—a similar attitude was reported from Los Angeles during the "zoot-suit riots"—naturally encourages the white bullies, while it drives the Negroes to a despairing belief that they must provide their own protection with whatever means are available. Equality before the law is one of the fundamental rights of American citizens which has all too often been honored in the breach, particularly in the case of clashes between Negroes and whites. The Negro cannot afford to remain patient about this denial of justice or the refusal of any of the fundamental rights of a citizen. To remain passive is to accept the status of a second-class American—a phrase which white and colored alike ought to reject as a blasphemous contradiction in terms. Until Americans do so we have no right to say complacently: "We are not as these *Herrenvolk . . .*"

Coalition Against DeGaulle

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

IF THIS journal held the position of extreme partisanship for General de Gaulle with which it is sometimes charged, it would applaud every recent move made by the British and Americans in Algiers. For by their intervention in support of General Giraud, and particularly by their insistence on his continued control of the French army in North and West Africa, they have elevated De Gaulle from his position as leader of French resistance to the Axis to a much more exalted role as a leader of French resistance to all foreign domination. Giraud, on the other hand, has become a British-American stooge. And this, as I suggested above, must be very gratifying to people whose Gaullism is stronger than their wish for genuine Allied unity in the common fight against our still powerful and defiant enemies.

But we don't like it. It shows, as Mr. del Vayo points out on a later page, that Allied political strategy is still totally unrelated to the popular desires of this war-torn world. And this means that the two leading democratic powers are losing—if they have not already lost—their claim to popular leadership. Instead of backing representative, aggressive, fighting elements, they continue to maintain in power men whose connections are with the discredited past. Giraud is hardly to blame for the thankless part he now plays. He came to North Africa with the reputation of a disinterested patriot; he lost his reputation in the company of Darlan, Noguès, and other rascals for whose presence the Allied leaders were chiefly responsible. If those leaders had wanted the only kind of unity between Giraud and De Gaulle that would rally the support of the people and the fighting forces of France, they would have encouraged Giraud to purge the army and accept the reforms for which the De Gaullists have been fighting. But they preferred to maintain the status quo even at the cost of unity. And so they have succeeded in perpetuating confusion and rivalry.

The divided command they have forced upon De Gaulle means in reality a divided army. There will be an independent French army—headed by De Gaulle. There will be mass desertions. There will be bitter jurisdictional rows over recruiting rights. Loyalty to leaders will be exalted over loyalty to the common cause. And out of it all will come a further loss of democratic prestige by our own country and Britain.

I am not talking about some distant future. These effects are being felt today. Last Sunday Drew Middleton wrote in the New York *Times* that the "only organized, dynamic political force in North Africa at present is General de Gaulle's Fighting French movement." General Giraud's victory, he concluded, "must be considered a temporary one" since it is not likely to survive the withdrawal of Allied support; and Allied support will presumably end when the Allied armies have left North Africa. Middleton leaves no doubt that popular feeling for De Gaulle has been increased by the intervention of Britain and America on the side of Giraud. In the Middle East also, strong resentment is boiling up. A private cable from a well-informed American in Beirut brings word that Frenchmen in the army and in civil life are unable to comprehend "continued Allied support of Giraud at the expense of De Gaulle and the pro-democratic elements grouped around him." Their indignation is mixed with fears of the future. Perhaps they are less certain than Mr. Middleton that Giraud's leadership, and that of the reactionary officers who retain their commissions in the army under his command, will end when the Allied forces withdraw from Africa. On the contrary, they fear a very different result: a French colonial army largely officered by reactionaries crossing from North Africa to "liberate" France according to some new formula of authoritarian control. That the United States and Britain should be suspected of contriving to bring about such a result is evidence of the growing suspicion and dislike with which freedem-loving Frenchmen regard their powerful Allies.

The whole dismal policy of the United States toward De Gaulle and the Fighting French is neatly illustrated in the interview with General Charles Mast appearing on a later page of this issue. The new Resident General of Tunisia tells the story of the intricate and fascinating plot which led to the American-British expedition to North Africa. But the General reveals some brand new facts; for the first time we learn of the major role played by himself and by other De Gaullist sympathizers in preparing the way for the Allied landings. Who in America ever heard before that General Mast was the man who carried on the preliminary negotiations with the American envoy, Robert D. Murphy? Why were we never told that the widespread conspiracy to seize the towns, arrest hostile officials and army men, and open the gates to the American troops was carried out by civilians, most of them De Gaullists?

General Mast's version of these events, completely contradicting the reports allowed to reach American ears, seems to me to have an importance which more deliberate revelations often lack. It proves with unpleasant finality that the American authorities in North Africa deliberately withheld credit from men who had risked their lives to help our forces and whose help we had readily accepted. It proves that they suppressed all facts that might have reflected honor on the Fighting French. There may be some decent explanation for such behavior, but for the moment I can't think of any.

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Bureaucrat Bites Press

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 25

IT'S always news when a bureaucrat bites the press, and Elmer Davis, who has been in the business long enough, might have expected trouble when he made that speech to the Newspaper Guild. The newspapers, which dish it out all day long, are notoriously unable to take it. None of us (your correspondent included) hesitate to pass with majestic certitude on the most complex of technical subjects. But let the worm turn, and lecture the press—though the worm be, like Davis, one of ourselves—and the editors run screaming for their shillelaghs. Ours is a sensitive profession.

Were the nation's editors good sports, they would accept with equanimity lectures much less justified than Davis's. He may not have told the whole truth—who can aspire to that?—but he did tell a part of the truth we all tend to overlook. Since newspaper comment by this time has succeeded in thoroughly confusing the public as to just what dreadful things Davis did say, and the fate of the OWI may now hang on it, it may be well to glance back at the horrid words actually uttered in Boston. Davis complained that in most newspapers "Washington bureaucrat is a term of abuse; and Washington has become a synonym for muddle, confusion, and bickering." The truth of this can be checked in anyone's morning newspaper. That rank-and-file working newspapermen admit this was clear from the enthusiastic reception given the speech by the Newspaper Guild. Most of the barking comes from the front office and the trained seals.

Davis admitted that "we are not doing our jobs as well as we should . . . some of us have indulged in unseemly bickering," and all this, he said, "has been dutifully and copiously reported by the vigilant corps of Washington correspondents." His retort, if it was a retort, was couched, tactfully enough, as explanation. "It is the function of these men," he continued, "to report current news and to cover Washington; it is not their business to seek historical parallels, or to contrast Washington with other capitals of the world. If it were, they might have discovered that muddle, confusion, and bickering, however deplorable, are characteristic of most human activity at all times and all places, and particularly characteristic of capitals in war time. They exist in the capitals of our allies; they exist in the capitals of our enemies too." To say this too often would lead to complacency. But surely it needs to be said occasionally. Criticism is healthy, but so is perspective. To start by casting out the beam from my own eye, I think Mr. Davis's words provide a counterbalance which the reader of my own constantly critical Washington letters may usefully keep in mind.

I do not intend to cease wielding my own little sledge hammer, and I am not suggesting that the newspapers content themselves with printing OWI releases. But I see nothing heinous in what Davis said, and I wonder whether the uproar it created was not due in part to uneasy consciences. It may not be the business of the press to seek comforting historical parallels, but I suspect many newspapers would make that their business if we had a conservative or reactionary President of whom they approved. Though quite a few papers, like the Republican New York *Herald Tribune,* have succeeded in admirable fashion in keeping partisanship within proper limits, many are still carrying on the old hate-Roosevelt campaign. Others, which roar so bravely about bureaucracy—like sin, undefended—are mouselike when they touch occasionally, if at all, on the shortcomings of the big-business crowd which has largely been running the war effort. The attention paid to bickering in the capital is in part due to the natural weakness of newspapermen for the dramatic headline. In part it reflects a familiar tendency to evade more fundamental issues by concentrating attention on personalities.

The most unfortunate part of the cry-baby outburst by the press as a whole is that it distracted attention from Davis's attack upon the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson axis. Davis said that "in the case of a few newspapers —very few" the impression that Washington is all muddle "has been deliberately created, for reasons on which I would prefer not to speculate." Davis thought it "sufficient to note" that "their attacks on bureaucracy are only a minor phase of what appears to be a carefully planned and assiduously executed editorial policy, which, whatever its attitude toward our own war effort, often seems actuated by a greater hostility to some of our allies than to some of our enemies." Perhaps so few joined in this condemnation of the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press because of the powerful business interests these papers serve and the hate-Roosevelt chorus they swell.

Much can be said in criticism of the OWI, but little of that will be found in the intemperate and bigoted debate in which the House voted to abolish the domestic branch of the OWI altogether. There is too little adult discussion of our problems in Washington, too much puerile boasting, and this has helped create a dangerous atmosphere of complacency. But the officials chiefly responsible for this are the President, Byrnes, Nelson, most but not all of the dollar-a-year men (especially Jeffers), Secretary of the Navy Knox, and the general run of "brass hats." From this last category I would honorably except the Under Secretaries of War and Navy, most of the Assistant Secretaries, General Somervell, and many of the generals in the field, notably Stilwell, whose manly frankness is in such sharp contrast to the hooey so frequent in the department communiqués. The worst and principal offender is Mr. Roosevelt himself. He likes neither to be told nor to tell unpleasant facts.

Considering the difficulties under which the OWI must operate and the natural reluctance of politicians and business men—like the rest of us—to be too frank about their work, the OWI has done extraordinarily well. Its general reporting and some of its special reports on rubber, planes, and Willow Run have been extremely honest; it has had a good effect on army and navy communiqués, which can be amazingly silly, as they were in their piecemeal admission about the Japanese invasion of the Aleutians. The domestic branch of the OWI has two advantages over the previous set-up, the one to which we shall return if the Senate does not restore the appropriation voted down by the House. The first is an advantage for the newspapers: the OWI provides a central source of information in place of myriad information agencies. The second is an advantage for the public. An information officer attached directly to an important public official is at his mercy. The OWI gives the information officer greater leverage in getting out the truth because he can appeal to an independent information chief with a Presidential directive. This often makes a good deal of difference.

These and other relevant considerations played no part whatever in the attack made upon the OWI in the House. The first consideration was that of partisan politics. The Republicans in the House caucused on the OWI, and the elimination of the domestic branch was made a party matter, though both the former and the new head of that branch and probably half its executives are Republicans. The second consideration was race prejudice. Within a few days of the terrible Detroit riots a majority of the members of the House of Representatives were so lacking in a sense of responsibility to their country in a time of war as to deliver a slap in the face to our largest minority, the Negroes. The Republicans out of partisanship and the Southern Democrats out of a blind bigotry punished Davis for the OWI's excellent pamphlet "Negroes and the War." "My boy in England and my boy in Africa," Allen of Louisiana cried, "don't need any Elmer Davis of the New York American Labor Party to tell them what the war is about. They learned from Southern Democrats." I shudder to think what they learned.

A third consideration apparent in the debate was Davis's failure to share that "greater hostility to some of our allies" which is as often expressed on the floor of the House as in the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press. Though Davis fought the Communists hard in the American Labor Party, he never succumbed to the paranoia of the professional anti-reds. The OWI is run on a truly anti-fascist basis; its personnel includes men of any political shade who are sincerely opposed to the Axis and its ideology, and it treats the Soviet Union as an ally, an attitude often strikingly absent in Congress. On the air last April 30 Davis declared that the Nazi story of the Polish corpses discovered miraculously preserved at Smolensk "looks very fishy" and commented on the difficulties Premier Sikorsky has with "a faction of extremists—the sort of men, void of any sense of political realities, who ruined Poland in the eighteenth century." Davis's reward was an attack by Lesinski of Michigan, whose proposal that all OWI propaganda abroad be handed over to the State Department was widely approved in the House, though it will be greeted elsewhere with dismay. The State Department has been carrying on covert propaganda against the OWI, for the ideology which dominates the department is also the ideology of most Southern Democrats.

It would take more space than I have at my disposal to cover the bald misstatements which figured in the House debate. Taber, ranking Republican member of the House Appropriations Committee, was cheap, unprincipled, and vicious. He said the domestic branch of the OWI was asking a 300 per cent increase in personnel; the increase asked was 18 per cent. Taber's second, Wigglesworth, said the committee was not provided with transcripts of the foreign broadcasts; a box containing several hundred was sent to Taber. Wigglesworth said he would place the overseas work of the OWI under the army and navy; in all areas of actual or projected military operations it is under the chiefs of staff. Lesinski said mention of Mihailovich "is taboo" on OWI broadcasts; his name is frequently used. "What is wrong with the army and navy giving out their own statements?" Allen of Louisiana asked. "They did it in the First World War." They *didn't* in the First World War. They *do* now. The OWI is consulted, but army and navy communiqués are issued by commanding officers in the field or by the War and Navy Departments here.

The 300 pages of testimony given by Davis and his aides before the House Appropriations Committee last month provide a far different impression of the OWI from the House debate, a debate in which the House Democratic leadership did little if anything to support the OWI. Taber and Wigglesworth were at those hearings and spoke later on the floor more from malice than ignorance. In the hearings one saw the tribute paid the

OWI by General Marshall and other army chiefs, the useful role it played in preparing the North African landings, the handicaps, caused by inadequate funds and facilities, under which it operates as compared with our enemies. The short-wave facilities of the Nazis and Italians are ten times as great as ours; our lack of them made it possible for the Japanese to put the news of the Tunisian victories on the air their own way four hours before we could.

These crucial matters seem of no importance to this cantankerous, bigoted, and criminally irresponsible Congress.

Let's Look at Labor

II. NEW TASKS FOR TRADE UNIONS

BY LAWRENCE ROGIN

CAN a labor organization which has built up its strength by obtaining economic gains for its members, primarily through collective bargaining, keep the loyalty of its members in a period when questions of wages, hours, and overtime pay have been almost entirely removed from the sphere of collective bargaining by government action? This problem has been occupying thinking trade unionists since the start of the war. Recently it has been brought into sharp focus by the President's anti-inflationary orders, which seem to remove the possibility of wage increases, except in a few instances, and certainly prevent any union from gaining strength by the time-honored technique of campaigning for a general rise in pay.

The bitter reaction of John L. Lewis when the President's "hold the line" order caught him in the midst of negotiations for contracts covering almost every coal miner in the country is evidence of the frustration felt by old-line unionists in the present situation. For even when union membership has been held by closed-shop contracts, the American labor movement has counted on maintaining union morale by means of its ability to obtain constant improvements. This characteristic of American trade unionism, glorified as "job consciousness" by labor theorists during the Coolidge prosperity days in contrast to the class consciousness of European labor, revealed its futility by its failure to build a labor movement in that period or to hold together what had been built when unemployment and depression set in and economic gains were no longer possible.

So far as Mr. Lewis is concerned, there seems no hope for a new approach to the problem. For in effect the miners' leader has said, "It's no use even trying to stop inflation. Let's give the miners all they want, the farmers all they want, the industrialists a fair profit, and let the devil take the hindmost." Mr. Lewis has admitted that he cannot think of union service to his membership at this time in any other terms than higher wages. No fair-minded person would challenge his statement that most miners are underpaid, that the cost of living has been rising, that corporation profits are too high. Yet we must wonder whether trade unionists in general would agree that a drive for higher wages backed up by strike action is the only solution for labor's present problems. Congress has already indicated the political effect of such action, and at this writing the miners' strike has not been won.

If governmental restrictions upon collective bargaining have taken from the labor movement the possibility of building union strength upon immediate gains, how can the unions keep the support of their memberships in the face of such attacks as those made recently by reactionaries in the state legislatures of Kansas and Texas and by the anti-labor bloc in Congress? How can labor so maintain its strength that it can be assured of a voice in writing the peace and in building a new America?

If trade unionism is thought of only in terms of collective bargaining there can be no such assurance, even though collective bargaining, as Clinton S. Golden and Harold Ruttenburg, officials of the United Steel Workers, have ably pointed out, encompasses many things that may be more vital to the worker than an increase in pay. Union grievance machinery has worked overtime handling problems of work loads, job reclassification, seniority, promotions, layoffs, and discharges which have arisen as a result of the conversion of industry to war production. Every new change in production methods brings a new opportunity for the union to prove its worth. The restrictions on wages and overtime pay, the shifting of workers from job to job provide many problems for the shop steward and full-time union representative. If an individual worker is helpless when dealing with an employer, how much more so he becomes before the complexities of War Labor Board or Manpower Commission rulings. Yet the efficient handling of grievances, so essential if the union is to remain strong, does not arouse militant support. Alone it cannot evoke the loyalty and understanding required in the present situation.

The union movement must make its major appeal outside the collective-bargaining field. It must prove to the American worker that his union can be an agency for achieving a full life for him and his family. It must show him the close relationship between economics and politics and how governmental action on national, state, and local levels can affect his welfare. It must demonstrate that collective action by the workers can provide better housing, decent price controls, and proper education for his children, as well as protection in the shop, and that these things are equally important to him.

The war has given labor this challenge—and at the same time an opportunity that must not be missed. For the changes brought by the war have opened workers' minds to problems up to now ignored. The American worker has never asked his union to protect him as consumer; yet that is one of the tasks which American labor must undertake today. Locally and nationally labor must act to prevent runaway prices and to maintain quality standards. What labor has attempted in this field is more important than a score of wage increases. While Congress, under the whip of the farm bloc and organized business, has been sabotaging every effort at price control, the labor movement alone has been fighting back with real force.

Crowded living conditions and the shortage of doctors have given the worker a concern for decent housing, for adequate medical care. Rationing has forced him to think about nutrition standards. The demand for labor has called his attention to the need for nursery schools. High prices lead him to think about cooperatives. Here are immediate fields of service for the union, which can stimulate both community action and legislation.

The worker worries, too, about what is going to happen after the war. Soldiers in the production lines, like those at the front, want to know that the war is not being fought in vain. Without understanding them too well, the worker is attracted by the Beveridge plan and the report of our National Resources Planning Board. He must be educated to realize that the union is the only agency in America for turning these aspirations into realities.

Even as the worker's mind is opening to new problems, so the tight anti-labor communities are finding it necessary, whether they like it or not, to recognize that unions exist. OPA regulations, now finally being enforced, require union representation on local price-control and rationing boards. The Office of Civilian Defense has a similar policy, though it lacks the machinery for enforcement. The cooperation of labor is needed if bond drives are to be put across and if community war chests are to be filled. Labor's relief committees have done an outstanding job in this respect. Even promoters of schemes for assuring proper nutrition go to the unions for indorsement these days rather than to employers.

How well has the labor movement met this challenge? What has it done to take advantage of these opportunities? The best that can be said is that a beginning has been made. The activities program of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been broadened to meet war demands. A few unions, among them the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers, have attempted to develop full-fledged victory programs which would reach from the national office down through the membership and affect almost every phase of the worker's existence. For the most part, however, action has been sporadic, its extent depending on the pressure exerted by the national organization, the local situation, and the willingness of overburdened union representatives to undertake new responsibilities. Unfortunately, too, unions which have engaged in community war activities have often stopped after the bond and war-chest drives were completed.

Limited as the effort has been, the results indicate that the job can be done. Even before Pearl Harbor the Shipbuilding Workers experimented with a cooperative housing project. The United Automobile Workers have recently revived their Medical Bureau. The example set some time ago by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in providing insurance coverage for a large part of its membership has been followed recently by the Textile Workers' Union of America (C. I. O.) in a number of contracts. Union-sponsored consumers' centers in Newark, New Jersey, and Reading, Pennsylvania, have served entire communities. Child-care centers are being established in many areas as the result of union interest. Labor representatives are starting to function as members of rationing boards, and local labor pressures are backing the efforts of the OPA Labor Advisory Committee to make price control real. Local union legislative committees are writing to their Congressmen on such subjects as rent control, grade labeling of canned goods, and appropriations for the FSA, as well as on matters traditionally more in labor's province. Both branches of the labor movement are claiming credit for the new Wagner-Murray-Dingell social-security bill, and the unions have made at least a gesture toward the consideration of post-war problems. One union has made a really serious effort to concentrate its members' attention on the subject.

These activities, taken separately, are hardly enough to catch the imagination of the American worker. As part of a well-organized social program consciously sponsored by the national labor federations and their constituent unions, they could inspire enthusiasm and loyalty. Such a program, interpreted by an effective educational campaign and supported by unified political activity, would be more than an answer to the Rickenbackers; it would be the beginning of a new labor movement in America.

[*This is the second of a series of seven articles on the problems confronting the American labor movement.*]

The Negro's Challenge

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

[*Last week James Boyd, a Southern liberal, urged the Negroes to be patient and to avoid policies which might provoke explosions. Below, a well-known Negro newspaperman replies in an article which, although completed some time before the riots in Detroit, provides a significant commentary on those and other recent racial disturbances. Our own views on the problems discussed in these two articles and on the recrudescence of mob violence directed against minorities will be found in the editorial section.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

THE United States stands frozen and paralyzed before its Negro problem. The divergent and contradictory streams of thought in its culture prevent it from even conceiving of a rational approach to a solution. The United States thinks of itself as a political democracy but knows that it maintains a semi-caste system within its social order. It believes itself to be a good nation, dedicated to the brotherhood of man, but it has never fully included the Negro in its political, economic, and social system. Now, facing the problem in an acute stage, it is unable to plan or to act to meet the impending crisis.

The Negro problem is not new in this country. But since the war, as a result of the conflict of ideologies, it has become a world problem, and the United States must now do something about it. It must act not merely for moral reasons, to right the social injustices involved, but for motives of self-interest, indeed, of self-preservation.

We are fighting a yellow nation which has challenged white imperialism and ridiculed the so-called democracies for clinging to the notion of white superiority. We have a yellow nation as an ally, and we are desperately trying to hold in check the brown people of India. Japanese references to our treatment of the American Negro embarrass all of our attempts at psychological warfare. Every time a Negro is lynched here, the Japanese broadcast the event to China, India, and South America. The stupid racial policy of the Anglo-Saxon nations was an important factor in their defeat in the Pacific. The United Nations will have the task after the war of setting up a new balance of power based upon a moral order which, to be workable, must include yellow, brown, and black people. How can America share in this when it does not include its own black citizens in the moral order prevailing within its own boundaries?

There is another reason why the contradiction of caste and democracy must be resolved. To develop its maximum striking power, in the factories, the fields, and the armed forces, the nation cannot ignore one-tenth of its people. The sheer need for man-power is opening more and more opportunities to Negroes. But though many advances have been made, millions of Negroes are still idle or working in non-essential industries because Northern farmers refuse to employ them, many defense plants limit their participation by a quota system, and the armed forces relegate them to limited services.

And how about the Negroes; how do they feel? Many white persons who have inquired have been frightened by the answers they obtained. A change so profound that few persons realize its fateful meaning is taking place in the mentality of the American Negro. He has experienced of late an upsurge of feeling which has given him a new sense of his own dignity and of his relationship to world events.

The forces bringing about this change antedate our participation in the war. Negroes throughout the United States were aware and resentful of the rape of Ethiopia. Haile Selassie was to them a hero, and relatives of his in this country addressed numerous Negro audiences. Various Negro newspapers first developed mass circulation through the appeal of the Ethiopian issue and the rise of Joe Louis.

In the present conflict the Negro is finding the problems of the Chinese, the Indians, and the Burmese strangely similar to his own. In this sense the Negro has become more international-minded than the rest of the population. His sympathy with other colored peoples was aroused long before the general population had begun to question America's policy of isolationism. He came to have a certain respect for the Japanese, who had successfully fought three white nations, though his hope for the representation of dark people in the Allied peace rests with the Chinese. Realizing more acutely than whites the global significance of a guaranty of democratic rights and privileges to all peoples of the world, he has broken out of his caste-bound mentality, transcended his purely racial point of view (which led him only to despair), and now sees his position in society as identified with that of the darker races of the world.

The war has confronted the Negro with a situation which has forced him to sharpen his thinking and define for himself the role which he wishes to play in American civilization. The conflict between the pressure which was forcing him into a caste position and the slogans for democracy which raised his expectation of complete citizenship have developed in him a new critical consideration of his position in the social structure of the country and a new attitude toward the theory and practice of democracy. At first this new capacity for critical analysis seemed to be expressed in a series of complaints. Brought up sharply against the paradoxes of democracy, the Negro in this initial stage of the development of a line of action could do little more than articulate his discontent. But in the crucible of frustration and despair he is developing a new and positive line of thought which holds hope for black people and for the institution of democracy. He is adopting a point of view that is not inconsistent with the expressed aims of the United Nations.

The change in the Negro's mentality has come about so rapidly that few people—even Negroes—realize its extent. It is expressed in his refusal to accept segregation without complaint even in the armed forces—numbers of Negroes have gone to prison rather than fight in a Jim Crow army—in impetuous individual defiance of cultural patterns of racial subordination, in the hysterical oratory of excited speakers for Negro rights. But underneath all this is a determination to become a full citizen, to plan and think for himself regardless of past friends and old leaders.

The basic issues in the Negro's struggle have changed. While at first Negro demands were simply for Negro rights, now they are for democratic rights for all peoples throughout the world. While at first many Negroes were sullen and wished to see this country brought to its knees and made to realize that without them the war could not be won, and while at first they wished to withhold their participation until certain concessions were granted, now they are demanding the right to participate in every phase of the war so that they can also participate in the peace. Demands for concessions have given way to demands for equality.

As for the white people, many are reacting to the Negro's new attitude with fear or hate. In the South, and often in other parts of the country too, they fear that their prerogatives are being challenged. They are infuriated by the Negro press and in terror of the emotions which they sense behind the mask-like countenance of their once humble black servants. Southern Congressmen form alliances with reactionary Northern tories to stifle all legislation which might help ease racial tensions; middle-class people form leagues to maintain white supremacy; the former Southern liberals caution Negroes to be patient; and the *Lumpenproletariat* whips itself up into a lynch mood. Of course, the Wendell Willkies, the Pearl Bucks, and the Bishop Sheils are trying to cope with the problem, but they are a minority.

In the face of these conflicts and tensions the Administration is bankrupt. As a matter of fact, the government cannot openly take cognizance of the Negro problem. The logic of our democratic culture forbids definitely assigning to the Negro a subordinate status, while the Southern poll-tax Congressmen block any positive propaganda of action for national unity. Officially the Negro cannot be given even a promise of liberation which will make him willing to wait and hope as the English expect the people of India to wait and hope. The myth of democracy is, indeed, often used to prevent the employment of the most elementary mechanisms for racial adjustments. A case in point was the attempt of Southern Congressmen to eliminate the race-relations division of the Federal Housing Agency, because "this is a democracy and we don't need to consider the Negro as different from anyone else."

Many white liberals, North and South, appalled at the situation, have counseled the Negro to be patient. They have pointed out the gains which have accrued to him during the last three Administrations and reviewed the progress the Negroes have made in the past three hundred years. They assume that because of their past friendship Negroes should have faith in them and in their analysis of the possibilities and dangers of aggressive action by Negroes at this moment.

What many white liberals do not realize is that they are measuring the gains with an obsolete yardstick. At a time when peoples are being liquidated or given equality overnight, gradualism has little meaning. With a world revolution in progress one group of people cannot be held apart from the stream of thought and told to have faith in education and good-will. To ask the American Negro to go slowly is to attempt either to slacken the international pace of social change or to isolate the Negro from the world forces in which he is engulfed.

The direct antithesis of this so-called gradualism should not be thought of as an eruption of violence. Such an eventuality may result from too rapid change, but if it does, the explosion is not the measure of the pressure exerted by the Negro to rise in status; it is the measure of the reaction of whites against his rise. Changes in race relations should be thought of as a continuum, and to make gradualism, which is a rate of speed of change, and explosion, which is a possible result of too rapid change, opposite poles is to confuse the analysis of race relations.

The likelihood of success for a non-violent change is determined to a large extent by the social circumstances prevailing when the change is attempted. A minority finds its best opportunity to advance at a time when its claims for equal rights and privileges are in accord with the social aims of the dominant group. Since America is just now deeply concerned not only with living up to democratic principles at home but, together with other United Nations, with guaranteeing democracy to all peoples everywhere, the present is a logical time for the Negro to seek to improve his position. Those who want

Negroes voluntarily to relinquish their claims to democratic rights and privileges are either not willing to put their ideologies to the test of reality or are denying by inference that this global war is being fought for the right of peoples everywhere to be free.

The Negro is in many respects making a more rational analysis of contemporary events than many who would give him counsel. The struggle in which we are engaged is one against oppression—whether from the tyrannical forces of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito, or from the colonial imperialism of the British Empire, or from the racial imperialism of the United States. To win a cheap military victory over the Axis and then to continue the exploitation of subject peoples within the British Empire and the subordination of Negroes in the United States is to set the stage for the next world war—probably a war of color.

The manner in which the present war is prosecuted will determine the peace which is achieved and the new world order which is established. Writing the peace is not a process that begins with the declaration of an armistice. The movement of men, the opening of fronts, the political deals made during the war shape the peace long before the diplomats sit around a table. The participation of China, of India, and of all the dark peoples, including the American Negro, will constitute a moral claim which cannot be ignored by the United Nations.

When two worlds are at war—the world of fascism and the world of democracy—any hope for the brotherhood of man can arise only out of the struggle of people united for a common end. To insure a victory for the common man, who has too often been mobilized to fight for a noble objective only to find himself cheated by selfish interests when a military victory was won, the essential elements of brotherhood must be achieved during the struggle itself. Brotherhood is both the means and the end of the struggle. This to many people is as rational as is the theory of gradualism or counting small gains. The Negro by refusing to accept gradualism may be helping America to save itself, helping to establish the new world order which must eventually come if Western civilization is not lost to fascist reaction.

This is not a program of action except in the most general sense. Any "pat" solution—any formula—should be regarded with great caution. Perhaps the first step toward a solution should be the realization that the problem of the American Negro is a world problem, that it is part of the problem of all the common people of the world. Somehow, through some mechanism, there must be achieved in America and in the world a moral order which will include the American Negro and all other oppressed peoples. The present war must be considered as one phase of a larger struggle to achieve this new moral order. Nothing must blind us to the necessity of securing the larger victory. In terms of the safety and welfare of our country and of our way of life, the struggle for the rights of the American Negro is as important as the struggle for military victory over the enemy.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE BILL passed the other day by the Senate, . . . making eight hours a legal day's labor in all government yards and workshops, is not particularly important as regards its effect on the government service. . . . Its real object is to lend the influence and authority of the United States Senate . . . to the theory that employers should be forced, either by legislation or workingmen's combinations, into accepting eight hours as a day's labor and treating it as worth as much as a day of ten hours.—*July 2, 1868.*

"THE SPANISH GYPSY: A POEM." By George Eliot. The appearance of a new work by George Eliot is properly a cause of no small satisfaction to the lovers of good literature. . . . In her novels she had never struck us as possessing the poetic character. But at last, today, late in her career, she surprises the world with a long poem which, if it fails materially to deepen our esteem for her remarkable talents, will certainly not diminish it.—*July 2, 1868.*

THE NEWS from the European continent is meager and unimportant, and is mostly made up of newspaper rumors. The real makers of news are off at the watering-places or in the mountains seeking repose and health, and the correspondents are thrown back on their wits for wars and alliances and threats and intrigues and coolnesses.—*July 16, 1868.*

THE POPE has at last opened his spiritual batteries on the Austrian reformers. . . . He says the Austrian government has passed "an odious law, establishing free liberty for all opinions, liberty of the press, of all faith, and no matter what confession or doctrine; it grants to the members of every confession the right of establishing public schools and colleges, and members of every confession are allowed to be admitted on the same footing with the sanction of the state." —*July 16, 1868.*

NOTES. LITERARY. . . . We have not previously mentioned as being in preparation by Messrs. Roberts Brothers . . . "Little Women: A Girl's Book," by Miss L. M. Alcott.—*July 16, 1868.*

THOSE WHO DENY the authority of Congress to regulate the railway traffic among the states must, of necessity, deny its power to regulate the railway or other land traffic with Canada or with Mexico. In fact, the opponents of the proposed measure are driven to the position that the Constitution was only framed for the state of things, physical as well as political, which existed at the time of its adoption, and that it contains no quality of elasticity, no faculty of adaptation to the changes in the forms of conducting the activities of life, and to the progress in the material arts.—*July 30, 1868.*

The Plot That Took Algiers

BY MICHAEL K. CLARK

[We have always been led to believe that the French elements with which Robert D. Murphy and General Mark Clark negotiated prior to the North African landings last November were disaffected Vichyites, but in the interview printed below, General Mast, the chief French participant and a De Gaullist, reveals almost casually, with no idea of proving a point or making an exposé, that De Gaullists played a major role in preparing the way for the Anglo-American expedition. This throws a curious and sinister light on the many inspired reports that De Gaulle had no influence in Algeria and gives the interview more significance than either General Mast or Mr. Clark imagined.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Beirut, Syria, May 28

GENERAL MAST, recently appointed Resident General of Tunisia by General Giraud, is recovering in a Beirut military hospital from injuries suffered in an airplane accident. His appointment brings to the fore a man who, perhaps more than anyone else, was responsible for preparing the way in North Africa for the Allied landings in November, 1942. Having obtained General Mast's permission to interview him on behalf of *The Nation,* I had the good fortune to hear his first-hand account of the dramatic conspiracy which preceded and made possible the Anglo-American operations.

Receiving me in his hospital room overlooking St. George's Bay, with a view, beyond, of the snow-capped mountains of the Lebanon, General Mast began by stressing that genuine unity of all Frenchmen in the war was inevitable.

"There is no real problem of unity," he said. "From a military point of view it is already a fact. In Tunisia, for instance, French soldiers of the North African army and those of Fighting France, having campaigned side by side, are now fraternizing without any feeling of difference. Political unity, which is essential to give France a government truly representing the nation, cannot lag far behind: too many forces combine to bring it about. Even the problems of organization, which so far have been a delaying factor, can hardly prevent an outcome to which both General Giraud and General de Gaulle are pledged and which is the will of the French people.

"I presume that the story of the French conspiracy in North Africa preceding the Allied landings is known in America. It was a dramatic episode, filled with tense moments when the success or failure of the whole enterprise hung in the balance, an episode of which the smallest detail will never be forgotten by us who took part in it.

"The news of General Giraud's escape from the Königstein Fortress in Germany, which might be considered the first step in our conspiracy, was flashed around the world. But each of the steps which followed, during long months of planning and preparation, was necessarily surrounded by the strictest secrecy. General Giraud's decision to take upon himself the responsibility for organizing French resistance in North Africa, a decision from which General Weygand had recoiled, and my arrival in Algiers shortly afterward as his advance agent were the real beginnings of our conspiracy.

"In North Africa I found the American mission headed by Mr. Murphy, upon which all our hopes hung, virtually quarantined by General Weygand, who had ordered all officers under his command to refrain from having any dealings whatever with American diplomatic or consular personnel. General Weygand refused from the start to listen to proposals of Allied military aid in North Africa, and all reports to the contrary are untrue. At this moment French officers who took a lead in conversations with Mr. Murphy and his associates languish in Vichy prisons, sentenced by General Weygand.

"Realizing that the arrival in North Africa of an American military expedition of any importance—and only an important one would do—could be brought about only through direct contact with the American General Staff, I begged Mr. Murphy, with whom I was secretly in touch, to do his utmost to arrange a meeting between myself and an American general somewhere along the North African coast. Mr. Murphy agreed to do his best, but his inopportune absence from North Africa during September and early October delayed this meeting so vitally important to our two countries. When Mr. Murphy returned to Algiers, however, it was possible to put the plan into execution. In touch with London by radio, Mr. Murphy managed to arrange for General Clark and his staff to be brought to Gibraltar in a Flying Fortress belonging to the R. A. F. and from Gibraltar to the North African coast, on October 22, in a British submarine.

"The meeting took place near the town of Cherchell, in a farmhouse close to the shore.* General Clark and his staff landed on the deserted beach before dawn from the submarine hovering offshore. The beach was guarded; but

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* The house belonged to a former mayor of Algiers, a De Gaullist, who with several others who had cooperated with the Americans was later arrested on Giraud's order.

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the coastguardsmen there were among the dozen or so men in North Africa who were in the plot. As soon as General Clark came ashore, he went into conference with Mr. Murphy and myself; while we three studied the general aspects of the problem, the officers of General Clark's staff and the French officers who had accompanied me worked out its details. On that day the plan of an Allied landing took shape, and backed by General Clark's pledge of a full-scale American operation, we decided to lose no time in putting the affair up to General Giraud, who was still in France.

"The day was not without its alarms. A native, unseen by the guard, had witnessed the landing of the American officers, and suspecting that something serious was afoot, had hastened to Cherchell to inform the police commissioner there of what he had seen. Fortunately he was conducted first, not to the commissioner himself, but to the vice-commissioner, who by a singular chance belonged to our group and knew of the meeting. The vice-commissioner did everything in his power to keep the native and his story from reaching the commissioner, but toward evening the commissioner's suspicions were aroused. He determined to go to the farm and investigate for himself. At that moment our enterprise hung by a thread; it was saved only by the coolness of the lieutenant commanding the coastguardsmen. This officer was the first person to see the commissioner arrive. Asked by the commissioner what was going on in the farmhouse, he replied that the American envoy, Mr. Murphy, had chosen this out-of-the-way spot to give a rather riotous party for some of his friends, and that it would not be wise to disturb him, since to do so might create a diplomatic incident. The commissioner retired, General Clark and his officers came up from the cellar where they had taken refuge, and the conference was resumed.

"Our troubles did not end there, however. At nightfall, when the time came for General Clark to return to the submarine, it was discovered that the sea, which in the morning had been quite calm, was now running high, with dangerous breakers near the shore. The waves made the use of the landing craft, which were nothing more than kayaks, extremely perilous. These frail boats, when put into the water, upset almost at once; and yet a postponement of the departure was out of the question. Several hours passed. At last, toward four o'clock, General Clark decided to put off in spite of the sea, which had not grown less angry; dawn was about to break and it would have been folly to wait any longer. We held our breath as we watched the operation. The little kayaks were badly tossed about but by some miracle reached the submarine before they capsized. Luckily the General and his staff were dragged from the water, drenched but safe.

"In the following days our conspiracy matured, and the measure of its success could be seen on the night of November 7, the night preceding the Allied landings. Although in Morocco and at Oran our plans, for various fortuitous reasons, miscarried, in Algiers they succeeded perfectly. The groups of resistance which I had organized there, and which were composed exclusively of civilians, the majority of them partisans of General de Gaulle, took over the city before dawn; they made virtual prisoners of all pro-Vichy leaders, including Darlan; and they saw to it that the Anglo-American forces were able to occupy the place almost without firing a shot."

In the Wind

GERALD L. K. SMITH is growing more tolerant. He opened a recent meeting of his Committee of One Million in Cleveland with the announcement that they would say the Lord's Prayer in unison. "We want you all to rise," he said, "whether you are Catholic or Methodist."

THE ONLY MEMBER of the American Newspaper Guild to violate the off-the-record character of executive sessions at the guild's national convention at Boston was the correspondent of the *Daily Worker.*

IF YOU DOUBT Franco's neutrality, your doubts should be removed by the background material which the Press Association, radio division of the Associated Press, has sent to its member stations. "Up to now," it reads, "the Spanish generalissimo has maintained a foreign policy of non-belligerency. But at the same time he has maintained a token division on the Russian front—the only military aid he is known to have given either Hitler or Mussolini. . . . His sole token of disrespect against the Anglo-American powers is his denunciation of Soviet Russia as a menace to Europe."

ALL THE PEOPLE ALL THE TIME: An article in *Printers' Ink* tells how the advertising manager can make the workers love the company: "The advertising manager who spends a little time in the plant quickly learns the potential power of the underground 'grapevine' in the plant. He will make friends of certain people who are active contributors to the grapevine, and on occasion, to serve the company's interest, he will very confidentially drop a message into this grapevine operator's eager ear. He will know enough, of course, not to try to use this expedient too often."

FESTUNG EUROPA: An official German circular gives these instructions for dealing with foreign workers: "Keep your distance. No friendly words, only commands. . . . Though it is difficult for the German people, they must learn that the too soft German heart must be second to common sense." . . . At an Oslo restaurant a Nazi officer asked a young lady to dance with him. She refused. "Is it because I am a German?" "By no means. It is because I am a Norwegian."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR

EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

"Order" in Europe

AFTER three years of discreet reserve the Vatican has again emerged into world politics. Its first political proclamation was the speech by Pope Pius XII to 25,000 Italian workers, commented upon briefly in this section last week. All its previous utterances had been at best escapes from earth to heaven. As long as fascism was strong and a fascist victory probable, the Vatican limited itself to the minimum activity required in order to avoid giving the impression that the Catholic church, like the Comintern, had decided to dissolve. It had, of course, expressed its pure unpolitical horror at the sufferings to which mankind had been subjected. But at no time had the Holy See considered it its duty to mention the anti-Christ by name or to declare Hitler outside the law of God.

Moving into the victorious coalition, the Vatican takes the position that might have been expected. It sides immediately with the faction that survived Munich, remained in power after war came, and is now all out to ruin the peace. The diplomacy of expediency, of a "fascism without Mussolini," of the formula "Don Juan with or without Franco," of collaboration with the Latin American dictators finds in Pius XII its best support. But neither the tradition of the Vatican nor the strong personality of its present head can reconcile itself to the idea of being on the losing side. That is perhaps the most disquieting aspect of the Pope's speech. The fact that His Holiness has pronounced himself publicly in favor of a policy of suppression of the people's will would indicate a conviction on his part that this is the policy already decided on in certain capitals of the United Nations. What part the peregrinations of Archbishop Spellman may have played in forming this judgment belongs to the mystery that still surrounds that most interesting mission.

In his paternal advice to the underground to behave with moderation and not to follow false leaders the Pope reveals the chief objective of Vatican policy—to limit the action of the forces of resistance. The underground is all right as an auxiliary of the military occupation. While the armies of liberation are landing and in the first encounters with the enemy, the underground can render necessary services, but it should by no means claim the right to outlive its usefulness. As soon as the military men have the situation in hand, the underground votes thanks for their arrival—and disappears.

In some degree this has been the spirit in which the officials of the United Nations, from the beginning, have approached the underground. It has been looked upon as a valuable adjunct to the intelligence services and as a vehicle for anti-Axis propaganda, never as the political expression of the reawakening of the people. The Pope knows better. He sees in the underground an irreconcilable enemy of fascism, hostile to any intermediate situation, ready to make good the Roosevelt promise to liquidate all forms of "totalitarian tyranny." Recognizing the important part played by the Catholic masses in the underground, His Holiness now tries to draw them out of a dangerous alliance which tomorrow may defy even the efforts of the United Nations to prevent things in Europe from swinging too far to the left.

Reaction has found its slogan: "Order and discipline must preside over the peace." It is not a new one. The statesmen gathered at the Congress of Vienna repeated the same words to one another in the decisive sessions, and they repeated them to their mistresses when those intriguing ladies, through their flirtations, threatened to disrupt the harmony among the powers shaping the Holy Alliance. The slogan is not new. The only things new today are the situation that faces us and the technique that promises to be applied to it. The situation has a potential explosiveness corresponding to the sufferings the people have had to endure. In the occupied countries each village is a powder keg. Hate is not directed simply against the invader. It extends, perhaps with even greater virulence, against those who have collaborated with the invader, whether from conviction or fear. That, on the local level. On the national level we find the entire people eager to rebuild the country, but to rebuild it according to political, economic, and social patterns different from those which produced the collapse.

Everyone knows that his present misery is due to fascism. But the record of weakness toward the aggressors, of temporizing with the dictators, of internal corruption, of unlimited domination by big business—this has not been forgotten either. Europe is in suspense, awaiting a profound change, a change of centuries in its way of life. Wise friends advise us not to frighten the people in this country with the word "revolution." Let us be amiable. Let us use a less alarming expression and call it "elimination of obstacles." What nobody can dispute is that the peoples of Europe are ready to rise. They may astonish the rest of the world by their vitality.

Now about the technique. If one is to judge by the methods so far used, the reactionaries totally misunderstand the spirit of peoples which have been subjected for years to fascist domination. They apparently believe that a combination of a strong hand and gentleness, of occupation armies followed by shipments of food, will be all that is necessary to control the masses according to plan. There is something pathetic in the enthusiasm and noble eagerness with which thousands of Americans are preparing to serve as administrators for the United Nations. A good number of them come from the universities, or the liberal professions. They have had hardly more political experience than what they have gained by voting in the elections and participating in the enviable comforts of American democratic life. Few have had any direct contact with labor. Few have seen a crowd of desperate men and women enraged by humiliations, injustice, and persecution. They do not know what a country is like which knows it has been betrayed. One can imagine one of these future administrators solemnly performing his duties in Marseilles when the French men and women have gone into the streets to get the Vichyites—the good preacher of democracy, trained for sober functions of government, trying to hold back the mob! His role will be pathetic unless behind him stands someone who is ready, in the name of freedom, to give the order to fire. And that would be worse.

If the war had been understood from the beginning as a war against fascism, the approach to the problem of maintaining order would have been quite different. Many mistakes and contradictions which may well prevent the heads of the United Nations from exercising moral authority in Europe would have been avoided. Had the war been conceived of as a struggle against fascism, no one would have thought of reproaching General de Gaulle for his insistence on removing fascist-minded officers from the French army in North Africa. His policy would have been the policy of the United Nations. Instead, every success he has achieved in the French Committee of National Liberation has appeared as an American diplomatic defeat, while every American victory, such as was scored last week when De Gaulle was finally forced to yield in his effort to purge the army, becomes an actual defeat for the United Nations. Skepticism about all the pledges of freedom and self-determination must inevitably overwhelm the people of Europe when they see that in North Africa the policy of compromise, of a "negotiated peace" between the fascist and anti-fascist forces, is again having its way.

As the war is being waged in the political field, with reaction growing stronger and stronger every day, with the authority of the United Nations as champions of freedom endangered by their own mistakes, the best thing that can be hoped for is that the masses may be left to settle their own account with fascism and to gather around their chosen leaders.

In any case, in the conflict that threatens to arise between the peoples of Europe determined to change the order existing previous to 1938 and those elements in the United Nations which are set upon salvaging as much as possible of that order, the Vatican hardly seems the best authority to intervene. Its record during recent years—its silence about China and Czechoslovakia and Austria, its belligerency against the people of Spain—has not increased its reputation and influence among the free men of Europe. J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

AMONG the German troops in Tunisia was the 334th infantry division. Its commander was a Major General Eder. On April 18, when the final struggle had begun but had not yet reached its climax, General Eder issued to his officers an order which may be considered a historical document. The text, with other papers from divisional headquarters, fell into the hands of the English. It is of interest for the light it throws on the German collapse.

The General's order affirmed that in recent days officers and non-commissioned officers had repeatedly urged their men to throw down their weapons and allow themselves to be taken prisoner. They had done this even when the situation was "as yet in no way hopeless." Those officers should not imagine that because they are prisoners they will escape the consequences of such "disgraceful behavior." "The severest consequences will be experienced by their families now and by them personally after the war." The order enjoined all commanders to keep a watchful eye out for any sign of cowardice or neglect of duty in officers and non-coms, and if they discovered anything of the kind, to proceed against it "with the most extreme brutality."

The picture of demoralization that emerges from this order explains much that happened later. When the central authorities at Berlin learned of such proceedings in Tunisia, they must have been seized by panic, for three days after the order was issued they acted with what may be in truth described as "extreme brutality," though perhaps the brutality was not actually as great as it seems. The *Reichsgesetzblatt* of April 21 promulgated a law that with a stroke of the pen removed all limitations on military punishments and empowered the military courts to impose any penalty they chose.

> Against persons subject to the military penal code who are guilty of an offense against military discipline or against the postulates of military courage, penalties more severe than those prescribed by existing laws may be imposed, including forced labor for life or the death penalty, if this is deemed necessary to maintain discipline or insure the safety of the troops.

> The same applies to offenses which particularly prejudice the conduct of the war or the security of the Reich, if according to sound popular belief the legal penalties are not sufficient punishment for the deed.

It is hard to understand what the war lords had in mind when they issued this singular decree. "Cowardice in the face of the enemy" was the worst of all crimes in the regular military code and was punishable with death. The law could not be made more severe. In any case, the hasty attempt to check the demoralization that was setting in on the Tunisian battlefields by means of super-draconian threats availed nothing.

The discomforts resulting from the scarcity of household goods in Germany are illustrated by an order issued by the Burgomaster of Stuttgart in the second week of June. In spite of the shortage of lodgings, the order said, an increasing number of rooms in hotels and boarding houses are unrented. According to the proprietors, the reason is their inability to supply bed linen for these rooms. Nevertheless, the Burgomaster continued, from now on every bed must be rented. If there is no bed linen, table linen must be used. When that is gone, the guests must be told to bring their own sheets—in which case 10 per cent shall be taken off the regular price of the room.

For the last four months the city of Königsberg in Prussia has had a barter shop, the first in Germany. And according to the D. N. B. report, it has had great success. Used articles which can no longer be found in stores are brought to the shop and exchanged for other articles elsewhere unobtainable. An unneeded flatiron, for instance, is exchanged for a saucepan, or a carpet for a mattress. The value of the various articles is appraised by merchandising experts at the shop. Only the difference in the worth of two things exchanged, plus a fee for the service, is paid in cash. In the four months since the shop was established 4,500 transactions have been concluded.

From Axis Sources

The Spanish Trade System

THE final computation of the value of Spanish trade in 1942 shows a credit of 16,500,000 gold pesetas. This compares with 1941's deficit of 35,000,000 gold pesetas. Official circles consider the change a sign of the tremendous success of the Spanish trade system. Argentina was the biggest exporter to Spain in 1941, but in 1942 Germany took first place. Spain's imports from Germany increased in value from 51,000,000 to 117,000,000 gold pesetas. Germany is still the biggest purchaser of Spain's exports, although its own exports to Spain have decreased slightly this year.—*Berlin short-wave broadcast to North America.*

Not Peace but a Sword

A woman who identified herself as an Indian spoke to India on the Rome radio on June 20 and interpreted General Wavell's appointment as Viceroy as a sign that India "has become too hot for the British." She said: "Prepare to forget the doctrine of non-violence which for so many years has made eunuchs and women of you. Today England, to keep you in subjection, puts a man of the sword on India's throne. You, my brothers, get rid of the spinning-wheel that has made you like women, and grasp the sword."

The same broadcast carried a Domei account of an interview in Tokyo with Subhas Chandra Bose, former Indian Congress Party leader, who has heretofore done his propagandizing from Berlin. Bose was quoted as saying that "civil disobedience cannot of itself expel the British government, which is supported by bayonets. We also must make use of bayonets." He "praised Hitler and Mussolini" for aiding Indian nationalists, Rome reported, and "stated that Tojo takes a deep interest in India."—C. B. S. *short-wave listening station.*

The Battle of the Ruhr

Although many workers in the west [of Germany] do not have beds of their own any longer, and have to find some sort of makeshift arrangement for getting their sleep, work is continuing. The wives of these workers are no longer able to prepare the meals for their families in their own kitchens. They eat in community kitchens, but work is continuing. Many shopkeepers have been bombed out, and wares are now sold in the open or are distributed by the party. The main thing, however, is that work is continuing. At night the inhabitants of the Ruhr spend many hours in their cellars while British and American bombers are circling overhead. After the raid is over, they put out the fires, dig up any neighbors who may be buried under the ruins of their houses, and clean up the streets. Next morning work is resumed as usual. That is the Battle of the Ruhr.—*Berlin short-wave broadcast to Asia.*

Axis Paradise

We in Axis countries are not wasting the energies of the nation with petty follies. We have no presidential or other elections; we have no personal ambitions of so-called political leaders; we have no party squabbles to sap the stamina of the country. We have no working classes which must fight against capitalist exploitation in order to obtain halfway decent living conditions. Our workers are not compelled to live in slums and are not forced to join anti-God leagues as they are in the Bolshevist paradise. The greatest psychological mistake made by our enemies is the so-called war of nerves. Threats do not work, and the accompanying bombing raids against our civilian population have aroused hatred and contempt for the enemy. As for the promises, every Italian remembers what happened to a victorious Italy after the last war. Every Italian knows that the promises made so lavishly at that time were never kept by the nations which were Italy's allies then and are its enemies today. He knows that if that happened to a victorious Italy, a defeated Italy would fare still worse.—*Rome short-wave broadcast to England.*

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

GRAHAM GREENE

BY MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

THERE was something about a fête which drew Arthur Rowe irresistibly . . . called him like innocence." We meet him in blitzed and gutted London, stumbling on a charity bazaar in a Bloomsbury square, a man alone and a murderer, but fearless because he has made a friend of his guilt: when he gave his wife the poison that released her from the suffering he pitied he did not ask her consent; "he could never tell whether she might not have preferred any sort of life to death." A fortune-teller slips him, mistakenly, the password by which he wins a cake in the bazaar's raffle. But there are others who want it and the thing concealed in its heart. Visited that night in his shabby room by a cripple, Rowe has barely tasted the hyoscine in his tea when out of a droning sky a bomb drops, explodes the house, and blows him and us into a dream of horrors—man-hunt, spies, sabotage, amnesia, murders, and suicides: the latest "entertainment" of Graham Greene.

We enter the familiar phantasm of our age, and Greene's expert evocation of it through eleven novels—of which "The Ministry of Fear" is the latest*—has justly won him the title of "the Auden of the modern thriller." Here again is the haunted England of *l'entre deux guerres,* the European nightmare of corruption and doom, a *Blick ins Chaos* where

> taut with apprehensive dreads
> The sleepless guests of Europe lay
> Wishing the centuries away,
> And the low mutter of their vows
> Went echoing through her haunted house,
> As on the verge of happening
> There crouched the presence of The Thing.

The fustian stage sets of Oppenheim, Chambers, and Wallace are gone with their earlier innocent day. We are in a cosmos whose fabulous realities have terribly condensed out of contemporary legend and prophecy—the portentous journalism of Tabouis, Thompson, Sheean, Gunther, and the apotheosis of foreign correspondence; the films of Lang, Murnau, Renoir, and Hitchcock; the Gothic fables of Ambler, Hammett, and Simenon; the putsches, pogroms, marches, and mobilizations that have mounted to catastrophe in the present moment of our lives. Its synthetic thrills and archaic brutality are ruses of melodrama no longer. Guilt pervades all life; all of us are trying to discover how we entered the nightmare, by what treachery we were betrayed to the howling storm of history. "Mother, please listen to me," cries Rowe to a mother who is dead; "I've killed my wife and the police want me." . . . "My little boy couldn't kill anyone":

> His mother smiled at him in a scared way but let him talk: he was the master of the dream now. He said, "I'm wanted for a murder I didn't do. People want to kill me because I know too much. I'm hiding underground, and up above the Germans are methodically smashing London to bits all round me. You remember St. Clements—the bells of St. Clements. They've smashed that—St. James's Piccadilly, the Burlington Arcade, Garland's Hotel where we stayed for the pantomime, Maples, and John Lewis. It sounds like a thriller, doesn't it?—but the thrillers are like life . . . it's what we've all made of the world since you died. I'm your little Arthur who wouldn't hurt a beetle and I'm a murderer too. The world has been remade by William Le Queux."

Every age has its aesthetic of crime and horror, its attempt to give form to its special psychic or neurotic climate. No age has imposed greater handicaps on the effort than ours. Crime has gone beyond Addison's "chink in the armor" of civilized society; it has become the symptom of a radical lesion in the stamina of humanity. The hot violence of the Elizabethans is as different from the cold brutality of Hitlerian Europe, the heroic sin in Aeschylus or Webster from the squalid and endemic degeneracy in Céline or Miller, the universal proportions of Greek or Shakespearean wrong from the calculating gratuity of Gide's aesthetic murderers, as the worth at which the individual life was held in those times from its worthlessness in ours. A criminal takes his dignity from his defiance of the intelligence or merit that surrounds him, from the test his act imposes on the human community. He becomes trivial when that measure is denied him. So the modern thriller is permitted its prodigies of contrivance and holocausts of death at the cost of becoming a bore. So movie audiences fidget restlessly through "Desert Victory," waiting to be overwhelmed by the edifying bilge of "Random Harvest." The thrill-habit, fed by novels, newsreels, and events, has competed successfully with gin, drugs, and aspirin, and doped the moral nerve of a generation.

The hardship this imposes on the artist is obvious. When felony, by becoming political, becomes impersonal; when the *acte gratuit* elicits not only secret but public heroism, its dramatist faces the baffling task of restoring to his readers their lost instinct of values, the sense of human worth. It is not enough that the thriller become psychic: Freudian behavior patterns have become as much an open commodity and stock property as spy rings and torture chambers were a generation ago. It must become moral as well.

The Victorian *frisson* of crime was all the choicer for the rigor of propriety and sentiment that hedged it in. Dickens's terrors are enhanced less by his rhetoric than by his coziness. The reversion to criminality in Dostoevski takes place in a ramifying hierarchy of authority—family life, social caste, political and religious bureaucracy, czarist militarism and repression. The horror of "The Turn of the Screw" is framed by the severest decorum, taste, and inhibition. James—like Conrad, Gide, and Mann—knew the enchantment of crime, but he also knew its artistic conditions. "Everything you may further do will be grist to my imaginative mill," he wrote

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* "The Ministry of Fear: An Entertainment," by Graham Greene. Viking Press. $2.50.

William Roughead in thanks for a book of the latter's criminal histories: "I'm not sure I enter into such matters best when they are very archaic or remote from our familiarities, for then the testimony to manners and morals is rather blurred for me by the *whole* barbarism. . . . The thrilling in the comparatively modern much appeals to me—for there the special manners and morals become queerly disclosed. . . . Then do go back to the dear old human and sociable murders and adulteries and forgeries in which we are so agreeably at home." The admonition might have served as the cue for Graham Greene's talent.

Greene, facing a "whole barbarism" equal to anything in history, has undertaken to redeem that dilapidation from the stupefying mechanism and inconsequence to which modern terrorism has reduced it. Arthur Calder-Marshall has rightly said in *Horizon* that "few living English novelists derive more material from the daily newspaper than Graham Greene." His *mise-en-scène* includes the Nazi underground and fifth column ("The Confidential Agent," "The Ministry of Fear"), organized Marxism torn by schisms and betrayals ("It's a Battlefield"), Kruger ("England Made Me"), Zaharoff ("This Gun for Hire"), the English race-track gangs ("Brighton Rock"), the Mexican church suppression ("The Labyrinthine Ways"), and his "Orient Express" is the same train we've traveled on from "Shanghai Express" to "Night Train" and "The Lady Vanishes." But where once —in James, Conrad, Dostoevski, Dickens, Defoe, or the Elizabethans—it was society, state, kingdom, world, or the universe itself that supplied the presiding order of law or justice, it is now the isolated, betrayed, and indestructible integrity of the individual life that furnishes that measure. Humanity, having contrived a world of mindless and psychotic brutality, reverts to the atom of the lonely man. Marked, hunted, Ishmaelite, or condemned, he may work for evil or for good, but it is his passion for moral identity that provides the nexus of values in a world that has reverted to anarchy. His lineage is familiar—Raskolnikov, Stavrogin, Mitya; Conrad's Jim, Heyst, and Razumov; Mann's Krull and Gide's Lafcadio; Hesse's Steppenwolf and, immediately, Kafka's K. He appears in every Greene novel—as hero in Drover, Dr. Czinner, the nameless D.; as pariah or renegade in Raven, Farrant, Rowe, and the whiskey priest of "The Labyrinthine Ways"; as the incarnation of pure malevolence in Pinkie, the boy gangster and murderer of "Brighton Rock."

The plot that involves him is fairly constant; "Brighton Rock" presents it in archetype. Its conflict rests on a basic dualism, saved from mere mechanism by Greene's fertility in invention and complex insight, but radical in its antithesis of forces. Pinkie is a believing Catholic, knows hell as a reality, and accepts his damnation; *corruptio optimi pessima* is the last faith left him to live or die by. Ida Arnold, the full-blown, life-loving tart whose casual lover the gang has killed, sets out to track him down: "unregenerate, a specimen of the 'natural man,' coarsely amiable, bestially kind, the most dangerous enemy to religion." She pursues him with ruthless and deadly intention, corners him, sees him killed. The boy is sped to his damnation and Ida triumphs. ("God doesn't mind a bit of human nature. . . . I know the difference between Right and Wrong.") The hostility is crucial; it appears in all Greene's mature books—Mather the detective against Raven the assassin ("This Gun for Hire"), the Inspector against Drover ("It's a Battlefield"), the Communist lieutenant of police, accompanied by the *mestizo* who acts as nemesis, against the hunted, shameless, renegade priest in "The Labyrinthine Ways," trailing his desecrated sanctity through the hovels and jungles of the Mexican state, yet persisting in his office of grace and so embracing the doom that pursues him. A recent critic in the *New Statesman* put the case clearly: "Mr. Greene is a Catholic, and his novel 'Brighton Rock' betrays a misanthropic, almost Jansenist, contempt for the virtues that do not spring from grace."

It is this grace that operates as the instrument which makes palpable its necessary enemy, Evil—and it is by the evil that materializes out of vice, crime, and nightmare in his books that Greene joins a distinguished company: the same evil works behind the psychic riddle in "The Turn of the Screw" and behind the squalid violence of Conrad's "The Secret Agent," that parent classic in this field of fiction, which appeared in 1907 and established the kind of novel that Greene and his generation have carried to such exorbitant lengths. To fix and objectify it, to extricate it from the relativity of abstractions—abstract justice, impersonal humanitarianism, pity, right and wrong, good and bad—is the ulterior motive of Greene's work. His pursuit of it carried him among the totems and horrors of coastal Africa, which he conjures in "Journey Without Maps"—his descent to the heart of darkness:

> It isn't a gain to have turned the witch or the masked secret dancer, the sense of supernatural evil, into the small human viciousness of the thin distinguished military gray head in Kensington Gardens with the soft lips and the eye which dwelt with dull luster on girls and boys of a certain age. . . . They are not, after all, so far from the central darkness. . . . When one sees to what unhappiness, to what peril of extinction centuries of cerebration have brought us, one sometimes has a curiosity to discover if one can from what we have come, to recall at which point we went astray.

(An echo sounds here from Eliot on Baudelaire:

> So far as we are human, what we do must be either evil or good; so far as we do evil or good we are human; and it is better, in a paradoxical way, to do evil than to do nothing: at least, we exist. It is true to say that the glory of man is his capacity for salvation; it is also true to say that his glory is his capacity for damnation. The worst that can be said of most of our malefactors, from statesmen to thieves, is that they are not men enough to be damned.)

Greene's progress in his task has not escaped the pitfalls of his compromise with popularity. His expert contrivance often descends to sleight-of-hand; the surrealism of his action and atmosphere easily results in efflorescences of sheer conjuring; the machinery of the thriller—chases, coincidences, exploding surprises—can collapse into demented catastrophe. And Greene drives his philosophical ambition hard. His plots flirt with absolutes—a kind of moral *vis inertiae*—of social and emotional realities that reappear in the stock humors to which his characters and their psychic pathology often reduce. His great gifts in dialogue, characterization, marginal commentary, and hallucinated scenery run frequently to exorbitance through the uncanny facility which is the danger of his special kind of brilliance.

But there is no question that a major purpose works behind his popular or cinematic effects. He uses horror for what it has signified in every age—Elizabethan, Gothic, romantic, or Victorian—as a medium for exploring the evasions, fears, and regressive panic that may drag us back from the ascendancy of reason or pride to infantilism and brutality, but must always, in any age, be met and faced if salvation is to miss the curse of presumption. "The abyss destroys; the abyss exalts; descend that you may be saved. The enemy we conquer is the enemy we embrace and love." The identity Greene's heroes pursue is the selfhood of a conscience implicated in the full mystery and terror of their natures; if the "destructive element" engulfs them, it is their resisting passion for a spiritual destiny that stains and brightens the flood. And it is because he sustains a dialectic between the oblivion of naturalism and the absolute tests of moral selfhood that Greene has brought about one of the most promising collaborations between realism and spirituality that have recently appeared in fiction, saving his work as much from the squashy hocus-pocus or mechanical contrivance of the common thriller as from the didactic sanctimony of conventional religiosity. In at least three of his books—"It's a Battlefield," "Brighton Rock," and "The Labyrinthine Ways"—he may claim the ancestry of James, Conrad, and Joyce, and the company of men like Kafka, Auden, and Mauriac. He stands at the threshold of major fiction, a searching, irresistible talent, and a true magician in the words and spells of authentic drama. He has found an instrument for probing the temper and tragedy of his age, the perversions and fears that have betrayed it, and the stricken weathers of its soul. It only remains for him to surmount its distractions and negative appeals more decisively to stand unrivaled as a novelist in the English generation to which history and his high gift of consciousness have committed him.

Architecture of Brazil

BRAZIL BUILDS: ARCHITECTURE NEW AND OLD, 1652-1942. By Philip L. Goodwin. Photographs by G. E. Kidder Smith. The Museum of Modern Art. $5.

AROUND 1930 Frank Lloyd Wright came back from Brazil speaking so extravagantly of Rio de Janeiro that no one paid much attention to him. In 1936 Le Corbusier was there, frankly fascinated by its problems and its possibilities. Lately people who listen to such interpreters of pan-American culture as Domingo Santa Cruz and Henríquez Ureña might have noted, without understanding it, the opinion that "in exploring the possibilities of the city and its architecture Brazil has gone even farther than North America." Now at last the Museum of Modern Art has made it possible for the average citizen to see what Brazil is building, and to judge what contribution it makes to "American" architecture.

A book on architecture is always more than a mere technical or aesthetic study; it is the evidence for cultural history. You can look at a square in Rio de Janeiro and read the story of Brazil, as a geologist reads the history of a mountain from its exposed strata. First came the Portuguese, bringing the long Mediterranean tradition, with its exotic overtones of Eastern empire. Thanks to them, Brazil can show a store of colonial architecture of extraordinary splendor and variety. Then there was Paris, the new Athens, which deposited opera house and presidential palace in the nineteenth century. And finally—always slower than one would expect—a new wind blowing down the continent brings a new architecture. For North Americans the interesting fact about this history is its similarity to our own. We have been hardly less colonial than the Brazilians, and the cultural succession of the mother-country, the classical tradition, nineteenth-century France, and finally the German and French reformers in architecture is unanimous.

What we like to think of as the American spirit, however, is an independent, creative experimentation with the possibilities of solving any particular problem. Not necessarily anti-traditional, a New World should yet take nothing for granted, seeking not novelty for its own sake but new forms, suitable to new materials, for new purposes. It is from this point of view that the new architecture in Brazil is striking. Rio de Janeiro, in its setting of fantastic beauty, is like no other city in the world. It has no frosts and no earthquakes; there is a fairly predictable rainfall; winds and breezes are pretty regular; and there is an intense tropical sun, whose angle is all but invariable. The enthusiasm and inventiveness with which the architects of Brazil have dealt with this particular set of conditions cannot be too highly praised. Their outdoor rooms and roofed gardens, the blank walls to the sun and free glass on the shady side, the galleries and loggias and open stairways are not merely handsome; they are comfortable. Two examples of this ingenuity stand out: the devices for interrupting direct sunlight—particularly on the Ministry of Education and Health or the Brazilian Press Building—and the Raul Vidal school at Niteroi, stilted up to leave the view and breeze open, with shaded passages and playgrounds below. For such achievements as these, one feels, not only reinforced concrete but the mind of man itself was intended.

It is only just to balance this enthusiasm by the observation that most of Brazil is still badly housed, that most of the country is without schools or hospitals of any sort, and that outside the few cities represented here functionalism has hardly been heard of. In short, the architects are ahead of the social planners; they ought to be set to work on small hospitals for provincial towns, day nurseries, community centers, and subsistence housing for the people who now live between banana thatch and bamboo floor. Brazil needs all these things desperately, needs them rather more than casinos and hotels. Looking at the new Ministry of Education and Health, however, one expects Brazil to proceed to these problems: one cannot but have faith in a country which produces such a public building instead of a Roman temple.

The fact that this is the first book in the three hundred years of our common history to give North Americans an idea of Brazilian architecture would, in itself, make this volume impressive. Here is the tangible evidence that there are other Americas worthy of our curiosity and our interest. Tables of statistics, anecdotes of travel, and the opinions of philosophers are all very well; but here you can see it with your own eyes. The Museum of Modern Art, Philip Goodwin, and Kidder Smith cannot be too warmly commended for the job they have done. Typographically, clarity has been somewhat sacrificed to a graceful solution of the bilingual problem—one finds oneself reading on through the English into the Portuguese repetition of the text. The text, to be sure, is on the shallow side, especially the historical section, which offers little to clarify our ignorance of Portuguese styles and terminology. But the photographs are of permanent value—well chosen, interesting in detail, and technically excellent. Once again the museum has demonstrated that a catalogue can be made both useful to the expert and a pleasure to the casual. To those of us who are interested in the other Americas it is a model of what might be done for every country below the Rio Grande.

ELIZABETH WILDER

The Confederate Command

LEE'S LIEUTENANTS: A STUDY IN COMMAND. Volume II: *CEDAR MOUNTAIN TO CHANCELLORSVILLE.* By Douglas Southall Freeman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.

DR. FREEMAN'S promised three volumes seem likely to become at least four, for in 712 pages he carries his story forward only ten months. In order to achieve his purpose of describing the deeds and weighing the military worth of Lee's principal subordinates he has found it impossible to avoid rewriting the history of the Army of Northern Virginia. But no student of the Civil War will complain, for if Dr. Freeman covers old ground he views it from a new angle and with a fresh eye. And while his treatment is minutely detailed, the weight of his scholarship is lightened by consistent good writing and a sense of humor.

In this volume Stonewall Jackson is again the outstanding figure. He was no longer conducting a semi-independent command but operating directly under the eye of Lee and proving that he could "work in harness." His judgment was not, Dr. Freeman shows, always unerring, but he grew in military stature up to the fatal moment in the Wilderness. His chief deficiency was in tact—a common failing among generals—and all Lee's firm diplomacy was needed to handle the long feud between him and Powell Hill. Dr. Freeman's account of this squabble is both full and fair.

After Jackson the most noteworthy of the leaders are perhaps Longstreet, Stuart, and Early, whose rising reputations we follow in this volume. But we are introduced, in addition, to a host of officers high and low, some of whom failed, and faded out of the picture, while others advanced rapidly to greater and greater responsibility. Constant attrition of the officer corps made for speedy promotion. After each great battle the commander-in-chief had the heavy task of finding new heads for divisions and brigades—a task made the more burdensome because he had to take into account state and professional rivalries as well as military qualities. After Sharpsburg, where three generals were killed and five incapacitated, there was "a crisis in command" which was solved with difficulty and only partial success. A few months later, when the Wilderness had taken its toll, the crisis was renewed, and in Dr. Freeman's words, "the end of the file was reached. . . . The school of combat did not graduate

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enough men to make good the casualties of instruction. Command, which had always been an adventure, became after Chancellorsville a gamble against lengthening odds." One wonders whether the *Wehrmacht's* very heavy losses in general officers during the past year are posing the same problem to the German high command.

The one serious complaint to be made against Dr. Freeman's work concerns its maps. True, there are plenty of them, but they might well have been fewer and better. For instance, there are as many as eleven illustrating various phases of the battles around Chancellorsville but none which makes clear the whole campaign and the relation of the different "fronts" to each other. In too many cases the maps give little or no information about the physical nature of the terrain and omit topographical features which are mentioned in the text as strategically significant. We can agree that the mapping of anything as fluid as a battle presents a difficult problem. Any attempt to show the disposition of troops must necessarily be a snapshot picturing merely one moment. But for this very reason the reader needs a really detailed map of the ground so that he can trace for himself the moves and counter-moves. KEITH HUTCHISON

Tomorrow's Problems

ECONOMIC FREEDOM: A DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM. By Charles E. Noyes. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

THE author of this book puts his finger on the burning problems of tomorrow and gets his finger slightly burned. He gives the impression of some awareness of discomfort, coupled with an admirable self-sacrifice and even bravery in coming out frankly with the most unpopular truths when he finds it necessary, as when he points out that any serious improvement in our distribution of income must come not from the very rich but from the comfortable middle classes. Even though fascinated by the efficiencies and advantages of planning, he warns against its dangers and makes abundantly clear that it is but a means for greater efficiency that can only too easily become an end in itself. He is concerned about the dangers of too great a centralization of authority and makes an earnest and convincing plea for greater interest in local government as an education essential for the fruitful working of real democracy.

He touches on all the most disturbing problems—the relation between free enterprise and democracy, the problems of money and credit, of private and public debt, of saving and investment, of management and government, and of international economic relations.

Throughout the treatment an economist—and perhaps it was a little unfair to give this book to an economist to review—feels that though the instincts are right the analysis is inadequate and the less general conclusions frequently incorrect. Thus not only is much of the orthodox economics under attack rather out of date, but the criticisms themselves are similarly dated and inconclusive. In combating the more extreme votaries of "sound finance," who would sacrifice prosperity to the principle of balancing the budget, the unwarranted concession is made that flexible prices would render "sound finance" innocuous. Although Mr. Noyes sees that the size of the national debt does not really matter, he concedes that the interest must be paid out of current taxes, not noticing that if the interest is borrowed the only effect is a greater national debt, which does not matter. Yet in spite of such inelegancies in the analysis the conclusions are very close to the "functional finance" that would result from a complete disregard of the traditional inhibitions.

Another example of inadequate analysis is the chapter on The Burden of Private Debt, in which private debt is blamed for all the evil effects of imperfect competition. It is proposed that private investors should be prevented from establishing perpetual claims on society and that this be achieved by enforcing the amortization of all investments in a corporation in, say, twenty years. Although there are good arguments in favor of some such provision—for example, the subjection of reinvestment to the test of the market, or the strengthening of the control by owners over managers—it is hard to see how such a measure would prevent permanent fortunes; rather it would handicap small fortunes as against large ones, which could hire experts to reinvest the released funds. This proposal seems to stem from an inadequate appreciation of the economic functions of capital and interest in a society which is not infinitely rich in capital. A related confusion appears when private enterprise is simultaneously accused of (a) too little investment out of tenderness for the capital values, belonging to the same corporation, that would be destroyed by the new investment, and (b) too much investment because of lack of concern for the capital values of other corporations, in the preservation of which capital values, it is wrongly claimed, society has a vested interest. An attempt to square this circle by a reference to the overbuilding of new war plants with government funds while the conversion of existing plants to war production was resisted raises other serious problems but does not resolve this contradiction.

Throughout the book the economist is irritated by an underestimation of the part played by the price mechanism in the efficient running of the economy and by a continual rejection of economics instead of an attempt to harness it to our social ideals. This is especially conspicuous in the proposal that international trade be handed over to international marketing organizations for the various commodities, with subsidies for imports and exports to enable high-wage countries to compete with low-wage countries. This seems to be based on a failure to see that a free movement of the foreign exchanges performs all these functions without the machinery of subsidies and commodity boards, with its inevitably accompanying political pressures, against which Mr. Noyes himself warns us.

But in spite of all these and many other annoyances, Mr. Noyes's more important conclusions are usually sound. Even though the economist is not satisfied with the economic analysis, in particular missing the urgently needed application of recent developments in the theory of employment and the theory of monopolistic or imperfect competition, and even though the political scientist and the specialist in administration problems may find fault with the way their special fields are treated, there remains the valuable emphasis on the coordination of all these fields; so that, as in the famous mystery of the influence of Marx, the whole is better than the parts. Mr. Noyes is to be commended for a recognition of the fundamental problems, for bravely groping toward their solution—with remarkable success, considering the somewhat unnecessary darkness—and for faithfully following his own precept to approach the problems "with a deep love for the dignity of human beings."

ABBA P. LERNER

Education on Post-War Problems

WARTIME FACTS AND POSTWAR PROBLEMS. A Study and Discussion Manual. Edited by Evans Clark. The Twentieth Century Fund. 50 cents.

TO DATE most post-war literature has been directed, consciously or unconsciously, to the small group of experts who are already in agreement on major policies. The much larger section of the general public that is most susceptible to isolationist propaganda has been neglected. Yet this is the group that was primarily responsible for the failure of the last peace and bears the closest watching today. It is they who are most in need both of information and of the regimen of orderly thinking on post-war issues. In an effort to meet this need the Twentieth Century Fund has prepared a brief handbook for use by discussion groups. The plan is somewhat novel. A short and rather "popular" summary of the "facts" on such questions as international relations, business, agriculture, labor, finance, health, housing, and education is accompanied by a series of questions designed to provoke thought and discussion and by running references to a comprehensive body of material readily available.

The text is very simply written, but the questions, unfortunately, seem to have been prepared with an eye rather to scholarly comprehensiveness than to the background of any of the groups likely to need such a discussion aid. Except for very superior groups, or groups with extraordinarily able leadership, the result is more likely to be a pooling of ignorance than fruitful discussion. One has the feeling that too many experts were consulted about the preparation of the book, and that the suggestions of all of them were incorporated without regard to the average person's capacity for assimilation. To cite but one example: readers are asked, "What kinds of demands for short- or long-term credit and investment . . . will come from other countries" after the war, and how these can be met? There is no hint of the significance of this question in terms that would mean anything to John Q. Citizen.

If the task of education for the post-war period is to be adequately carried out, materials will obviously have to be prepared for groups at many levels. It is natural that a start should be made at the top, and for groups at this level the Twentieth Century Fund manual will be extremely useful. But the time may be short, and it is to be hoped that someone is at work on a much simpler and more limited handbook for the average adult group. For a few simple truths driven into the minds of tens of thousands of men and women may be vastly more important in affecting post-war policy than a broader understanding limited to a few.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Art Notes

MODERN ARTISTS. At the Matisse Gallery, 41 East Fifty-seventh Street, until July 31.

This is an exhibition of little pictures by big names, little in more than one sense, for very few of these artists are at their best. Almost every well-known name is here. Picasso, Matisse, Modigliani have drawings; there are the familiar "Ascot Race Course" of Dufy and a Pascin water color of three Negroes called "New Orleans"; Laurens shows a conventionally boring female figure, Chagall an ugly crucifixion; Tamayo and Bores illustrate the darkness that is Mexico, while Marie Laurencin indicates the twilight that is hers. There is an interesting Roualt, "Standing Figure," less religious and royal than his usual subject, a Picasso-like Lam, and an enchanting Carrington, "La Dame Ovale." An unusually satisfactory Lurçat is "L'Arménienne." This is the silly summer season when galleries dust off their unsold pictures, lower the prices, and call it a retrospective exhibition of the past year. The Matisse Gallery is fortunate in having rather better pictures rather better hung than most.

OILS BY PERLS ARTISTS. At the Perls Gallery, 32 East Fifty-eighth Street, until July 31.

Darrel Austin's tiresome charm pervades this gallery as always. The first picture by Mr. Austin that one sees reveals a new and mysterious world of green marshes and jungles inhabited by large cats with enormous incandescent eyes; at the third or fourth picture his secret seems less of a mystery and more of a trick. After this it becomes, "Oh, yes, Darrel Austin." Most of the other artists in this show have the same wispy charm, only less of it—Carol Blanchard, Karl Priete, and Frederick Haucke, whose imagination is reinforced by a hideously solid technique. There is also a dull Utrillo, an early Vlaminck, and a small but fine Roualt.

JEAN CONNOLLY

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MUSIC

IT WAS in 1931 that Gershwin's Second Rhapsody, originally called "Rhapsody in Rivets," led me to reflect on the fallacious notion that since American life included jazz and riveting, the music which "expresses" this life also had to include them.

This led me to the Russian parallel. A review in the Moscow *News* of a Suite from Shostakovitch's "Golden Age" had criticized him for not "utilizing in the service of the revolution and socialist construction all the mastery and technique which have been inherited from the old musical culture" and for failing "to affirm Soviet musical ideology"; and the question arose, what precisely was meant by utilizing musical technique in the service of the revolution and socialist construction, or by affirming Soviet musical ideology? I could see how literature might serve the revolution and socialist construction by using them as its material—since it must refer to phenomena of the physical world; and I could see how a song might do so through its words, a ballet through its action. But not music, or at any rate not the music which conveyed only states of feeling, and which, since it did not refer to the physical world, did not contain within itself anything that could be socialistic or capitalistic. The one kind of music that did refer to the physical Russian scene was music like Mossolov's "Iron Foundry"; but this was hardly different from Honegger's "Pacific 231"; in addition it was unimportant, unsatisfying as music; and we were told by Sergei Radamsky that even the Russian workers did not like it because they heard enough noise in the factories. And Radamsky told us how the composer served socialist construction in symphonic works: he used an idiom that expressed "the Russian worker's and peasant's simplicity and directness in melody and rhythm," and in this way created "music for all and not for a few intellectuals." In other words, the worker and the peasant were not to be allowed to share the advantages of the intellectual and the artist; the intellectual and the artist were to be made to share the disadvantages of the worker and peasant.

This train of thought was brought back to my mind by Nicholas Nabokov's recent article on Shostakovitch, in *Harper's*. Nabokov tells us of his first impressions of Shostakovitch's early works—that they were skilful but not particularly new or imaginative; and of his fear, when he read the score of the First Symphony, that "this synthetic and retrospective score" signalized the approach of a period when "perhaps our demand that music be primarily good in quality, new in spirit and technique, original in outlook would be subordinated to such principles as absolute and immediate comprehensibility to large masses of people and fulfillment of an educational mission, political and social." And he tells us that his fear has been realized in Shostakovitch's development in the years since then, including the "two painful years of banishment from public life . . . years of 'inner self-criticism' (as the Soviet press calls it) during which he simplified his art still farther and *all* of his original musical thinking was definitely swallowed up by the 'service to the cause.' " This service has required, for example—and here Nabokov answers my original question—a "redundant, blatant, and unconvincing optimism" which takes the form of "excessive and very conventional use of major triads, tunes and cadences in major keys, all of them describing the glorious and victorious events of the present in the most emphatic and banal musical language (minor modes are used to describe the dark and gloomy days of the past)," and of "a verbose and brassy style which soon becomes dreary and monotonous." The music is now so obviously understandable that it "ceases to be an artistic language in which the adventurous human mind discovers new laws and new problems which it endeavors to solve in a new way," and that "after a while one begins to wonder if even the most uneducated masses will not soon tire of it."

I have heard it argued that the damage to Shostakovitch might be a price worth paying for the social gain in the increased musical literacy achieved by having him write on the level of understanding of the masses. I should say first of all that in my opinion Shostakovitch's is not a case of music which promised to develop into something good but was made bad by political pressures: it was bad and had in it the promise of continued badness; and the pressures only made it worse. But the case might have been that of a potential Bach or Beethoven or Mozart; for all we know a composer of that magnitude may have been ruined in Russia; and I contend that the musical literacy of the masses did not require any such sacrifice: if simple music was needed for simple minds and tastes there was more than enough of it available, and no need of making the best serious composers produce blatant banalities.

I have heard it argued also that it may be good for a composer to be compelled to write for an audience—any audience, even a mass audience. It is such schematizations that lead to the ideological ferocities of Russia during the past fifteen years. One begins, that is, with a streamlined schematization which has it that a composer must function in relation to an audience if he is to function well; instead of beginning with the mixed-up realities of how a composer produces valuable music or does not produce it, wins an audience with his music or does not win it. And one ends with attempting to get the composer to produce valuable music by placing him in a relation with an audience and compelling him to compose blatant banalities for it.

If one wanted a science like mathematical physics to exist for all and not for a few intellectuals one would accomplish this by educating workers and peasants to the point where they could understand the matters which an Einstein is concerned with, not by compelling him to concern himself only with what workers and peasants can understand. Or if one wanted to make the masses literate in the subject one would not set an Einstein to writing elementary texts for them. Nor would one think it might be good for him to have to do his thinking for an audience—any audience, even a mass audience.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Britain and India

Dear Sirs: Dr. Vambery, in *The Nation* of June 26, asks why the Indian parties do not make a proposal to the British government for an Indian settlement. That still does not answer my question why the British don't make a move to break the Indian deadlock. The Chinese government has urged Great Britain to make such a move. Our own Administration would welcome it because an Indian settlement would hasten the victory over Japan. Mr. Churchill remains adamant.

Indian moderates have attempted to mediate. But the Viceroy has refused their requests to see Gandhi and Nehru, the imprisoned Congress leaders, without whom, of course, no Indian compromise is possible. The British government has also blocked every effort at a Hindu-Moslem agreement. If Dr. Vambery will look up the *Herald Tribune* of May 28, he will find an Associated Press dispatch which says that Mr. Jinnah, the president of the Moslem League, had asked Gandhi to write to him from jail giving his views on a Hindu-Moslem understanding. The British government "today denied Mohandas K. Gandhi facilities to communicate by letter with Mohammed Ali Jinnah." This is only one of many instances.

The Indian parties are agreed on what they want. All Indian parties are committed to independence from Great Britain. They do not expect it during the war, and I do not advocate the departure of the British until after the war. But the Indian parties do not believe, in view of Churchill's statements and of British acts in India, that the British propose to free India after the war.

Dr. Vambery cannot prove that there will be civil war in India if the British leave. I could quote British experts on India now in this country who say privately that the Hindus and Moslems would unite if the British quit India. An imperialist government can divide a colony as long as it wishes. That is why Gandhi has been saying that there is no hope of solving the Hindu-Moslem problem until the British depart, and that the problem can speedily be solved when the British do depart.

Incidentally, suppose a seer had said to the American Founding Fathers: "You want independence for the thirteen colonies. But I warn you that there will be a civil war in 1861." What would the Fathers have replied? We had a civil war, Russia and China had civil wars. I think India can avoid a civil war if the outside world helps.

Dr. Vambery suggests that Ireland and South Africa enjoy more independence than many sovereign states. Yet large sections of the population in those countries want complete independence from England. India wants to be free. Perhaps all the Latin American republics would be better off inside the United States. Does Vambery want us to annex them? India is a poor, oppressed colony and there is plenty of concrete evidence to show that the British have hampered the economic and educational progress of India. It is wrong to compare the British dominions with India. The dominions are white. The British treat Indians as colored inferiors. The Indians unanimously dislike it.

What right has England to rule India? LOUIS FISCHER

New York, June 25

Wanted: Good Teachers

Dear Sirs: The teapot tempest stirred by the New York *Times* history survey has so far left the real problem untouched. The contentions of both the *Times* and its critics are partly true, but largely irrelevant. On the one hand, the questions were none too well chosen, and many students obviously spoofed their examiners. On the other, it is indisputable that most college freshmen, and upperclassmen, are grossly ignorant not only of American history but of the whole social structure framed and inhabited by civilized man. But progressive education is not the issue, whatever may be its merits or defects.

Anyone who has seen America's educational system from the inside will not be surprised—and only therefore not appalled—at a report by Drew Middleton in the New York *Times Magazine* for May 2 revealing the provincialism and thoughtlessness of American soldiers in North Africa. Many must be high-school graduates, at least; yet except for some higher officers Mr. Middleton found them not only uninformed but indifferent about the issues for which they fight and die. A vague antipathy toward the British, until cured by experience, a vague benevolence toward the "lesser breeds" (including the "German people" as somehow mysteriously distinct from the Nazis), an intellectual curiosity satisfied by sports pages and comic strips, a clear-cut desire to beat the enemy physically and then go home and forget the whole thing—this is the mental equipment of America's fighting men. This is the result of our boasted system of education. Obviously it is not the result specifically of ignorance of American history, but quite as obviously it is a related phenomenon.

This phenomenon is doubtless agreeable to the Stone Age mentality of Colonel McCormick and other isolationists. But thoughtful Americans find it ominous and would like to know the cause. Progressive educators blame the rigidity, compartmentalism, emphasis on uninterpreted facts, and use of mechanical drill that are alleged to characterize the traditional system, which, they add, still dominates the nation's schools. Traditionalists blame the lack of discipline, the contempt for the past, the uncritical enthusiasm for abstract ideals and impossible reforms that are supposed to prevail in progressive schools. Specifically, it is charged in the current controversy that there has been a widespread substitution of "social studies" for history; and that the result is usually an indigestible hash of economics, sociology, psychology, and political science—a mélange that not one teacher in a hundred is equipped to teach and not one student in a thousand able to assimilate.

The sad fact is that the charges of each party against the other seem partially valid, while the claim of either to positive achievement remains unproved. I taught for some years at an Eastern college which drew many of its students from the old-line New England preparatory schools and many others from the extreme progressive schools of the Chicago area. Both groups were equally well—or ill—informed; both were equal in intellectual initiative—or lack of it. The truth is that the failure of American education is a failure not in method but in personnel; the lack is not of good teaching but of good *teachers.*

Of course it would be absurdly unfair to offer a blanket indictment or to imply that most of those who are failing are not doing the best they can. But their best is obviously not good enough. Why?

First, the country's best minds and most compelling personalities do not go into teaching. There is bitter truth in Shaw's jest: "Those who can, do. Those who can't, teach." The general attitude of college students and professors is that those who cannot meet the competition in medicine or engineering or business administration or scientific research of various sorts can always enter secondary-school teaching. It is a notorious fact that students in teachers' colleges and schools of education are generally inferior mentally to those in other fields. The better students prepare to do things; the poorer students prepare to teach.

The schools and colleges that profess to prepare them can be fairly blamed for partly causing and greatly aggravating this sorry state of affairs. Yet to some extent they can also be excused. Faced with the task of providing an immense number of teachers for a rapidly expanding secondary-school system, overawed by technological triumphs and by the equally formidable if less spectacular achievements of "scholarship," they assumed that there is a comparable technique for teaching and for training teachers; that education is a science and not an art, a technique and not a calling. How was it to be expected that the sponsors of this new "science," themselves mediocre and faced with a vast influx of mediocrity; aware, too, of the distrust or contempt of their academic colleagues, of men of science, and of men of affairs—that they should not seek to conceal and deny, rather than confront and try to deal with, the lack of talent among their students, the lack among themselves of anything to teach? What more natural than that they should take refuge in an unintelligible jargon, in pretensions to scientific measurement and correlation of abstractions and imponderables, in violent attacks on traditional philosophies based on a *qualitative* conception of human life and character?

For the fact is that with all its professed reverence for "personality" the new education regards that personality as essentially a product of machinery. Put prospective teachers through courses in child psychology, mental tests, and teaching "methods"—teach them how to teach!—and our educational problem is solved. It does not matter that all the qualities of character that make for good teaching—tact, tolerance, patience, kindness, self-forgetfulness, a union of common sense with imagination—are stultified rather than stimulated by this mechanical approach. It does not matter that the courses in history and literature and genuine science that might help to develop these qualities are crowded out by required courses in "education" that are generally so senseless and futile that the best students refuse to submit to them.

Not that the other college courses are always well taught. The dulness, the pedantry, the smugness, the circumspection, the petty vanity that characterize a shocking proportion of college faculty members in all fields offer little aid or inspiration to students who might be inclined to look on a teaching career as something more than a meal ticket.

The real villain of the piece is of course an unenlightened and indifferent public. While making material wealth our measure of success, we refuse to pay our teachers adequate salaries. While professing to believe in "free enterprise" and the Bill of Rights, we stifle all intellectual enterprise in our teachers by forcing them to conform in word and act to local and often absurd *mores* and political and social creeds—and when we try to protect them, we set up a system of tenure that offers perfect shelter for the dull or idle or uninspired. While priding ourselves on our hard-headed practicality, we have turned over our school system to the guidance of people who believe in the astounding fantasy that education is primarily a matter of method. And finally, fervently desiring for our children a happier and fuller existence in a better world than ours, we set an example in our private lives of selfishness, aimlessness, and triviality and leave entirely to our bewildered and overburdened teachers the task of making from these children informed, alert, altruistic, and morally responsible men and women.

These are a few of the problems facing American education. Compulsory courses in American history will not solve them.

ELLSWORTH BARNARD

Alfred, New York, June 10

Voice from the Deep South

Dear Sirs: In a recent issue of your magazine whose name *claims* a national appeal, you reported the exclamations of a sailor observing the bickerings of the House over the passage of the Marcantonio Anti-Poll-Tax bill. May I correct the sailor? It's not the Civil War that reoccurs—it's that twelve-year term of Northern barbarism and legislation closely akin to present-day Nazi atrocities and brutal treatment of conquered nations, then known as Reconstruction. Not only was this the bitterest potion ever forced upon a bleeding South and a bondage, tyranny, and exploitation unequaled by the Allied demands at Versailles, but it was a sin and blotch so black that the North ought to have hidden its wicked face when, after the downfall of such vultures as Thaddeus Stevens and that lawless gang whose brothers were at the same time the carpetbaggers down here, its brutality had been realized. No doubt that injustice has never been fully revealed. Yet I leave you these truths to search out in such articles as A. R. Moore's One Hundred Years of Reconstruction in the May issue of the *Journal of Southern History.* Of course you who in your "egocentric sectionalism" consider the North the whole nation will shriek prejudice—but consider your own "narrowisms," first, if you please.

But that is not the main point. The whip that incites any true Southerner to boiling fury is that d—— Yankee ignorant howling: "Liberate the poor uneducated masses of blacks and whites from the arrogant heel of lazy Southerners." Bah! Evidently you have been fed on a "wholesome" diet of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," probably the worst-written and most infamous book ever published (by *such* a person with *such* romanticism). O ye heavens! If you only knew how we must keep peace as we do! We recognize the problem, and those who are more progressive must strive to balance the passionate hatred of some of our own people for our less fortunate brothers. But, please, let us do it! You don't know—you can *never* know until you have had to shape from a Yankee-dominated government of seventy years ago a livable and decent social order. Look what you gave us to build from! Everything—our homes, our fortunes, if any—in ruins; our social order convulsed into a madman's inferno. Only when you who have not lived here understand these things by experience will you be more considerate.

Let us now play "Dixie"!

J. W. SMITH, JR.

Clarksdale, Miss., June 10

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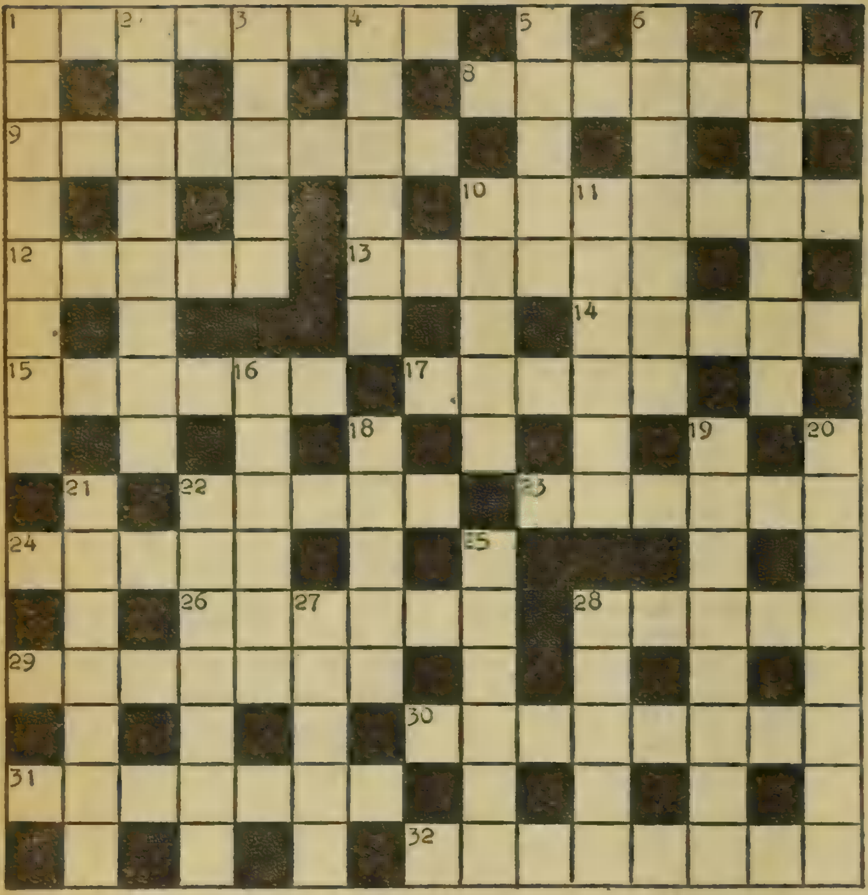
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 20

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Do they cause a man to weigh his words?
8 It is not what it was since Japan entered the war
9 European who upsets one saint
10 Our coasts are suffering from it
12 Truly this is difficult for the inebriate to say
13 Here you get very wise in stages
14 Turkish decree, I dare say
15 The man behind the gun
17 Fight between me and an American general
22 Every rag on your back hides this
23 Attack a donkey and suffer
24 Invariably produces an effect
26 The poet's lamentation, but the lawyer's charge
28 This fight sounds rather like peace
29 Was the lecturer who lost his speech suffering from this?
30 Same again—it's good for the digestion
31 What panaceas cure (two words, 3 and 4)
32 Part of a house as is set in cement

DOWN

1 Beast and era convey one way to go abroad
2 This is not pushful and I'm accustomed to it about eleven
3 Punitive
4 L-shaped recess? Let it pass
5 Pearl's mother in the middle of an eleven-acre field
6 Spanish piece of eight
7 When taken no notice of a French department is thoroughly upset
10 You can't get the bird without a certain amount of regret
11 Is sore (anag.)
16 Have you ever eaten them on horseback?
18 The "richest jewel in the British Crown"
19 Canada thought of this game first
20 If you cut off its head you're not removing it from the trunk
21 His exercise is swimming, followed by leap-frog
22 She had an affair with Socrates, vamped Pericles, started the Peloponnesian War, then called it a day
25 Layers, but not of eggs
27 "- - - - - altar hymn," as Simple Susie wrote of the boy she proposed to marry
28 Horses are credited with a special brand of it

◆

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 CAULIFLOWER; [illegible] HAIR; 10 NURSE; 11 DARN; 12 GONE BAD; 13 ASCRIBE; 15 NEW BROOM; 16 AVERSE; 18 MUSEUM; 21 SASH CORD; 24 ELECTRO; [illegible] LUMP SUM; 28 EGAD; 29 INAPT; 30 ITEM; 31 AT A LOOSE END.

DOWN:—2 AGREEABLE; 3 LONG AGO; 4 FORT; 5 OVERSEA; [illegible] EIDER; 7 TAGORE; 8 EREBUS; 14 SMASH; 17 EXCEPTION; 19 ULLAGE; 20 MARTIAL; 22 SCUTTLE; 23 ROUSED; 25 CADET; 27 CATO.

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The Shape of Things

THE MASSIVE GERMAN ATTACK IN THE Orel-Belgorod sector may prove to have only limited objectives but there is good reason to believe that the long-delayed summer offensive has been launched. Although the Nazis reverted to Blitz tactics, pouring in a tremendous armored force without artillery preparation, the Red Army was not caught napping. It had fully anticipated an assault in just this part of the front and its gunners showed their alertness and skill by killing off enemy tanks in huge numbers. The Russian communique admits, however, that the Germans effected some small penetrations, and as we go to press news comes of an extension of the fighting along a 200-mile front. The immediate Nazi aim would appear to be the nipping off of the big salient held by the Russians between Orel and Belgorod; their larger hopes, as Donald W. Mitchell suggests in an article on page 36, may be to capture Voronezh—the key city they were never able to occupy fully last summer—and then to swing north against Moscow. Hitler's armies on the eastern front are still formidable, but we are confident that the Russians, even if forced to give ground, will not crack. Nevertheless, once it is certain that the Germans are committed to an eastern offensive, swift action in the west becomes imperative. For apart from the importance of relieving the pressure on Russia, we now have a chance to force the Axis to split its strength. Recent reports suggest that Germany has, after all, decided to aid in the defense of Italy. This will make the immediate task of invading Sicily more difficult but it is good news, nevertheless, for Italy can prove an even more exhausting vacuum for Germany than was Tunisia. But for the time being Germany could probably handle a Mediterranean attack without reducing its strength in Russia. To take full advantage of the present opportunity we need to open a front in western Europe as well.

*

THE BEST NEWS MR. CHURCHILL WAS ABLE to give in his Guildhall speech was that of the striking defeat suffered by the U-boats in the North Atlantic during the past two months. The Germans have been counting heavily on their submarines to stave off disaster, for these are the last remaining offensive weapon that can

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be employed against growing Anglo-American power. Earlier in the year our shipping losses were very heavy and German boasts of the effectiveness of the under-sea blockade seemed altogether too well founded. But new tactics and weapons, wielded by a new combined command in the North Atlantic, have since proved their worth. Working in unison, planes, patrol boats, destroyers and other warships have overcome the massed attacks of the submarine "wolf-packs." In May between thirty and forty were sunk. The much bombed German shipyards and factories can hardly build replacements to match such losses, and the problem of providing trained crews is likely to become acute if we can maintain the pace. Reports of a mutiny of U-boat sailors in Norway must be treated with reserve but we do not forget that in the last war the morale of the German navy started to crack in the submarine division. The Nazis have frankly admitted that the tonnage of allied shipping sunk in June was the smallest for any month since the war started but they claim that the setback is only temporary and that the U-boats will soon be achieving new successes.

* * *

IN THE DIPLOMATIC WAR BETWEEN THE United States and the Fighting French—which is rapidly turning into a war between the United States and the French people—the most important recent maneuver is the visit of General Giraud to Washington. To invite Giraud rather than De Gaulle was to underline our government's support of the status quo in North Africa and its determined opposition to the changes demanded by the Fighting French. It was a deliberate insult to De Gaulle, the more flagrant when one recalls that several times in recent months a trip to this country was projected by the Fighting French leader and at the last moment "postponed" at the request of the State Department. The effect of American behavior is proving to be exactly what we predicted last week. All reports agree that anti-American feeling in North Africa is rising; it may easily reach the point of public demonstration or even of explosion. And the bitterness of Frenchmen there is echoed in every group of free Europeans here and in England. But European democrats have been losing faith in American intentions so fast that our policy in Africa does little more than confirm their worst fears.

* * *

A MORE OMINOUS CHANGE IS THE GROWING feeling against Britain. No longer is the Churchill government looked upon as the defender of a free Europe. The Prime Minister's unqualified indorsement of American policy, expressed in action as well as in his speech last Thursday, has generated resentment both among the governments in exile and democrats from occupied and enemy countries. They see the future of their own lands reflected in the Anglo-American attitude toward France, and what they see weakens their confidence in Britain as well as the United States. What pressure, they ask, induced Churchill to repudiate his close relationship with De Gaulle? What price did America pay for Britain's support? How many other bargains affecting the future of Europe are in the making? In this mood of gloom and suspicion it is not impossible that the hopes of the peoples of Europe will crystallize more and more around the figure of De Gaulle, whose resistance to the overbearing interference of the United States and Britain has contributed as much to his growing prestige as his unbending patriotism and his refusal to make deals with traitors and fascists. Such a division in the Allied ranks would be tragic. If it comes about it will be the work of the apostles of "expediency"—from President Roosevelt down.

* * *

THE GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-TRUST SUIT against the Associated Press has put that organization under the painful necessity of showering the United Press with bouquets. Many of the seventy-seven affidavits the A. P. has filed in opposition to the government's motion for a summary judgment in the case are, in effect, testimonials to the efficiency of its chief rival and modest disclaimers of outstanding merit on its own part. This bashfulness is intended to offset the Attorney General's contention that denial of A. P. service to any paper is a substantial competitive handicap. Not at all, the A. P. retorts; any paper able to secure U. P. service can get along very well without our help. It would be unkind, perhaps, to recall the stress the A. P.'s past publicity laid on its "superior performance in all categories of the news." But we cannot resist pointing out that another group of affidavits bearing on the question of the value of A. P. memberships are at variance with its shy deprecation of talk about its "indispensability." Statements furnished by several experts, for instance, testify that the amount which an applicant must pay under the new by-laws to existing members in his field is less than the true value. In Baltimore, according to Paul Patterson, president of the company which publishes the ***Sun*** papers, a morning membership is worth at least $175,000 and an evening one $150,000 or more. It is difficult to see why memberships in the A. P. should be valued at such amounts, which, of course, are in addition to cash assessments paid weekly for actual service, if in fact they do not confer a competitive advantage.

* * *

THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF THE SMALLER War Plants Corporation was to take prime contracts from war agencies and subcontract them to smaller business men. The latest report of the SWPC, as submitted to the White House by WPB Chairman Donald M. Nelson, shows how little progress the corporation has made along these lines, though it is already more than a year old. In that time it has taken three prime contracts. One is to build an $85,000 experimental barge for the Army Engineering Corps. The second is to make $500,000 worth of reamers and arbors for the navy. The third—the only substantial one—is a $1,500,000 special contract for a group of thirty-one wood and metal furniture firms. It is significant that this contract was taken not from a war agency, but from the Federal Public Housing Authority, and that it calls not for war production but for furniture. Obviously the armed services are as hostile as ever to this scheme for parceling out war work among smaller firms, as is Nelson himself. The compromise by which the SWPC was placed under Nelson has succeeded, as we predicted at the time, in destroying most of its potentialities for good. Small business is still largely dependent on the bounty of big, which continues to subcontract according to its convenience. This convenience, now as before, is not synonymous with the best interests of war production.

*

WE MUST ADMIT THAT WE ARE FASCINATED by the attitudes and methods of James C. Petrillo. We can't believe for a moment that he will in the end be allowed to abolish the transcription business—which he is frank to say has nothing to give him—in order to "get at" the radio stations which use the transcriptions. Yet his ban on recording, issued last August, still stands, and he says he is not interested in negotiation. Petrillo's basic idea of replacing every "juke-box" with a live musician seems to us about as practical and desirable as Don Quixote's desire to restore medieval chivalry. But whereas Don Quixote fought the windmills in vain, Petrillo has actually succeeded in "stopping the discs." Petrillo is clearly inviting Congressional action; he is also steadily enlisting public opinion on the side of those, in and out of Congress, who are always waiting for an excuse to attack labor unions.

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THE DETROIT RIOTS WERE GOOD NEWS TO the commentators of the Axis, who have had rather poor pickings lately as far as the war itself is concerned. The Japanese were able to tell their vast audience throughout Asia that "Americans are giving vent to their psychopathic race prejudice by hunting down innocent Negroes as they would hunt down wild beasts." The Tokyo radio quoted an editorial in the Nippon *Times* which asserted that "it is a singular fact that supposedly civilized Americans in normal times will deny Negroes the right to live in decent neighborhoods, deny them opportunity to engage in respectable jobs, deny them right or access to the same restaurant, theater, or train accommodations as themselves, and then periodically will run amok to lynch Negroes individually or to slaughter them wholesale—old men and children alike—in race wars like the present one." The French heard from their German-controlled radio that the Detroit affair was "proof of the internal disorganization of a country torn by social injustice, race hatreds, regional disputes, the violence of the irritated proletariat, of a capitalistic police whose gangsterism has often been mentioned in American literature and movies. . . . Today, on the morrow of the bloody incidents of Detroit, the French people, imbued with a sense of social justice, realize the dangers for world civilization inherent in the American aims of world domination." Is there anyone who still believes that race relations in this country are merely a domestic problem of which the solution can be deferred until the war is won?

The Case for Subsidies

THERE are three major problems to be solved with regard to our war-time food supply: How to grow enough to supply the armed forces, meet lend-lease obligations, and provide a healthy diet for civilians. How to distribute supplies fairly so that all groups in all parts of the country obtain their fair share. How to maintain prices at a level which will enable the anti-inflation line to be held.

The special task of the War Food Administration is to solve the first of these problems but Mr. Chester Davis, who has just resigned as head of that agency, took the view that in order to make sure of production he would have to exercise authority over prices and rationing. Moreover, it was clear that he leaned toward the farm-bloc's thesis that the only way to guarantee that the necessary food would be grown was to increase the incentive of the producer by letting prices rise. But as guardian of consumer interests, the OPA was bound to oppose this policy and so too was the Director of Economic Stabilization, Fred M. Vinson, who in addition to acting as umpire between the WFA and the OPA, is responsible for seeing that inflation is held in check. In line with that duty he has recently vetoed a very moderate wage increase for the lower paid railroad workers. He could hardly turn round and authorize the slipping of the leash on farm prices. For the line which the President has ordered held is already bent and will undoubtedly snap if the cost of living is allowed to advance much farther.

Must we then choose between inflation and short supplies? The subsidy program is an attempt to meet this dilemma by giving the farmers a bigger incentive to produce without making the consumer pay the cost directly. Opponents of the plan argue that subsidies merely push the burden from the citizen as consumer

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to the citizen as taxpayer and are no less inflationary than higher prices. There is an element of truth in this assertion although actually the effect of subsidies is to bring on the disease in a mild and controllable form. For a dollar injected into the system in this way may be the means of saving several dollars. If food processors raise their bid to growers under the ordinary rules of supply and demand the increase in price will snowball en route to the housewife's basket as each factor in distribution adds on his percentage margin. So that the final cost to the consumer is far greater than the added compensation to the producer. On the other hand, if the processor is given a subsidy in order to pay a better price to the farmer, his actual cost basis is not disturbed nor is that of the distributors through whom his product reaches the public.

Again, as the President pointed out in his message vetoing the C. C. C. bill with its riders hamstringing the Administration's food program, any appreciable increase in the cost of living, which is already 8 per cent higher than in May, 1942—the point at which the "Little Steel" formula was promulgated—will inevitably mean a rise in wage costs. An overall wage increase of 10 per cent would, he estimated, result in a 4½ per cent increase in the general price level and, as the government is now spending approximately $100 billion a year, this would add about $4½ billion to war costs. If, therefore, retail food prices can be stabilized and "the line" held by spending one or two billion dollars, the net saving to the taxpayer will be very considerable.

In its opposition to subsidies the Farm Bloc, which has never been adverse to interfering with the laws of supply and demand in a buyers' market, came out as the champion of laisser faire, though not, of course, to the extent of abolishing the parity price concept or abandoning crop loans. Yet everyone else agrees that in conditions of total war we cannot leave the economy to the mercy of supply and demand. What would be the price of steel if we did, or of copper or the wages of skilled mechanics? Government control is essential and it cannot be confined to certain sectors while others go untrammelled.

The great value of subsidies in a controlled economy is that they introduce a flexible element into a structure which otherwise would be too rigid. They make it possible for the government to provide incentives where they are required to stimulate extra production without risking repercussions which would upset the balance. In some cases the Food Administrator can use subsidies to underwrite "support prices" announced in advance of the planting or breeding season, so that the farmer knows in advance what minimum return he may expect. In other cases it may seem advisable for the government to buy the whole crop for resale at a loss so that wholesale and retail ceilings are not disturbed.

But if the Administration is to employ this kind of strategy successfully its hands must be left tolerably free so that it can adapt its plans to changing conditions. We hope, therefore, that as the House has sustained the President's veto of the C. C. C. bill and agreed to extend the agency's life through next January 31, the Senate will not waste time attempting to tailor a new strait-jacket for the executive.

The Pacific Offensive

FOR a public anxiously awaiting news of the invasion of Europe, the American offensive in the Southwest Pacific, successful as it seems, has been somewhat disappointing. Although the coordinated land, sea, and air operations may exceed in size and scope anything previously undertaken by the United Nations in the Pacific, they seem to imply a resumption of the slow, costly process of island-hopping which we were assured had been ruled out as the basis of Allied strategy. The capture of such minute islands as Rendova, New Georgia, Woodlark, and the Trobriand group is obviously not going to have much effect on the outcome of the Pacific struggle.

But the very fact that a campaign led by MacArthur, an outspoken foe of the island-by-island strategy, starts with such minor objectives suggests that the new campaign may be part of something much bigger, the nature of which is yet to be revealed. What it is can only be a matter for speculation. The renewal of heavy air attacks on Kiska suggests that a landing on the last Japanese outpost in the Aleutians may not be far off. But if this is the beginning of the long-promised offensive against Japan, the final objective is unlikely to be the capture of outposts such as Kiska, the Solomons, or even Rabaul. It would seem more probable that attacks on the extreme south and extreme north of Japan's elongated defense lines would have as their purpose the drawing of Japanese forces toward the flanks in preparation for a powerful blow at some more crucial point near the center.

There are several vulnerable points. The Chinese have recently shown unexpected strength in minor offensives in the Rice Bowl district of the upper Yangtze and in the Hangchow area south of Shanghai. The activities around Hangchow particularly bear watching. If the Chinese succeed in clearing this region, air bases could be prepared within easy bomber range of the chief Japanese industrial centers. The United Nations already have some air bases in Chekiang province 150 to 200 miles west of Hangchow, and the Tokyo radio recently asserted that American air bases had been established in Fukien province to the south. Liberator bombers, now in China, might attack Japan from any of these points.

Another and more likely spot for a major United Nations offensive is the Burma-Thailand area. Such a drive was widely discussed at the time of Prime Minister Churchill's recent visit to Washington. While a major offensive against Burma would presumably have to await the end of the present monsoon season, landings might be made in Thailand somewhat earlier, thus cutting off the Japanese in Burma.

A third possibility for a strong blow against Japan would be directly across the Pacific from Pearl Harbor and Midway. The first step in such a drive would presumably be the reoccupation of Wake Island, followed by attacks on Saipan, Rota, Guam, and the Bonin Islands. Many observers feel that this must be the route of the final onslaught on Japan, but it cannot be launched until the United States has unquestioned naval supremacy, particularly in battleships and aircraft carriers. Recent reports, however, indicate a tremendous strengthening of the Pacific fleet, and it is possible that we are ready for at least the initial steps of such a drive.

The launching of a sudden and rather unexpected Pacific offensive at this time has raised a question in many minds—including those of the enemy—as to whether the main 1943 drive is to be against Japan rather than Germany. Churchill's Guildhall speech seemed to imply this when he refrained from promising an invasion of Europe this summer. The renewal of second-front demands from Moscow points in the same direction. The tremendous emphasis being placed on air attacks over Germany and Italy suggests that for this summer the Allies are going to test the theory that the Axis can be knocked out by air power alone. But this again is pure guesswork. The attack in the Southwest Pacific might easily be intended to cover up preparations for a major offensive against Europe. Churchill was obviously not intending to give out any military information when he refrained from specifying an attack on Europe. His promise of "heavy fighting in the Mediterranean and elsewhere before the leaves of autumn fall" may well have been made primarily to confuse the enemy.

Whether the present Pacific offensive is the beginning of major action against Japan or a subsidiary action intended to confuse the enemy will probably not be apparent for some weeks. But the hard facts of the situation would seem to demand important action against both Japan and Germany this summer. Reliable reports from the conquered areas of the Pacific say that the Japanese are making remarkable progress in consolidating their conquests, both politically and militarily. They are still unable to make full use of the vast natural resources of the Indies, Burma, Indo-China, and China proper, but their industrial potential has grown tremendously within the past year. Information regarding Germany's war potential is more difficult to get. But the most dependable reports indicate that despite the bombings Germany is succeeding in strengthening the defensive capacities of the European Fortress each month. And unless invasion comes soon, Germany will have the full use of one of the best harvests since the war began. Sound strategy demands offensive action in both Europe and Asia. The fact that so much time has been taken in preparation may be due to slackness or over-caution—or it may be a sign that something big is brewing.

Education, Limited

WHILE grandiose plans go forward for the reeducation of Europe, and the New York *Times* continues to bewail the inability of freshmen to identify James K. Polk, little is being done to remedy the desperate situation of American education. The National Education Association, meeting at Indianapolis, heard a report from Dr. Alonzo F. Myers which substantiates all that a few lonely figures like Senator Thomas of Utah have been trying to tell Congress. Dr. Myers, who is chairman of the N. E. A.'s commission for the defense of democracy through education, said that more than 100,000 rural teachers left their jobs between May and October last year. Thousands of these teachers, Dr. Myers said, are working for less than $600 a year. "Even morons can earn more than twice that amount today."

The difficulty, as Dr. George D. Strayer of Teachers College pointed out, is that there are many areas, notably in the South, where state and local resources are inadequate to maintain minimum standards of education. The only hope for such areas lies in the $300,000,000 federal-aid-to-education bill, which has been bogged down in Congress since 1937. Though Senator Thomas and other supporters of the measure have been able to show its vital relationship to the war effort—enough men for fifteen divisions have been found too nearly illiterate to serve in the army—there seems to be as little interest in the measure this year as in previous years.

The problem is not merely one of eradicating illiteracy but of providing a larger background of technical competence and scientific training for a war in which success depends more than ever before on technological efficiency. Despite the war, one finds in education as in other fields the old conflict between those who wish to maintain scarcity and those who want an all-out effort. The former are still concerned with having "too many doctors, lawyers, and engineers," and betray a general hostility to the enlightenment of the common man. The others not only see current shortages of doctors, lawyers, and engineers but are willing to face the task of building a new society in which there will be as much use for skilled minds and hands for the pursuits of peace as there are today for those of war.

Why Wallace Spoke Out

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 2

LET no one call Henry Wallace an ineffectual dreamer. He has just won his second victory in six months over Jesse Jones. In this town, which worships "toughness" but usually mistakes the loud-mouthed for the strong, that is an achievement. For no other single figure here, unless it be the President himself, wields more political power than the arrogant banker from Houston, Texas. Last December Wallace went before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and persuaded it to abandon an amendment which would have restored Jones's power over the purchase of critical materials abroad. Danaher of Connecticut carried the ball for Jesse then, but "Don't call it my amendment" was Danaher's aggrieved comment after the hearing. This time Jones's tool was McKellar of Tennessee, with an amendment which would have given the RFC a veto over purchases by the Board of Economic Warfare. The Senate Appropriations Committee decided to abandon the amendment after the Vice-President let loose with a scorcher.

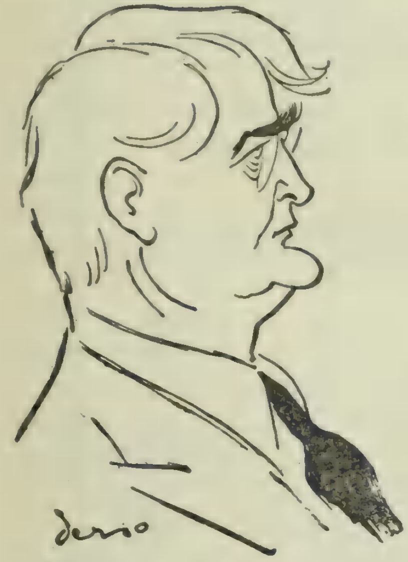
McKellar opened his campaign with a pathetic picture. "Mr. Jesse Jones," he said to the Senate on June 4, "testified a day or two ago before the so-called Economy Committee that Mr. Milo Perkins absolutely ran the entire establishment of 2,620 employees; that his word was law, even over him, Mr. Jesse Jones. . . ." The establishment referred to was the Board of Economic Warfare. The despotism, were it but true, would call for bell-ringing. Until now, nobody's word has been law for Jesse Jones, except perhaps that of a second vice-president of Standard Oil, Aluminum Company of America, or Bethlehem Steel. If it were not necessary for *someone* to obey the White House injunction against intra-Administration feuding, the President might have been lambasting him publicly long ago.

It is true, as a weary New Dealer told me recently, that "nothing in this town is so easily ignored as a White House directive." No one has been so brazenly successful in ignoring them as Jesse Jones. As early as the fall of 1940 the President instructed Jones to finance a power line which would have made New York City's idle power available to war plants in upstate New York. Consolidated Edison preferred to leave this power idle rather than risk the possibility that the same line would bring cheap St. Lawrence power to the metropolis after the war was over, and the Aluminum Company was afraid the line would encourage public development of the St. Lawrence. The line has never been completed. In August, 1940, with the President's approval, Emil Schram, then head of the RFC, promised the Bonneville Power Authority and a group of public-power authorities in the state of Washington a $70,000,000 loan to buy the Puget Sound Power and Light. The company was heavily overcapitalized, $17,000,000 in arrears on its preferred dividends, and lacked credit for the expansion of facilities to supply additional power to the new war industries of the Northwest. But this extension of public ownership was opposed by power interests, and though the President and Secretary Ickes prodded Jones for more than a year, the promised loan has yet to be granted.

I cite these facts to show that the differences between Jones and the Vice-President cannot be attributed to the latter's temperament, which happens to be mild; Jones would try the patience of a St. Francis of Assisi. No one else in Washington except the accomplished bureaucrats of the State Department has gone so far in perfecting the art of governing by *not* doing things, by mislaying documents, overlooking directives, and forgetting to sign checks. This last has been Jones's forte since the President on April 13, 1942, placed the acquisition of strategic materials in the hands of the BEW, with full power—on paper—to direct the RFC to make the necessary expenditures. The procedure is for the War Production Board to decide what critical materials are needed, and how much. The BEW negotiates the contracts. The RFC at the BEW's direction is supposed to arrange the actual purchase, transportation, and warehousing. This is what the RFC, when the royal whim dictates, forgets to do.

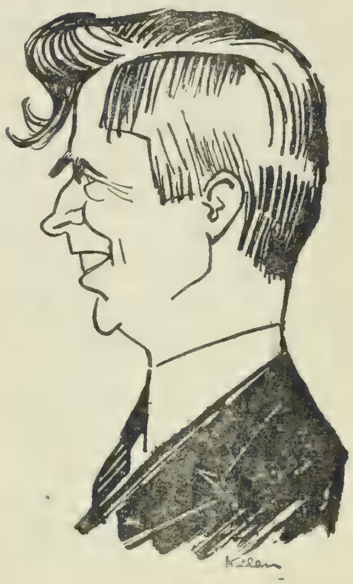
The Board of Economic Warfare was established on July 30, 1941. The executive order of April 13, 1942, was long overdue, as one Congressional investigation after another has demonstrated. The Vice-President's vigorous statement provides a bill of particulars on what Jones had succeeded by that time in not accomplishing. The OPM had asked for 3,000 tons of beryl ore, which is used as an alloy with copper. Jones had made one contract for 300 tons; none had been delivered. The OPM had recommended the purchase of 178,571 tons of castor seeds, which provide a hydraulic fluid for war machines and a protective coating for plane motors. None had been purchased. The OPM asked for 2,500 tons of cobalt, which strengthens high-speed cutting steels. By April 13, 1942, Jones had contracted for the purchase of 159 tons. The OPM wanted 6,000 tons of corundum from South Africa with which to grind glass and lenses for military purposes. No purchases were made. We are dependent on the Far East for vital fats and oils. In October, 1941, the OPM recommended the purchase of 30,000 tons. In November the figure was raised to 208,000; in January, 1942, to 308,000; in February, to 317,499. By April 13 the RFC had contracted for 2,200 tons of one type of oil; none had been delivered. "For all practical purposes," the Vice-President said, "virtually nothing was done by Mr. Jones to build a government stockpile of fats and oils even after Pearl Harbor, when the Japs were conquering the Far East." Jesse was still waging a sitzkrieg.

Palm oil is essential in making tinplate. The OPM before Pearl Harbor asked for 30,000 tons. Amount purchased by the RFC four months after Pearl Harbor: none. The RFC had bought no flax, though the OPM had recommended the purchase of 6,500 tons. It had bought only 1,210 tons of jute in India, though the OPM wanted 80,000 tons. Sisal twine is essential in harvesting crops. The OPM wanted first 100,000 and then 250,000 tons; Jones has bought about 33,600 tons. Tantalite, one of the most urgent of strategic material needs, was the subject of a flurry of correspondence before Pearl Harbor among the OPM, the State Department, and the RFC. The purchase of 1,000,000 tons was recommended; none was bought. Zirconium is essential in making flares, signals, tracer ammunition, and blasting caps. Three months before Pearl Harbor the OPM urged the purchase of "reasonable amounts" in Brazil. Four months later: no contracts to purchase had yet been made. As in most items, Jones seemed to think the reasonable amount was none at all.



Jesse Jones

No one with imagination and a sense of responsibility to our fighting men can read the Wallace statement without a sense of agony. For Jones has continued to be the biggest single bottleneck of the war program since, and despite, the April directive. The day after it was issued General MacArthur wired Washington that 2,000,000 seeds of the Far Eastern cinchona had been brought out of the Philippines on one of the last planes leaving for Australia and "must be planted *without delay.*" Cinchona produces quinine, and malaria was a more deadly foe than the Japanese on Bataan. It was proposed to plant the seeds in Costa Rica. It was not until late January, 1943, that the RFC would finally agree to provide some funds for this project. It will be 1946 before any quinine can be produced. The months lost are lives lost. "For all the full power the President has given the Board of Economic Warfare over imports," Wallace said, "we are helpless when Jesse Jones, as our banker, refuses to sign checks in accordance with our directives." If only our enemies had a Jesse Jones, too!



Henry Wallace

All the vices the worst Congressional ranters attribute to what is left of the New Deal are exemplified in Jones and the RFC. Nowhere will one find a more lush growth of bureaucratic evils; nowhere is there more red tape, nowhere more irresponsibility. Nowhere else has post-war planning—in the sinister sense—so interfered with the war effort. Jones is dominated by the petty ambition of a petty banker's mind—to show a profit on the books of the RFC when the war is over. His great fear is lest RFC operations interfere after the war with business as usual and monopoly. The war itself is incidental and peripheral in his thinking. His arrogance flows from his power; his power from the possession of the greatest money bag in history. Many members of Congress, eager to dip into its bounty for their constituents, are his flunkies.

That the Vice-President has had the courage to expose and attack this millstone around the neck of the war effort should make every decent and patriotic American grateful. That the Vice-President succeeded in killing off the McKellar amendment, as he did the Danaher amendment before it, testifies encouragingly to the existence of a substratum of good sense and non-partisanship in the Senate. But if Jones and his reactionary Southern friends have their way, Wallace will pay for his temerity with the Vice-Presidency. They want the nomination for one of themselves in 1944, and they want Wallace's political scalp.

The first vehicle chosen for the attack is the Byrd committee, which, after meekly accepting Jones's refusal to let it look into the books of the RFC, is now dutifully to be let loose on the BEW. Jones's own reply to the Wallace statement is of interest only to the student of semantics; it rests on over-all figures as to his "commitments" and what he "initiated." There is always a big gap between Jones's commitments and his actual expendi-

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tures; the latest report of the RFC subsidiary which buys up certain commodities to keep them out of the hands of the Axis shows an impressive total of $226,000,000 in authorizations—but only $30,000,000 in actual disbursements. Jones cannot afford the investigation on which he loudly insists, and must take the offensive. In that offensive he will have strong support in Congress and even stronger support in the press. For Jones may be staking his future on his attack upon Wallace, and the future of big business is tied up with Jones. His Defense Plant Corporation owns $7,000,000,000 worth of facilities in the aviation, aluminum, synthetic-rubber, magnesium, steel, machine-tool, automotive, radio, and mining industries. And their post-war disposal must be kept in safe hands. On the bargain counter of a post-war deflation, these facilities will lay the basis for fabulous private fortunes. In New Dealish hands they would be a threat to monopoly. "We do not have anybody in our organization," Jones boasted to the House Appropriations Committee in February, "that has any queer ideas." Big business dare not let so sound a thinker go down the drain, whatever comfort his small-mindedness may bring the Axis. Thus Jones and Wallace not only symbolize the best and worst tendencies in the war effort, as in American life, but are the focal points of the forces striving for mastery of our post-war future. Not only the lives of many in the field but the kind of America to which they will return depends in large part on the outcome of this struggle between the small-town Texas banker and the farmer-idealist from Iowa.

Hitler's Russian Dilemma

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

AS THE third year of the Russian war gets under way, Hitler faces one of the most difficult decisions of his career. His chances of carrying out a successful offensive are at best slim. Yet if he does not attempt a major attack to eliminate his most immediately dangerous foe, he will have to turn to face the United Nations in the west with the unbeaten Red Army at his back.

A prolonged feeling-out of strengths and weaknesses has been taking place along the thousand-mile front. German planes, borrowing the tactics of the R. A. F., have attempted to neutralize many of the cities behind the Russian lines, while the Soviet air force has concentrated on communications and transport facilities. Both sides have claimed disproportionate enemy air losses, the Russian claim being the more credible. Land attacks have been on a small scale, handicapped by difficult roads. Now, with an unusually protracted spring finally over and the roads passable again, the two most formidable armies on earth may at any moment spring into action along what is still the most important front of the war.

The Nazis, however, cannot attempt a smash-through in Russia with as great striking power as they had in 1941 or 1942. Many of the 218 divisions on the Russian front are below normal strength and have recently been regrouped. The Stalingrad and Tunisia débâcles cost the Germans large numbers of their best troops. That such losses are not necessarily fatal was shown by the Russians last year, when they got a little better than a draw after huge losses of first-line troops in 1941. But whether the Germans, with a smaller population from which to obtain reserves and with large commitments elsewhere, will be able to duplicate this performance is open to grave doubt.

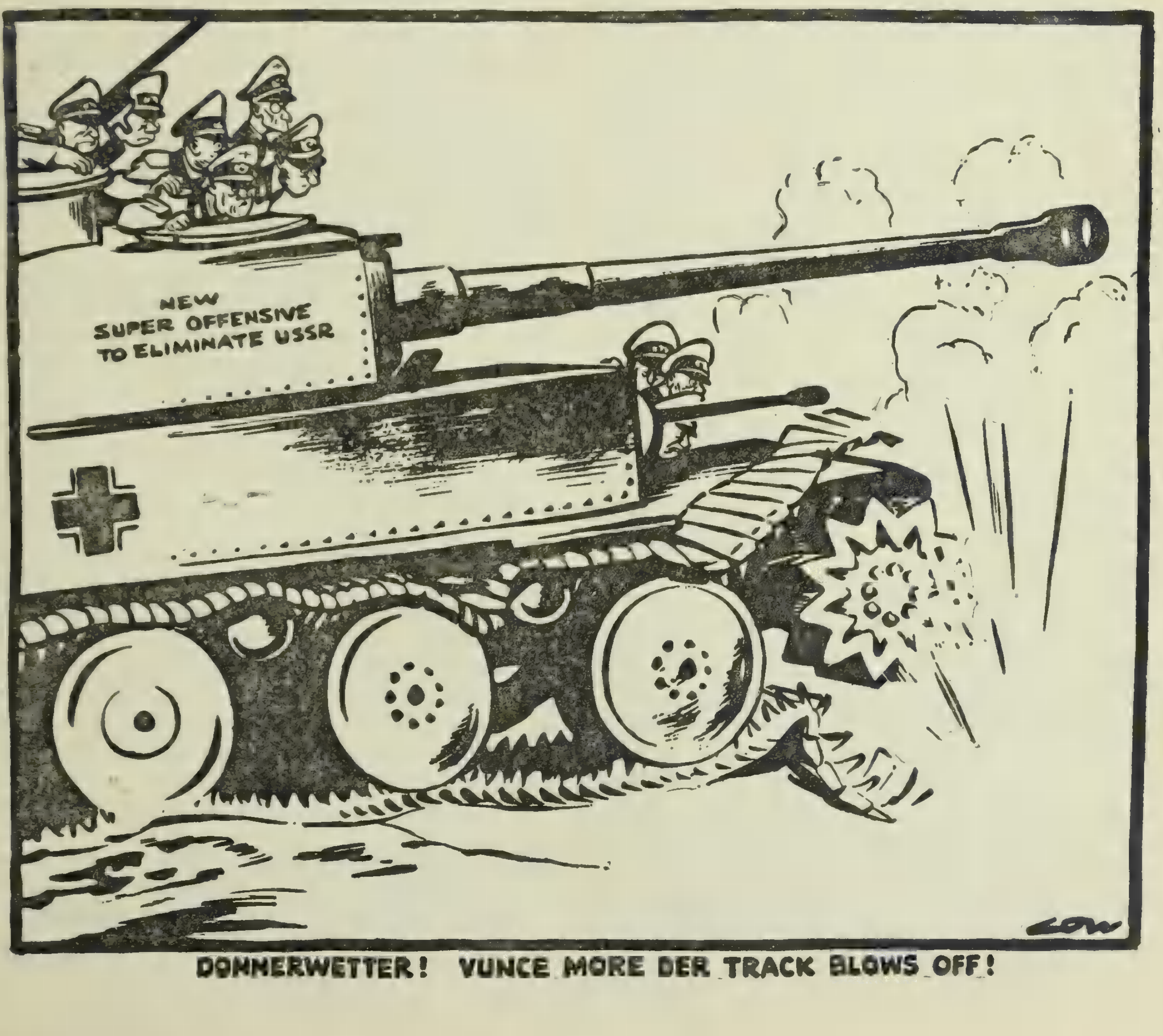
With respect to air power they are in an even worse position. In 1941 and 1942 German ground forces operated under a protecting umbrella of planes which in both quantity and quality were superior to those of the Russians. Today this superiority is no longer present. Constant fighting and Allied bombing of German production centers have worn down the Luftwaffe to a point where it no longer can control the skies. Furthermore, the best pilots having been expended, the Germans have foolishly thrown in undertrained men—with a resultant increase of losses. Even without the lend-lease aid of its Western allies, Russia is producing today practically as many planes as Germany. And Russia has two great additional advantages: its new production centers are out of range of German bombing, and it is able to concentrate its forces against the Germans without worrying about the need for them elsewhere. The weakening of the Luftwaffe, first remarked in Western Europe less than a year ago, has become so general that Hitler is now inferior on every front.

Nor is there any likelihood that time will repair German weaknesses. The Russian industrial machine, while injured by the enemy's seizure of territory and resources, was able to move eastward out of reach, but this kind of escape is not possible for Germany. The attrition of blockade and aerial bombing is slowly but surely reducing the Nazis' war potential. The best indication of this is that Germany, despite the use of slave labor, is today producing 20 per cent less than a year ago. Meanwhile the American, British, and Russian industrial machines are building up an ever-mounting superiority in weapons. This advantage is qualitative as well as numerical, for the Germans, beset by many urgent needs, have done little retooling and brought out very few new weapons.

The Russians, it is true, have also suffered great losses of military man-power. Claiming 6,400,000 Germans killed and captured, they have admitted 4,200,000 casualties of their own. Their figures for the German losses are certainly too high and for their own too low; reversal of the two totals would probably be more nearly correct. Among the Russian casualties are scores of the best Soviet divisions, destroyed in the Blitzkrieg. In addition, the territory occupied by the enemy normally contained 50,000,000 people. Many of these were evacuated, but the rest have been lost to Stalin as workers and as military reserves. However, as I said, these losses, most of them sustained in 1941, did not prevent the Red Army from coming back forcefully in 1942.

Unlike the *Wehrmacht,* the Red Army has steadily improved in organization and technical development. The awkward system of dual command was abolished over a year ago. Discipline has been tightened and the position of the officer exalted. The original pattern of army organization, which failed to get the greatest value out of armored units because of their dispersion, has been altered. Divisions have been streamlined, made harder hitting. To the existing superiority in artillery there has been added at least parity in the air. The proper tactics for stopping a Blitzkrieg have been in use for a year and a half. The triumvirate in charge of military affairs at the opening of the war has been replaced by younger and more vigorous men whose reputations have been made in actual battle. In spite of its staggering losses the Red Army is probably more formidable than it was in 1941, while the *Wehrmacht* is clearly less so.

We should not imagine, however, that this phase of the war has been won. The Germans have abundant room in which to retreat. They have never given up except when convinced of the hopelessness of their position, and they have usually required a great deal of convincing. The skill of their commanders was demonstrated last March when, after experiencing a bad defeat, they extricated their troops from a position in which they could easily have met a major disaster.



DONNERWETTER! VUNCE MORE DER TRACK BLOWS OFF!

Nevertheless, they are in a most difficult strategic situation. Several courses are open to Hitler: (1) he can throw everything into a full-scale attack on Russia designed to destroy the Red Army and win the war on that one front; (2) he can make local attacks with the object of harassing the Russians and keeping them from launching their own offensive; (3) he can attempt merely to hold his ground in the east while swinging all his available forces to meet an expected Anglo-American attack in the west; (4) he can execute a planned retreat to prepared positions well back of the present front; or (5) the decision may be taken out of his hands by concerted action of his foes.

An all-out attack would require him to employ all available reserves at a time when the shortage of man-power has become a pressing German problem. And unless the Anglo-American armies first commit themselves to campaigning in an area where they are not likely to hurt Hitler greatly, they would then have a good chance of beating Germany in the west. Yet German national psychology demands an attack, and attack offers the only chance of winning with waning forces against foes steadily increasing in strength.

The concentration of about half of Germany's 218 divisions on the central front has suggested to some a coming attack in the Orel-Belgorod sector, a push through Voronezh, and then an attempt to take Moscow from the south. The German hope here—a faint one—would be that the Red Army would be so crippled by an unsuccessful defense as to lose much of its immediate offensive possibilities; the taking of Moscow, of course, would injure both the national morale and the industrial power of the Soviet Union. An offensive of this size, however, would involve large numbers of men and presumably entail heavy losses.

An attempt merely to hold present gains would not offer much hope of a German victory, for the offensive strength of the Red Army is now well developed. In the winter of 1941 the Germans held large areas with numerically inferior forces, but an attempt to do the same thing against improved Russian tactics in 1942 brought crushing defeats.

The only course which will give the Germans a chance to concentrate most of their forces in the west is rapid but well-prepared retreat. This would trade territory for time and delay a real Russian offensive until new transport lines could be set up. It would probably afford Hitler two or three months in which to work in the west. But it would also bring Russian bombers closer to western Germany and probably have a serious effect on German morale. It would, indeed, be interpreted as a clear admission of defeat.

It is to be hoped that even this choice between undesirable alternatives will not be left to Hitler. He must not be allowed to decide whether to concentrate his forces in the east or the west. The war has reached a stage comparable to 1918 in World War I, and we should this summer strike blows which will bring measurably closer the complete defeat of fascism.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE SUCCESS of the Belgians in wresting universal suffrage from the fears of the ruling classes seems to have inspired the Austrian workingmen to labor for a similar result. . . . The suffrage in Austria is now given to all who pay a minimum of five florins in direct taxes. To make it universal is now the avowed object of the leaders of the workingmen's party.—*July 6, 1893.*

THE HON. THOMAS J. GEARY of California . . . expounds and defends the Chinese Exclusion law of 1892 in the July *North American Review.* It is all a mistake, he assures us, to regard the "intention" of the law as "harsh" or "unjust" or even "unreasonable." . . . The pure and undiluted Geary appears in the bill called up by him on April 4, 1892, and supported by him in a speech. . . . He met the argument that his bill was in violation of treaty obligations by valiantly saying: "I do not care what treaty may stand in the way. . . . I am prepared to abrogate every such treaty, to violate every such law."—*July 13, 1893.*

GUY DE MAUPASSANT. The news of the death of this brilliant writer comes not unexpectedly, and lovers of literature will regret that no more of those marvelously strong tales which make De Maupassant's real fame will ever again appear to delight and entrance them.—*July 13, 1893.*

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS has recently voted that in raising funds for metropolitan improvements the land immediately benefited shall contribute, as well as the taxpayers at large. . . . But . . . the landowners in London as a class . . . maintain that among their "vested rights of property" is one that all increments of value, however arising, shall go to the landlord. It is perhaps owing partly to this bigoted and irrational conservatism that socialistic proposals have come into so much favor of late years in England.—*July 13, 1893.*

IT SEEMS to be settled that two new saints are soon to be added to the calendar. . . . Columbus's fitness for sainthood has long been a moot point with Catholic historians, but few would venture to oppose it in this quartercentenary year. . . . In connection with the proposal to canonize Joan of Arc, fear was expressed by a considerate French prelate that such an act might wound English susceptibilities. Thereupon the Catholic hierarchy of Great Britain was consulted on the point, and reported that Joan as a saint would be "well received" in their country.—*July 20, 1893.*

THE LABOR COMMISSION of Iowa has been investigating the subject of teachers' salaries, and finds that they are extraordinarily small. Returns . . . show an average salary of only $243.16 for women and $298.30 for men. This is much below the wages paid unskilled labor.—*July 27, 1893.*

Great Britain's Post-War Role

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

London, June 7

IN BRITAIN as in America you find a good deal of apprehension about the fact that no one seems to be dealing with the problems of post-war reconstruction in a large way. It is generally assumed that Mr. Eden, both by virtue of his office and by predilection, is sketching some general plans for the partnership of the United Nations after the war. But nothing sufficiently definite to stir the public imagination has yet emerged.

This does not mean that Britons are anxious for some Woodrow Wilson to rise up with a plan for a new League of Nations. They are skeptical of general schemes of world order, not only because their own historical approach is incompatible with too ambitious blueprints, but also because they fear that American "idealists" might present them with some ideal scheme which American "realists" might again repudiate. Interest in what America will do after the war and anxious inquiry about the danger of a new withdrawal greet the American visitor on every hand. American isolationists may interpret this interest as a betrayal of Britain's desire to have help in its European problems. I should say, rather, that it springs from a very realistic and essentially moral understanding of the world situation. This understanding includes recognition of the fact that the world must achieve some kind of stable order, that such an order requires more than the old balance-of-power strategy, and that no one nation is able to establish it.

Among those who think seriously of post-war issues there is quite general agreement that Britain may find its most creative role in post-war politics in acting as a broker between Russia and America in the triumvirate of nations which are bound to be preponderant in the post-war world. China may be excluded for the moment because its latent power will be exerted in Asia alone.

The big question is how intimately and mutually these three great nations may work out their common problems. I find the British attitude toward this great task promising because it seems to be in accord with the realities. The British are, for instance, in no mood to make a choice between an American or a Russian partnership. Reasons of national self-interest would deter them, because they know very well that without Russia a partnership with America would give them the role of a very junior member in the firm, while a partnership with Russia alone would expose them to various pressures which might prove extremely embarrassing. It is obvious that the three powers must hold together to form a nucleus for a world organization; it is also obvious that Britain is geographically and otherwise best able to act as an equilibrator of the partnership. For though Russian mistrust of the West remains, Anglo-Russian friendship has gone much farther toward dissipating it than anything we have done or can do for some time.

That Britain is closer to us than Russia is, is a truism. From one perspective the real gulf is between the Anglo-Saxon, democratic, bourgeois, quasi-Christian, and quasi-liberal world and the vast empire which is being reared upon the foundation of Communist religion. The gulf is deep even though Russia is patently anxious to disavow any part of the Communist creed which brings it into too overt conflict with the West. That Britain is closer to Russia than we are may require some proof. The geographical relation is obvious enough. They are both quasi-European powers with their heads in Europe and their limbs sprawled over other continents. But this common interest in Europe is less likely to lead to conflict than many have surmised, primarily because Russia gives no indication of desiring an active part in Continental reconstruction.

It will of course exercise the power of veto over any arrangements which would place actively anti-Communist or anti-Russian forces in control of the Continent. And on this score it is, not without reason, more fearful of our policy than of Britain's. But Russia's desire to rebuild its own land in peace and security will be the dominant motive of all its policies, and that task will absorb its resources for a long while to come. The devastation in Russia has been underestimated in America, though the pleas for help in securing food supplies made by the Soviet delegates at the Hot Springs conference may have given an inkling of the true state of affairs.

I do not pretend to know—and I have found no one who does know—what Russia will do about the various radical ferments and revolutions which are bound to break out in Europe. But it is a fairly safe guess that it will not encourage them unless it is obliged to frustrate attempts at a reactionary solution of the Continental problem. One contribution which the Soviets will probably make toward the peace will be to oppose the dismemberment of Germany, a policy ominously favored by certain circles in both Anglo-Saxon countries.

The British-Russian affinity, beyond the geographic fact, depends upon several factors, some historical and some consciously contrived. Among the latter must be mentioned the facilities for exchange of news and cultural information between the two countries, which so far go beyond anything we know in America. One finds here Russian exhibits of many kinds in great profusion. The sense of partnership with Russia in the immediate struggle is much more intense than with us, having been fostered by two years of relief from the air war which devastated British cities.

Among the historical factors a politico-economic and a cultural one deserve mention. Britain is a capitalist, not a Communist, nation; there is little prospect even of labor gaining control after the war. Nevertheless, Britain has accepted not only planning but the prospect of increasing government control of economic processes with a unanimity quite inconceivable in America. The difference in temper upon this point is best illustrated by the attitude of our two nations toward war-time restrictions. In Britain food rationing is accepted with an enthusiasm which strikes an American, accustomed to grousing upon the subject, as remarkable. I do not know how often I have heard the hope expressed that some kind of rationing will continue after the war. The reason given is that it is just. The sense of equality between rich and poor that it creates, the feeling of the poor that the rich have no advantage over them, is constantly expressed. (The equality is not perfect, as you may note when you eat at the Savoy or the Dorchester. But there is basic equality.)

Though Britain has not finally concluded the debate on planning, which indeed will proceed throughout the whole world for decades to come, it has arrived at conclusions about minimal standards of social control which will continue to arouse acute controversy among us and between us and the Russians. Here Britain quite obviously occupies the middle ground.

The cultural factor worth mentioning is that though in Britain as in America the atheism of Russia is a hazard to a partnership, the Catholic church is much less powerful in Britain than in America. I do not mean that only Catholics are concerned about this issue. But they have an *idée-fixe* upon this subject, and most Protestants do not. In Britain there is a strong inclination to let history take its course and to hope that every kind of freedom in Russia, including religious freedom, will have more chance if Russia is in partnership with us than if it is in conflict. The strong social interests of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Temple, and his great prudence in this matter help to set the tone of religious Britain.

On one question there is a sharp difference between political and religious opinion, and that is the future of the Baltic states, which Russia claims as part of its defense system. In political circles there is an inclination to yield this point, but influential churchmen hope that some effort will be made to secure at least cultural (religious) autonomy for the Baltic countries.

I would not claim that the role of mediator and equilibrator for Britain is consciously projected by any large British public. But I have met the idea with significant frequency among thoughtful people. And the historical facts seem to give it real validity and promise. It will take "a bit of doing." But if it can be carried out, it will obviously furnish that accord between self-interest and general interest which it must be the design of statesmanship to achieve. There is every indication that Russia would welcome such a three-cornered partnership. Surely it would be to our advantage also, though it will be some time before we know whether America appreciates that fact with any degree of unanimity.

America's Pampered Husbands

BY EDITH M. STERN

AS A disillusioned feminist (from the twenties) I have followed with interest the contradictions and confusions in the press and radio campaign to recruit women for war industry. Women are praised to the skies because so many of them have entered war plants; but the situation is serious because so many more women are needed. Women with small children shouldn't work in war plants; but communities should provide nurseries so women with small children can do so. We must cut down on laundry service, restaurants, and store deliveries to release people for war work; but housewives should take full-time employment in war plants. It's marvelous how women used to only such light work as washing windows, turning double-bed mattresses, scrubbing floors, and hanging up wet sheets are holding up at machines, and how the feminine hands that hitherto touched nothing unlovelier than garbage or soiled diapers dip without squeamishness into grease and oil. And so on.

Out of all the bunkum and inconsistencies a few clear facts emerge: that the supply of regular working girls and women—drawn from beauty parlors or schoolrooms or offices or restaurants or other people's kitchens—is pretty well exhausted; that the 3,000,000 additional women needed in war industry this year will have to be recruited among housewives; that the appeals—effective at first—of patriotism, high wages, and glamor by way of pictures of Powers-model welders aren't making housewives en masse exchange their bungalow aprons for slacks; and that if we aren't going to lose this war for lack of woman power, something will have to be done, not about women, but about men.

For the unorganized but powerful pressure group of American husbands is the greatest obstacle to all-out employment of middle-class American wives. It isn't only, as a recent Gallup poll showed, that there are more married women who are unqualifiedly willing to take full-time employment in war plants than married men who are unqualifiedly willing to have their wives take such employment. Husbandly pressure on housewives not to enlist for the war-production front takes much subtler forms than an overt "I object." Largely, it shapes up as men's time-hallowed, unspoken refusal to share in home responsibilities, an attitude that puts an intolerable double burden on the working wife.

Women who are doing men's work in war plants today are doing men's work and women's work. The costs in physical and nervous energy have not yet been reckoned, but if we expect more women to volunteer for men's traditional work, more men must take over some of women's traditional work.

Not a hint of this clear-cut solution for a grave problem has crept into any of the women-in-war-industry discussions I have examined. An article in the February *Fortune* pointed out that even when there are provisions for care of the children, the working mother must still market, cook, launder, and clean. "These [activities] stretch her working day another four to six hours unless she receives concessions not normally given." That her husband might make some of the concessions is not suggested.

At that, *Fortune* is more realistic than most of its contemporaries. In the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *This Week* blithe gurglings have glorified the woman with a double job, have shown how merrily war-working mothers find time to do the family washing at night and to decorate birthday cakes as usual. But what housewife in her right mind, now comfortably supported by her husband and satisfying her patriotic urges by Red Cross work and by collecting silk stockings and fats and tin cans, would want to change places with welder Annie James, recently so enthusiastically pictured in the *Reader's Digest?*

Annie, we are told, thrives "on the combination of home and job. . . . Every day except Sunday . . . there is a hectic period between 4:20, when Annie comes home, and 4:40, when her husband leaves for his night shift in a metal company. In that twenty minutes her husband eats his dinner (he won't eat until she comes home), and she prepares his midnight lunch (it doesn't taste good otherwise)." Touching, of course, that Annie's husband is so devoted. But since they both work the same number of hours, at equally heavy work, it is conceivable that Mr. James might, occasionally, eat and clean up before Annie returns, or take turns fixing Annie's lunch for her. "After he leaves," the paean runs on, "she does the housework."

Annie, who has adolescent children, was described in happy contrast to Mrs. Meng, mother of a four-year-old. She "had just finished the supper dishes when I arrived. She looked near the breaking-point. . . . Her young husband seemed worried about her." But if he helped her with the supper dishes, the article failed to mention it.

Even when the services that the average wife performs in the average household don't involve much time or physical labor, even where a servant can be obtained and held, home-making minutiae are distracting and energy-draining. When household equipment needs replacement, when the children's shoe size changes, when the toothpaste runs out, it is Mother and not Father who scribbles memoranda on scraps of paper and squeezes in the necessary shopping sometime, somewhere. Trivia? Maybe. But more women would be ready to take on full-time outside employment if they had the assurance that such trivia would not devolve exclusively upon them.

Why can't a father escort youngsters to the doctor or the dentist? Are consultations with teacher something that requires only that feminine touch now needed at grinders? If a woman can learn to run a drill press, why can't a man learn to run a washing-machine or an electric mangle? In short, if women must by war necessity work outside the home, isn't it equally a war necessity that men work inside?

It is evident that men, however much they pooh-pooh housework, however loudly they proclaim, "Women make too much fuss about it" or "I could do it with one hand tied behind my back," are fully aware of the extent of the services rendered to them by their wives. If they were not, they would not so diligently rationalize their desire to keep the little woman at home. The work might be too heavy for her, for instance—though for years she has done heavy cleaning, washed kitchen walls, climbed up and down stepladders, lugged heavy coats up to the attic in summer and lugged them down again in winter. She might become tired—though she has sat up night after night with sick children while he slept, and has given him his breakfast as usual in the morning. It might not be safe—regardless of the fact that most accidents occur in homes, not in factories.

Underlying his unprecedented consideration for his wife is John Doe's unconscious fear that life would be less comfortable for him if Jane Doe were tied up in a war plant eight hours a day. And this fear is transmitted to Jane Doe. She has been so well schooled in her duties to her husband, by him, by her mother, by her grandmother, and by the women's magazines, that she would consider herself derelict if she let up on her home-making merely because she works as hard as he does. She does not envision exchanging a mop for a drill press, but tending a drill press for eight hours a day and wielding the mop before or after shifts.

So for the present, since John is able to support her, she is settling for the mop, thank you. And you can't blame her. It is not that she doesn't want to help win the war, or that she prefers housework to shop work. She realizes that there are gaiety and sociability in a shop never found in her solitary kitchen; no iceman comes in nowadays, and even the Fuller brush boys have been drafted. She is thoroughly aware that eight hours a day at a machine is less exhausting than twelve hours at domestic drudgery. Simply, and mathematically, she realizes that she has the strength of only one person, and that there are only twenty-four hours in a day.

Two people, however, have the strength of two, and their combined hours equal forty-eight. Pulling together, wives and husbands can work both outside and inside the home. If pampered males would take on more homemaking responsibilities, the American home would be not disrupted but strengthened. A new, genuine companionship would develop between husbands and wives, now separated by divergent, sex-bounded interests. Children would benefit from father-care as well as mother-care. The point is proved by the experience of the professional classes, where "man's work" and "woman's work" are not nearly so rigidly defined as in other groups. Many a career woman can testify that all she is and hopes to be she owes to her "angel husband," who trots Johnny to the shoestore when she has an important business appointment and helps with the dishes when she is just as tired as he is.

The task of reeducating men to a new role in the home will not be an easy one. It is, however, an essential task if we hope to induce women to volunteer for war industry or if we are going to draft them without destroying them. A nation becoming accustomed to rationing, to doing without a car, and to casualty lists should not find the difficulty insuperable. Indeed, it must not, or we shall deliver too little and too late!

In the Wind

AN ADVERTISEMENT denouncing anti-Semitism in textbooks has appeared under the sponsorship of the Protestant Textbook Commission in the Philadelphia *Record*, the Chicago *Sun*, and the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *Telegraph*. The New York *Times* did not consider it fit to print.

AT THIS WRITING the Communists have not yet seized control of Boston, though the movie version of "Mission to Moscow" opened there on July 1. A City Council resolution had called on Mayor Tobin to ban the film. Councilman Matthew F. Hanley, in a speech for the resolution, called Stalin "the greatest murderer the world has ever seen and the greatest ambassador from the pits of hell whose name has ever been written into the dirty pages of history."

DURING THE first half of June, says the James S. Twohey Weekly Analysis of Newspaper Opinion, "out of all political comment, 53 per cent is devoted to various activities of Wendell Willkie, with 30 per cent of the papers praising him as an internationalist, 15 per cent condemning him for the same reason."

NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS are fighting any reduction in their paper allotments. But *Tide* reports: "One of Britain's chief newspaper owners is saying privately that he will never return to the pre-war type of publishing, with big editions bulging with news, opinion, and advertising. Reason: he can make more money, and have fewer problems, in eight pages."

WILL O. WALTON of the Alabama state senate has offered an amendment to the state constitution which would bar from voting, holding office, or serving on juries any person who advocates abolition of racial segregation. The legal basis for the bar would be to classify such persons as "moral degenerates."

PAN-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY was placed on a firm foundation in a recent speech by Alberto Magno-Rodrígues of the inter-American department of the American Standards Association: "Behind all human activities some selfish motive will always be found. . . . It is on this high level of self-interest, on a policy of fair 'give and take,' and on the maintenance of a free-enterprise system . . . that I should like to see the inter-trade of the Americas built up."

BRIGHT POST-WAR PROSPECTS for air transport are attracting "outsiders," to the disgust of the established air lines. Recently the Greyhound Bus Corporation applied to the Civil Aeronautics Board for seventy-eight helicopter routes covering 49,103 miles, and the Keeshin trucking interests are seeking permission for a network of aerial freight routes. C. B. Bedell-Monro, president of the Pennsylvania-Central Airlines, in an interview with *American Aviation*, denounced these applications as a menace to the industry and an attempt to "create monopolies of the worst type."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Gestapo has burned the manuscript of a Lithuanian dictionary which had required forty years to compile. . . . A Nazi news analyst on the Prague radio offers this view of the future: "It will take the English ten years to enable Stalin to occupy Europe, than another ten years to defeat Japan, and then England and America will need yet another ten years to fight Soviet Russia and get Europe back from her in order that Jewish democracy can be installed there." . . . The Nazi administration of Brussels showed its interest in Belgian culture by arranging a celebration on the fifth anniversary of the Flemish literary magazine *Today and Tomorrow*. No one connected with the magazine showed up.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR

EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Argentina Buries Democracy

[*Rightly concerned about developments in the Argentine, both press and radio in the United States continue to watch closely every move Ramirez makes. It cost no great effort to unmask him and his associates in their pretended support of inter-American solidarity. By now everybody knows that their sympathies have been and remain with the Axis and that should they break off diplomatic relations with Berlin it would only be in order to compete with their neighbors in the enjoyment of lend-lease. The new government's disregard for the constitution became evident through the dissolution of Congress and the "postponement" of the fall elections. Less known is the positive political program for which it stands. The articles which follow, by John W. White, for many years correspondent for American newspapers in Buenos Aires, and Manuel Seoane, editor of the* Ercilla, *of Santiago, Chile, give a complete picture of the fascism that has installed itself on the River Plata, menacing not only South America but the entire hemisphere.*]

Blueprint for a Fascist Utopia

BY JOHN W. WHITE

SOME TIME ago General Pedro P. Ramirez and his Nationalist Party formulated a "minimum program of action" for the assassination and burial of democracy in Argentina, and since the General's accession to power they have begun to put it in operation. This blueprint for a fascist Utopia was published in pamphlet form and distributed among members of the Nationalist militia throughout the country. I have a copy in my possession and have used it as the basis for the following account of Argentine fascism.

The first item on the program provides for the dissolution of all three branches of the democratic state—executive, legislative, and judicial. This was the first action taken by the new military government. It eliminated the executive branch by forcing Castillo to resign, the legislative by dissolving Congress, and the judicial by establishing martial law.

Argentina's Nationalist movement makes the familiar fascist plea that democracy has failed to solve the country's economic problems. Its persuasive propaganda seeks to create a mass movement of discontent, especially among the rapidly growing middle class, and to justify the need for rule by force. At the same time, it is attempting to convert democratic-minded Argentines to new ideas. The Rights of Man "as proclaimed by the leftist hordes" are to be supplanted by "the obligation of the citizen toward society and the state." "Society has no duties toward the individual; it has only powers." It may recognize certain rights of the individual on the condition of his "unqualified acceptance of certain duties to the state." "The liberty of conscience in democracy is nothing more or less than the liberty of rebellion in anarchy."

Leaders of the Nationalist movement do not allow their followers to forget for a moment the words spoken by General Uriburu, leader of the 1930 revolt, to the officers who supported him: "The revolution was directed against a system, not a party." Argentina's Nationalists are pledged to carry on Uriburu's fascist revolution until they have supplanted democracy by a corporative state, a replica of the one set up by Mussolini.

All political parties are to be abolished. The vote will not be a right of citizenship but of economic functions. The energy now expended in political controversy is to be dedicated to the advancement and progress of the community. Jews and Communists will be "handled with a maximum of energy," an Argentine euphemism for "liquidated."

A close relationship will be maintained between the schools and the military; the military training of the child is to begin in the primary grades. The army is to be greatly enlarged and so trained that it can take over the operation of industries, especially those owned by foreigners, whenever that step is considered desirable. The state will recognize and foster the existence of volunteer militias for "the formation of the national consciousness"—that is, for the intimidation of civilians.

The new corporative state is to be based on seven corporation councils, or guilds, similar to the twenty-two which Mussolini created. Commerce, communications, agriculture, cattle-raising, trade and industry, banking and insurance, and the arts and professions are each to form a guild. These are to be represented on a unicameral National Council of Corporations which will replace Congress and permit the new state to direct Argentina's economic destiny. "We want a state," the program says, "in which the agrarian organization shall respond to the interests of the country and not be subject to foreign economic interests"—meaning the American and British packing plants.

Although the Nationalist appeal is directed to the habitual discontent of the middle class, the program embodies all the well-known aspirations of the wealthy cattle barons and absentee landlords who are financing the movement and who will be the only gainers from the establishment of a corporative state. "Nationalism proposes a state based on the active elements of the national community and the interdependence of individual interests," the blueprint states. By these "active elements" are meant the cattle interests and the landlords, who usually refer to themselves as the "live forces" of the community. The "interdependence of individual interests" means the subordination of the interests of everyone else to those of the rulers of the country.

The Argentine conservatives know that they must kill democracy or lose for all time their control of the government. The vote-conscious masses in Argentina are democrats, and they have become too numerous for the security of the conservatives. Organized labor is one of the "leftist" democratic forces which the new state proposes to suppress. Relations between capital and labor will be similar to those prevailing in Italy under Mussolini's "Charter of Labor." The state will guarantee harmony between capital and labor by the simple means of prohibiting strikes, lockouts, and other forms of class struggle. Disputes which cannot be settled by the guilds will be decided by labor courts from whose rulings there will be no appeal.

It is significant that the leaders of the Nationalist Party are men who have failed in politics or in their chosen careers, or army officers who in their impressionable youth were attached to the Germany army. The blueprint of the new state holds out special bait to tempt frustrated individuals into the haven of the Nationalist movement. In each guild, for instance, capital, labor, and technicians are to have an equal number of representatives, the inclusion of technicians being for the purpose of attracting dissatisfied young agrarians, accountants, chemists, geologists, and the like by giving them a voice in the government. These young men form the backbone of the civic militias which are preparing the way for the new state. The leaders of the Nationalist movement have restored to them their self-respect by supplying the uniform, the club, and the gun which enable them to beat up those who disagree with them.

Argentina's New Rulers

BY MANUEL SEOANE

Santiago, Chile, June 15

THE military revolt which broke out in Argentina on the first of the month was the second step in a long process. In September, 1930, when General Uriburu came to power through a coup d'état, Argentina, an exemplary democracy, fell under the sway of a group of military men who were anxious to end the influence of popular parties and to impose their will upon the country. Uriburu was a fascist—self-confessed and self-convicted. But, sure of his mastery over the popular mind, he announced an election, and his unexpected defeat reopened the doors of the Casa Rosada to the civil political parties.

Thirteen years later his comrades in arms sought the complete realization of their dream. Reactionary as he was, Castillo did not satisfy them. Though he was friendly to the Axis, he was a weak executive, and they feared he would be unable to prevent the Radical Party and other forces of the left from participating again in the conduct of public affairs. The generals, trained by German officers and steeped in Nazi ideology, recognized the force of the fascist principle that power cannot be shared with weak, irresolute men. So on June 4 they deposed Castillo and set up a government dedicated to the establishment of a real fascist regime.

Their fascism, however, does not blind them to the fact that the military star of the Axis is waning. They see that outwardly they must give some support to the cause of the United Nations if Argentina is to be accepted into the inter-American order. But they believe it is possible to combine fascism at home and democracy abroad. Allied diplomacy has made it possible. If Vargas and Trujillo enjoy the full favor of Washington, why should General Ramirez be less fortunate?

The internal policy of the generals is as clear as spring water. The lessons of the past have been well learned. I am willing to wager that the September elections will not take place. As he gains in strength, Ramirez will eliminate political parties, one by one. He will organize his own shock troops; he is well prepared to do so. It was he who, together with General Juan Bautista Molina, one of the most thoroughgoing fascists in Argentina, organized the Milicia Nacionalista, later known as the Guardia Nacional, the vanguard of Argentine fascism. In December, 1942, the Guardia Nacional joined with the Unión Nacional Argentina to form the first totalitarian party of the country, the party of the Recuperación Nacional. Now that he is head of the government, Ramirez has only to follow the road he mapped earlier. He will be supported by the reactionary clique which imposed his appointment as Minister of War upon Castillo. These include the influential former governor of Buenos Aires, Manuel Fresco, so-called "Duce" of Argentina; former Senator Sanchez Sorondo; and Carlos Ibarguren, the biographer of the tyrant Rosas.

Strange that in the midst of the great crusade fo freedom a new dictatorship should come into being in Latin America! Stranger still that Latin American dicta tors should be welcomed in Washington and honore by American universities! President Peñaranda of Bolivi makes a triumphal visit to the United States and is fol lowed by Moriñigo of Paraguay. Will the illustriou President of Honduras and the "great liberal" of Guate mala be the next? The people of the United States—th onest citizens, the common men—seem unaware of the rofound disorientation, the unutterable disappointment perienced by the peoples of Latin America.

The Latin American dictators, of whom Ramirez is nly the newest, are an affront to the cause of the United ations and a menace to the future peace of America. ith the money and arms they are receiving from the senal of democracy they are preparing new conflicts. eneral Peñaranda said not long ago that Bolivian claims a port will be presented after the war, "at the first ropitious opportunity." The Argentine military men ow in power consider it one of their most sacred tasks crush Brazil.

Only a policy of real inter-American democratic co-peration can insure freedom and peace for tomorrow. rgentina's new rulers will offer one of the greatest stacles to such a policy.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE Führer never makes a mistake" was the Nazi slogan in the seven fat years. Those days are past. n June 19 Goebbels wrote in his weekly article, "Only e most overweening people think that they are above istakes." He put in a plea for "the sovereign right of casionally being wrong" and defended the Nazi gov-nment against a "widely current" reproach. "The Ger-an people have an idea," he said, "that the government one must be denied the right to make mistakes. Cer-in elements demand not only that it should analyze the esent situation correctly but that it should be able to redict the future. That is asking too much. It is an ex-nple of the over-objectivity of certain sanctimonious ruth fanatics' among us who pardon a foreign govern-ent every mistake lest they do it an injustice but never verlook an error of their own government's."

The Herr Minister's defense was along three lines. irst, there had not been many false announcements. "It nnot be disputed that the German government has ade very few false prognoses. . . . We have certainly on victories we had not predicted more often than we ave failed to win victories we had predicted." Secondly, any false announcements were made to confuse the emy. "That is an allowable deception and often brings ccess. Of course it is done at the expense of the gen-al credibility of news reports, but the device must evertheless be used. . . . Not everything that the public ow considers a mistake on the part of the leadership as really a mistake. In many cases it was part of the war nerves." Thirdly, many seemingly false announce-ents will finally be confirmed—for the present, silence ust be preserved. "The enemy must be given no information. The disadvantages we suffer always get out and are often made to appear greater than they are; the rumor-mongers see to that. Our advantages, on the other hand, must often be concealed as war secrets. This puts the government in an extremely unfavorable position with respect to pulbic opinion."

It was a real defense plea. The Propaganda Minister tried to clear his government of the charge of having careened from mistake to mistake, from boast to boast, from lie to lie. What is most interesting about the attempt is the inference to be drawn from it—that the accusation must have been strongly pressed.

About the middle of June German internal propaganda completely changed its tactics about the air raids. Instead of discreetly soft-pedaling the subject, it now assails the public with unvarnished descriptions of the destruction and suffering in the afflicted provinces. The reason for the change was not immediately clear, but at least a contributing cause was the necessity of arousing more sympathy for the victims, great crowds of whom are being evacuated. It is an old complaint that they have not been received very cordially in the districts to which they have been removed. Recently this attitude must have crystallized into outspoken dislike.

"Our fellow-citizens in the most heavily bombed towns believe themselves deserted or forgotten, at any rate not understood," admonished radio commentator Fritzsche on June 19. "They see little evidence of a real desire to help them in the untouched regions." The *Essener Nationalzeitung,* which has long devoted itself to this theme, on June 11 instanced several cases. The father of an Essen man had got lodging for him and his family in the father's town. The local authorities, however, refused to issue the necessary permit. An official of the National Socialist Party was arrested in Bochum because he turned out four women and two children who had been quartered in his house. A man in the country to whom some "pitiful évacués" had been brought burst out in a frenzy: "What do these strangers want? I've already said I had no room. Get out!" He also was arrested.

The May number of the Austrian *Rundschau* describes the reception that 1,200 mothers and 5,200 children from Duisberg met in the province of Styria. It was so hostile that Gauleiter Uberreither issued a proclamation warning innkeepers, artisans, and shopkeepers that if they continued to be disagreeable to the évacués their houses and shops would be closed. It is not surprising that under such circumstances evacuation seems to many a worse fate than being bombed. The *Völkische Beobachter* of June 21 noted that 10,000 persons who no longer had a roof over their head refused, nevertheless, to leave the town. Rather than be transplanted to a hostile world, they live in cellars and holes under the ruins.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Devil in the Piece

THE TRAGEDY OF EUROPEAN LABOR, 1918-1939. By Adolf Sturmthal. Columbia University Press. $3.50.

OF THE great heap of books on the European disaster very few have dealt with labor's responsibility for what happened, and these few have been polemical works by sectarian thinkers, designed to show that the collapse was due to the other fellow's mistaken theories about reform or revolution or what-not. Dr. Sturmthal makes a sustained and documented effort to analyze not only what happened in terms of a general theory of fascism, but to put forward a reasoned theory of labor action. This reviewer, who does not accept the Otto Bauer theory of the origin of fascism which the author uses, nevertheless believes this to be the best account of labor history during the great inter-war crisis that has yet appeared. It is less sectarian than John Strachey's books and far more searching than Mr. Laski's extended pamphlets. The excellence of Dr. Sturmthal's surveys alone, apart from his theory, should win for the author the attention of serious men.

Fascism, according to Bauer, comes into existence when there is a balance of class forces neither of which is strong enough to defeat the other. As a result of stalemate and disruption, the masses, and particularly the middle class, then turn to fascism. And, adds Dr. Sturmthal with greater credibility, fascism is born when the labor movement, confronted with such a social crisis, confines itself to what he calls pressure-group politics. Pressure politics, indeed, is the devil in the miracle play. Confine him in the dungeon beneath the stage and before long he leaps up again with a mocking laugh. And this devil is not to be exorcised by merely switching one's allegiance from the reformist to the so-called revolutionary parties, for these latter parties have also thought in terms of pressure rather than of preparing a daring reconstruction of society. By pressure politics the author means, of course, representation in Parliament or strike action in the field that is designed to resist the demands of the employing classes or to improve popular conditions within the existing social order or within the limits of accepted fiscal policy. Dr. Sturmthal, as an expansionist economist of the Swedish school, urges upon the American and European labor movement a consideration of the modest success which Swedish labor achieved. He is not dogmatic about this, however, and perhaps he would agree that expansionist policies are appropriate to countries which have a politically developed agricultural class ready to ally itself with labor, and in which the capitalist forces are relatively weak.

But just as one does not need to accept the Bauer theory of fascism, so one can fully recognize the merits of the author's treatise without being an expansionist economist. For what Dr. Sturmthal does establish is that in great measure the victories of fascism were due to labor's unwillingness to govern, and its disinclination to apply its own proposed remedies, revolutionary or reformist, when in power or office. The example of the British Labor Party will suffice. "It made the mistake," as Laski has said, "of seeking to survive by accepting a Liberal tradition which was already obsolete Under Mr. MacDonald's leadership, it sought merely to extend the boundaries of social reform. When it made the treatment of the unemployed, instead of the reconstruction of industrial organization, the pivot of its domestic policy it was in grave danger of assuming that a mere policy of cash concessions to the under-dog would suffice to win popularity for it." The consequence was that the Labor Cabinet split and a group of its most important leaders, following the logic of their thought, went over to the party which really believe in capitalism.

One of the most original contributions which Dr. Sturmthal makes is his description of European revolutionary parties as merely radical. He is by no means prejudiced against any particular party and recognizes the merits and demerits o them all. But he will not agree, for instance, that the Communist Party was a purely revolutionary organization, though the European debate usually assumed as much. Pinning it inner faith upon a total revolution which it never sought t prepare, the Communist Party could only make more radica demands upon capitalism than its competitors within th working-class movement. It was useless, for example, t shout "Airplanes for Spain" on the streets of Paris if on voted under all circumstances for M. Blum in the Chamber It was vain for the Communist Party of France to criticiz the unfortunate Blum for consenting to non-interventio when the party also urged him not to resign at the momen when resignation was the only means he had of making protest or a new start. And if it is right of the America Communist Party to soft-pedal social reform now and t oppose President Roosevelt's attempt to limit salaries t $25,000 a year, in the interest of unity, then it was wron to make such radical demands on the French bourgeoisie the French party did, when the only real problem of th European movement was how to aid the Spanish Republi

The conclusion that the author reaches, then, is not th all too common one that European labor went down into th pit because of its meddling with politics, but the contra one that it failed simply because it was not political enoug Strong enough to hinder the automatic operation of the o laws, powerful enough to keep a one-handed grip upon th machine which the capitalists hitherto had alone directe able to unsettle the conservative beliefs of millions, eve able to fire the imagination and win the loyalty of enormou followings, the European labor movement was fundamental a vast pressure group, hoping to preserve democracy in period when preservation meant total reconstruction. It pa for its lack of vision with its life.

With Dr. Sturmthal's detailed historical account of th crises that afflicted Europe this reviewer is in substanti agreement; yet it is inevitable that there should be som obscurity and some inadequacy. To me the least satisfacto chapters are those which deal with Great Britain and wi Spain, the two countries I know best. In both cases D rmthal has too great a readiness to rely merely upon cumentary evidence, as the following quotation proves to one who took part in the event it describes. Speaking of transformation of the Spanish popular militia into a ular army, Dr. Sturmthal writes, "After a few weeks sident Azaña began to organize a new army. The right- ng Socialists supported this move; so did the Commu- ts." The fact is that the necessity of a regular army was t recognized by the Communist Party of Spain, for a g time the only party earnestly supporting the October ree which it had persuaded the other parties of the Popu- Front to accept. The documents, of course, will sustain . Sturmthal's assertion. The future folklore of Madrid will ute it. Too often the European will feel himself whisked oss difficult spots by Dr. Sturmthal's too magisterial hand. t no other book deals so painstakingly with the role of or during the long crisis. Because it offers an excellent nplement to the work of writers, like Professor Schuman, o largely ignore public opinion, "The Tragedy of Euro- n Labor" is compulsory reading for liberals.

RALPH BATES

he Spirit of France

NAISSANCE. Revue Trimestrielle publiée par l'Ecole Libres des Hautes Etudes, New York. Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2. $2.

HERE are few things in history more tragic than the hush that followed the downfall of France. The army ich had been, in D. W. Brogan's words, the shield and rd of freedom was annihilated; the ripest and most hu- ne of cultures was stilled.

n June 18, 1940, General de Gaulle sounded his clarion l, and Fighting France was born anew. Almost as swiftly France of the spirit resumed her place in the vanguard. first the army of De Gaulle was pitifully small; the little iews that appeared in London had a limited circle of ders. But the flame was kept alive.

radually Free France, Fighting France, had to be ac- owledged as the real France, the only one with which we ld deal without betraying our own ideal. And in the same the intellectual activities of the Free French grew in esion and vigor. Under Belgian and Free French auspices, h the generous cooperation of the New School for Social earch, an Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes was created in w York. Henri Focillon, the historian of art, was its first sident. Its present head is the philosopher Jacques Mari- . The remarkable group of scholars gathered in this ool are now issuing a quarterly aptly called *Renaissance.* first volume, containing the January and June numbers, just been released.

enaissance is at the same time a scholarly, even an aca- ic, publication and a review of a more general character. the whole, an excellent balance has been maintained. hough some of the essays are erudite, none is abtrusely nical; and those which have the widest appeal are not pular" in the shallower sense of the term. The book re- ws are on a very high level. This is an epitome of a great ure which still provides pioneers in every field.

The Germans and Vichy unite, for their own purpose, in fostering the myth of French decadence; and some Americans have fallen victims to that insidious propaganda. There is no "decadence" in France except among the Quislings. France suffered heavily for our common sins of omission and commission. But her spirit was not broken, and the tradition of a thousand years is still bearing fruit. Of this indomitable life, *Renaissance* is the irrefutable manifestation. The magazine is disinterested, not polemical; it advances no claims. But by its very existence it reminds us of a fact which is blurred in the minds of many journalists and politicians: that without the full cooperation of France world culture would be mutilated and world order precarious.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Virginian Leonardo

JEFFERSON: THE ROAD TO GLORY (1743-1776). By Marie Kimball. Coward-McCann. $4.

TOO much cannot be written about Jefferson. As Mrs. Kimball makes clear in her preface, Jefferson has always been represented partially—in two senses of the word—and it is, I think, increasingly important for the fruitful knowledge of our own past that a difficult, complex, unstandardized figure like Jefferson should become better and better known. In addition to Albert Jay Nock's intelligent reworking of the nineteenth-century biographies and Mr. Mayo's more recent compilation of Jefferson's own words in biographical sequence, we need a detailed treatment which shall not be exclusively intimate, political, picturesque, or artistic but all of these and as much more as the subject requires. Mrs. Kimball, a tried researcher in Jefferson archives, puts the future encyclopedic biographer in her debt by giving him in this volume a great deal of new material and a number of new conclusions affecting the first half of Jefferson's career.

She makes plain, among other things, the important fact that her hero was a rich man, related by marriage and friendship to the ruling families of Virginia and designated by heredity for the task of government. The details she supplies restore the proper feeling for the conditions of American freedom and American independence. Our truest democrat before Lincoln was such by conviction and reflection; he was, in the cant phrase, "a traitor to his class"; and in all he said and did politically he was going against the current of established respectability, conservative right thinking, and safe courses.

It appears at the same time that in matters of thought, art, and belief Jefferson was a balanced mixture of classic and romantic, traditionalism and originality. Making his own way through the prevailing influences of the time, whether in gardening or political theory, Jefferson turned out to be a very precocious and self-assured *uomo universale,* a Virginian Leonardo, interested in all things but aloof and spiritually solitary, except perhaps for the ten years of his fortunate and happy marriage.

This, together with a very striking portrait of Patrick Henry, is the main contribution of Mrs. Kimball's learned pages. Unfortunately, it takes a little digging and reassembling to obtain. For her book is less an account of the first

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half of a man's life than a series of fourteen monographs c
aspects of a nascent career. In truth, it is hard to discern tl
writer's plan and intention, for she gives us, mainly abo
Patrick Henry, passages of genuine historical writing-
chronological order, balanced grouping of facts, and narr
tive art. The rest, which is the bulk of the volume, is a
ranged topically and neglects both proportion and narrati
style. Secondary characters receive the same kind of attentic
as the main figures: for instance, if the author mentions a
unimportant clergyman and happens to know the dimensio
of his church, the dimensions are set down. In the midst
interesting substance we get three pages discussing the quali
of paper and the form of handwriting in various portions
Jefferson's diary. All this is important to the scholar and
do not scorn it; but it is scaffolding, which should disappe
from the finished edifice, or at most should be stowed aw
in the sub-basement of footnotes. The common reader, ther
fore, must be prepared to climb his way through much timb
work in order to get rewarding glimpses of the surface a
structure that interest him.

From the evident skill with which Mrs. Kimball has,
the one hand, collected her materials and, on the other, co
posed the revolutionary episodes starring Patrick Henry, o
may hope that she will consider the present work a ske
and source book preparing the way to the complete biograp
she can and ought to produce. In that future work it is a
to be hoped that certain ambiguities of expression and so
slipshod phraseology that mar the present pages will
avoided: they are bound to seem worse than they are in co
trast to the high intelligence and felicitous writing of wh
the author is capable.

JACQUES BARZUN

The Wisdom of Asia

MEN AND IDEAS: AN INFORMAL HISTORY
CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT. By Lin M
sheng. The John Day Company. $2.50.

THE WISDOM OF CHINA AND INDIA. By Lin Yuta
Random House. $3.95.

LIN YUTANG is known in China as a philologist and v
Lin Mousheng is an American-trained political scien
Outside of their surnames, and the fact that each is trying
serve both China and the United States by popularizing C
nese thought, the two authors have only their nationa
and style manuals in common. Both use the partial refo
for transliterating Chinese terms into Roman letters wl
Dr. Lin Yutang has devised. This consists in retaining n
of the old, standard Wade-Giles spelling of Chinese
then running the words together. Thus Mo Tzu (pronour
something like *maw dz*) is spelled "Motse." Book titles
come such unidentifiable monstrosities as "Kuoku Lunhe
or "Chungkuo Shehhuishih Lunchan," which no lay Ar
can could pronounce without a Dr. Lin at his elbow. A
from this irritating but unimportant idiosyncrasy, each w
marks a major contribution to the field of Western pop
writing about China.

The younger Dr. Lin has produced a general surve
Chinese political thought which reveals the richness, ir

ity, and variety of Chinese speculation about government. Fifteen major thinkers are presented. Each is labeled with a tag which orients him in terms of Western political thinking: "the metaphysical monarchist," "the sociological anarchist," and so on. The life of each thinker is given, together with a persuasively plain appraisal of his historical background and political role; the rest of each discussion is reconstruction—frequently brilliant—of the political theory in wholly Western terms. The job of transposing Chinese ideas and values into Western terms is at best a ticklish one. Dr. Lin proceeds with superb assurance and bold imagination. His work will stir up storms in many academic teacups, but it is apt to remain standard for some years as the first attempt, in a Western language, to outline the general development of Chinese political thinking.

Many Chinese theorists and treatises are here presented for the first time. The novice in Far Eastern studies will do well to seek parallel translations before relying too heavily on Lin Mousheng's characterizations, but the general reader may treat himself to the rare experience of entering fresh, new, hitherto unexplored fields of political ideas. "Men and Ideas" will excite any intelligent American with its revelation of Chinese political versatility. As a clear, popular summary of the stuff of Chinese political thinking, the work is an important datum for considering post-war China; obviously no people with such a past could drift into the absurdities of fascist dogma.

Lin Yutang's "The Wisdom of China and India" deals with wisdom only in the sense in which the term is employed by publishers. The omnibus is a magnificent hodge-podge, and constitutes first-class entertainment. Dr. Lin has literally shoveled in the material. The Indian section includes samples of Hindu and Buddhist writings, including some superb translations of the fiery, dogmatic sermons of Gautama; and it also includes, in toto, Sir Edwin Arnold's Victorian classic, "The Light of Asia." The Chinese section is equally odd, since the bulk of the selections is philosophical, but the concluding portion is made up of what Dr. Lin likes in modern Chinese fiction and belles-lettres. The fact that these works had already been translated by Lin Yutang but had been published only in fugitive bilingual editions by the West Wind Press of Shanghai may have influenced the editor into taking materials which he found accessible. The net effect is as though a compendium from Plato, Aristotle, Jesus, and Aquinas concluded with some of Poe's stories, favorite passages from the "Pickwick Papers," Bierce's epigrams, and Barbellion's "Journal of a Disappointed Man." The reader will get the biggest value per dollar which has been seen for a long time in the bookstores; and even scholars will buy the book because of its invaluable accessible reprints of much important material—with Lin Yutang's own translations not the least important.

Lin Yutang proceeds with ponderous archness to introduce the average American to both Chinese and Indian cultures. Only a literary masochist would read the book through from its beginning to the end on page 1,104, but there are few literate persons who could not find hours of enjoyment, some pleasures of new discovery, and a great deal of information in the volume. The anthology does bring China and India closer to Americans by introducing everything from

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hymns to quips. Political matters are disregarded by Lin Yutang, except for those writers whose work is wholly political; but he reveals the springs of taste and temperament from which all politics must spring. PACIFICUS

By Way of Egypt

PIONEER TO THE PAST: THE STORY OF JAMES HENRY BREASTED. By Charles Breasted. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

THE life of James Henry Breasted falls into a typically American pattern which for all its familiarity is not easy to understand. The qualities that made him a great Orientalist—unswerving determination, tremendous labor, vision—were accompanied by a growing sense of frustration in his personal life. He considered his personal life a failure; yet it was perhaps the recognition of that failure which spurred him on to greater achievement in his work. His emotion was indwelling; it was passive and inarticulate, characterized by renunciation, tenderness, and infinite patience. He wondered about the source of his own ambition and the confidence he inspired in others. The feeling of mystery concerning the "cunning laws" governing his own life and the life of ancient man continuously inflects his writings. There were times when he saw the reason for his loneliness in his choice of profession.

> The career of man down into Christian times—*that* is a fascinating study! . . . I can only study his early progress while regarding him in the mass. I cannot follow him into the ages of the development of the individual, when he discovers the worth of himself as a soul. This leaves unused in myself capabilities of comprehension and sympathy which I long to employ. I wonder if we get another chance somewhere else to do it all over again in the light of what we have learned here.

Breasted promised himself that before he was forty he would become the leading authority on Egyptian history, history based on the original monuments, not on German research. Behind that promise were the sacrifices and unquestioning faith of his family. He studied pharmacy for four years and worked as a prescription clerk until a spiritual crisis led him to the Chicago Theological Seminary. He soon abandoned his desire to preach the gospel and finally made his way to Berlin and Egyptology. The year he received his doctor's degree—his letter to his family describing the examination is very moving—he married and took his wife on an "epigraphic honeymoon" up the Nile in a *dahabiyeh* named Olga. Somehow that trip has a homely American quality which makes it seem for all the world as if they were floating down the Mississippi in a river boat.

Throughout his life he was fond of referring to himself as an Illinois prairie boy. He had that kind of melancholy homelessness, as if his personality were lost in incomprehensible vistas of space. The yearning is the same whether he is looking at the mountains of Wyoming or at the ruins of cities dead 5,000 years. Yet the man whose longing for a home was so profound built a house in Chicago designed after a Renaissance Italian villa. "It lacked," says Charles Breasted, "what my family needed above all else—the quality of sunlight."

Sharing with other Americans of his time the sense of living in an amorphous and traditionless present, he was impelled toward an all-embracing past, as if the past alone, being secure, could give meaning to the present. Breasted went back as far as it was possible to go in his search for the whole tradition of mankind. Moreover, he did not merely study the history of early civilizations; he discovered what never before had been known. And in the ancient beginnings, in the "New Past" as he called it, he found hope for the future—"an infinity of possibilities not even faintly suggested by the present!" His last look, "The Dawn of Conscience," expounds the belief that "the culmination of a developing universe is *character*"—the outcome of the struggle between the age-old passion for power and the new-born conscience.

But Breasted was not a philosopher, nor did he claim to be, and the far-off victory of character is a hope more fervent than confident. The utopian dreams were still a retreat from reality; neither past nor future could equal the life he failed to live in the present. As he grew older he was cast back into the arms of his own past. The man and his work merge in the illuminating anecdote of his discovery of an inscription of an ancient king. As he deciphered the name, a vision rose before him of a far-off Sunday school and a group of village boys who "with heads together over a Bible were struggling with the difficult proper names of an old Hebrew chronicle." And there was the name, carved nearly 3,000 years ago.

The heartbreaking battle to finance his expeditions, the curious story of the Cairo museum project, the exciting description of his 2,000-mile journey up the Nile, the strange history of Gracilla Smith and Salib Claudius—these are only a few of the extremely interesting chapters in Dr. Breasted's career. Particularly interesting in the light of events present and to come was his experience in the Near East in the post-war world of 1919-20. ("My God," said Lord Curzon, "to think that at such a time His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs should have been ignorant of the facts you have brought me!") The hope in America which he found in Iraq and Syria embarrassed him; it assured his safety and his disillusion. Finally, I have never read a more fascinating account of the opening of King Tutenkhamon's tomb or of the astounding ramifications of that international episode at which both Charles Breasted and his father were present. It is amazing to learn, by the way, that to this day no scientific or even adequate treatment of the discovery has been published.

Charles Breasted has made scrupulous use of original biographical material. The fact that he shared so many of his father's experiences has enabled him to be beautifully, no stodgily, objective. He has also been wise enough not to exclude himself as the small boy puzzled at the peace and calm of other homes, who was never able to conquer, as his father was not able to understand, "the overwhelmingly depressing effect upon me of the dead world which was hi supreme inspiration." But most important are the depth and constraint of his understanding, which bring to life so unobtrusively his father's great kindliness.

H. P. LAZARUS

Digest of Clausewitz

THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF CLAUSEWITZ. Presented by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph I. Greene. Longmans, Green and Company. $1.50.

VERY few works have had as great an influence on military thought as Clausewitz's monumental "On War." Military leaders and writers—Jackson, Foch, Moltke, Fuller, Schlieffen, and many others—have freely praised Clausewitz and admitted their reliance on him for basic ideas. The service regulations of our own and other armies quote him, often unconsciously to be sure because his teachings have become so much an accepted part of war doctrine that their origin is overlooked. Longmans, Green is to be congratulated for bringing out "The Living Thoughts of Clausewitz," thereby filling a definite need for a modern English translation of a great book long out of print and difficult to secure. This compact volume of some 200 pages provides an abbreviated but excellent version of the work of the great Prussian thinker on war.

In a short review one can only indicate very briefly its contents. It is divided into seven main sections: The Nature of War, Theory of War, Strategy, Offense and Defense, Plan of War, War and Politics, and Conclusions. These in turn are minutely subdivided. The whole book is logically organized, systematic and comprehensive in its treatment of each subject, profound in thought and at the same time lucid in expression. While occasional illustrations from the field of tactics are obsolete, the conclusions drawn from the studies of past wars, especially the wars of Napoleon, are substantially as sound as they were 150 years ago. The United Nations after the current war, for example, will do well to heed the warning that in war the result is not absolute: "The conquered state often sees in it only a passing evil which may be repaired in after times by political combinations."

DONALD W. MITCHELL

Fiction in Review

WITH her second novel the author of "Young Man with a Horn" deserts the jam session for the life of the mind; what hot jazz there is in Dorothy Baker's "Trio" (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50) sounds, as it were, off stage. Based on a theme dear to Henry James—the impact upon an innocent American of a complicated European—"Trio" is set in a Western university town and among university people; it is even courageous with a certain amount of intelligent talk about the nineteenth-century poets. I find this a pleasant progression in a young writer, from jazz musicians to teachers of French literature, and I wish Mrs. Baker could have made the advance with both feet and a fully adventuring intellect. But it is precisely as a novel of the mind that "Trio" fails, and quite despite Mrs. Baker's intention and craft. It is an enormously readable book, swift and tight, polished to the point of brilliance, and plotted with the kind of dramatic suspense which makes it impossible, once you have opened to its first page, to put it down again without racing through to the end. And yet, almost in the measure that we are seduced by Mrs. Baker's craft, we feel betrayed, finally, by the essential poverty of her thought.

There is enough "mystery" in "Trio" to make one careful about giving away the plot, but I suppose it is all right to report that it is about two women in a homosexual relation, with trimmings. One woman is a cultivated Parisienne who is a professor of French literature, and the other a young American graduate student whom the French lady has taken under her elegant bat-like wing. Then there is a young man who falls in love with the American girl. The ensuing triangle is capable of an infinite variety of treatment, but unfortunately Mrs. Baker's approach is a good deal closer to Hollywood-Broadway than to James.

I mean this in several ways. In the first place, it is the stated intention of the author to mold her novel as closely as possible to the form of the drama: Mrs. Baker tells her story largely by action and dialogue, and she even goes so far as to divide her book into three parts, or acts, and to limit her cast of characters to three leads and her scene to two simple sets. But this strikes me as a kind of novelistic suicide: I keep wondering what virtues Mrs. Baker finds in the drama form to warrant the assimilation to it of the novel form. Suppose it does add pace to a story, it also imposes upon the novel an arbitrary and mechanical unity and robs it of the diversity which is its peculiar charm. Then, and this is exemplified in all Mrs. Baker's characters, there seems to be a blood connection between theater techniques and cliché notions of characters. Mrs. Baker's people are not people but Hollywood stencils. Her young American girl, for instance, goes through her harassing emotional experiences equipped with little more in the way of a characterization (I do not mean character) than a loose sweater, a string of pearls, and a lock of hair which needs constantly to be brushed back from her face. Ray MacKenzie, the young man of "Trio," is one of those sturdy independent types (he enters the story as a kitchen helper at a university tea) who turns out to be simply John Garfield without the sterling neurotic accent. In other words, for all that Mrs. Baker's book is supposed to be about educated people, it is really about a Girl, a Villainess, and the Boy who meets the Girl. And consequently the French poetry which is so much the concern of the two women might just as well be the secret plans in a Hitchcock movie.

Indeed, in all sorts of significant ways "Trio" reminds me of certain Hitchcock films. There is the same sense of the firm directorial hand slowly losing its grip, of the spacious opening so wide with promise and of the gaps closing without being filled, the same sense, at last, of having been profoundly cheated intellectually and emotionally, of having had your nerves twanged. There is the same craftiness about craft and the same assumption that an interest in psychopathology is equivalent to a deep understanding of human motive and conflict. The trap of the over-slick story—especially of the over-slick story of psychological horror masquerading as a story of psychological insight—seems to me to be a particularly bad trap for a young writer to fall into. If it is Mrs. Baker's notable writing talent which tempts her into it, perhaps she should be assured that some very fine novelists have for good reason been willing to rest in a less obvious technical proficiency.

DIANA TRILLING

IN BRIEF

A HUNDRETH SUNDRIE FLOWRES. By George Gascoigne. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by C. T. Prouty. University of Missouri Press. $2.50.

In this splendid reprint of the original edition of 1573 the Flowres still yield "sundrie sweete fauours of Tragical, Comical, and Morall Discourses, bothe pleasaunt and profitable to the well smellyng noses of learned Readers." Gascoigne, one of the most fascinating of early Elizabethan figures, by the very amplitude of his career—he was poet, dramatist, critic, moralist as well as soldier, adventurer, and courtier—beautifully demonstrates the accommodation of native English tradition to foreign Renaissance influence. Although most of the Flowres are transplanted from the formal Italian gardens of Petrarch and Ariosto, the lovely Lullabie and the charming And if I did what then? are as fragrant as ever. Especially interesting as an example of one of the first novels in English is a love story in prose and verse concerning the adventures of a courtier and his mistress and the means by which they at last succeed—"The coales were quicke, the woode was drie, & I began to toste"—"in accomplishing of common comfort."

TRAVELS IN AFGHANISTAN, 1937-1938. By E. F. Fox. The Macmillan Company. $4.

Mr. Fox, an American mining engineer, was employed by a firm of concessionaires to explore Afghanistan from end to end. The interest of his volume, to others than geographers, will lie in the author's vivid and sympathetic account of a very independent people. It should also be of use to military students in need of information about this mountainous buffer between British India and the U. S. S. R.

RECORDS

VICTOR'S June list offers the Bridal Chamber Duet from Act 3 of "Lohengrin," sung by Flagstad and Melchior with the Victor Symphony under McArthur (Set 897, $2.50 plus tax). The music is good early Wagner; but the important thing about the set is its superbly lifelike reproduction of one of the most phenomenally beautiful voices in history. The set also reminds us that it wasn't only her voice that made Flagstad remarkable, but also her musical feeling and taste in phrasing.

Bjoerling too delights us not only with one of the most beautiful tenor voices of recent years, but with the fine musical taste with which it is used in music like the fine *E il sol dell' anima* duet from "Rigoletto" and the trashy *O soave fanciulla* from "La Boheme" (11-8440, $1 plus tax). Hjoerdis Schymberg, the soprano who sings with him, has a voice which is agreeable in its lower range but gets quite acidulous higher up, more so in the "Boheme" duet than in the "Rigoletto." This may be due partly to the recording that gives Bjoerling's voice a metallic rasp or edge in fortissimo in the "Boheme" duet.

Decca's second volume in the Brunswick Collectors' Series (Set B-1001, $3.50) offers a group of performances recorded by Red Nichols. Four of them were done in July, 1930, with a group that included Jack Teagarden, Benny Goodman, Joe Sullivan, and Gene Krupa: "China Boy" and "Peg o' My Heart" (80004), "The Sheik of Araby" and "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble (80005). Of these "China Boy" has the most vitality as a group performance, and has two excellent choruses by Sullivan; but Goodman plays in the twittering-of-birds style that Panassié denounces in his recent book (which I'll get around to soon). It is surprising, in fact, to hear how poor in invention and bad in tone Goodman's playing is in these performances. On the other hand Teagarden is invariably excellent; and his playing and Sullivan's make "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble" and "The Sheik" worth listening to (the "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble" is not the performance originally issued by Brunswick, but one pressed from a second master). Two performances were recorded in April, 1929, with Teagarden, Goodman, and Krupa: "Indiana" (second master) and "Dinah" (80006), with excellent playing by Teagarden, and a good solo by Goodman in "Indiana" (which wavers in pitch in my copy). And two were done in February, 1930, with Teagarden, Jimmy Dorsey, and Krupa: "Tea for Two" and "I Want to Be Happy" (80007), of which the first is excessively slow and melting, but the second has exciting ensemble vitality. Dorsey's playing is facile, but his round, solid tone is a relief after Goodman's.

There is much more of that ensemble vitality to be heard in the 1928 performances of Jimmy Noone's Apex Club Orchestra reissued in another Brunswick volume (Set B-1006, $3.50): "Apex Blues" and "Sweet Lorraine" (second master) (80023), "I Know That You Know" and "Sweet Sue" (80024), "Four or Five Times" (second master) and "Every Evening" (80025), "Monday Date" and "Blues My Naughty Sweetie Gives to Me" (80026). Though I enjoy Noone's big, round, firm tone and powerful slow style in the two blues, and his rhythmically incisive florid style in "Every Evening" and "Monday Date," it is Earl Hines's playing that I find most exciting in these performances, especially in "Four or Five Times" and "Monday Date." It is, in fact, the only thing I like in "Sweet Lorraine" and "Sweet Sue."

Renewed requests for my opinion of sapphire needles lead me to quote from Stipulation No. 3644 signed by the Federal Trade Commission and the Electrovox Company concerning the Walco needle. The company agrees that it will not use the word "permanent" to describe the needle, or any other words "to convey the impression or belief that said devices are of such unlimited span of usefulness that they will continue or endure without fundamental change when employed for their designed uses"; and that it will not use the words "will not wear down records" to describe the results of use of the needle, or any statement "to cause the belief or impression that contact between a revolving record and the said needle will not cause impairment, as, for example, that due to wear of either the needle or record."

The fact is that ordinary records containing abrasive wear down even a diamond point, which is harder than a sapphire, and harder also than the miraculous metal alloys you have been reading about; and that a sufficiently worn jewel point will damage records. A jewel point should be used only in a specially designed light pickup of which it is an integral and permanent part; then the rate of wear is sufficiently slow. What should not be used is a jewel point on a needle that is inserted into the ordinary pickup weighing, say, two and a half ounces. With such a pickup nothing more "permanent" should be used than the chromium-tipped needle—a fresh one for each set of records; and the best thing to use is a fresh steel needle for each record-side.

Will Corporal G. L. Langley tell me where to address an answer to his letter?

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

ondon Carries on

ear Sirs: I met a young American the
her day who had just come over and
as looking rather beautiful in his pale
ousers and darker coat. He was all
thusiasm and was praying for a little
ombing! To be without a blitz seemed
him to have lived in vain, or at least
have crossed the Atlantic in vain.
e begged him to stop, pointing to
ndry ruins about us, explaining that
r own house had been blasted, and
sisting that it really wasn't so jolly
hile it was happening; but he evi-
ently did something about it, for last
eek we had an alarm or two every
ight while the full moon lasted.

The description by the Germans of
eir grand new bombs and the terror
ith which London received them is,
owever, rather the measure of German
ropaganda. Most of us slept in our
eds very peacefully, and only a few
tlying parts received attention from
e Germans. Bombs are bombs, even
they are few, and these of course
nashed up some houses, but the only
ightening thing about these propa-
anda raids over nearly all London has
een the row made by our own barrage.
hat is stupendous, especially the
ockets, which make a noise going up
ke that of bombs coming down—only
uch more so. I was praying that there
ight not be a raid on Friday night,
hich is my fire night, since in any case
rning out at three in the morning is
nuisance, but just as I was thinking
was all right and they wouldn't come,
ff went the siren and out I had to turn
nd, with a companion, go and watch
e Embankment. For five minutes the
oise was deafening—all our own stuff
-and the sky was pricked with what
oked like little sparks. Then one of
e wardens came along, and we watched
omething red in the sky which broke
to several pieces. We are supposed to
eport flares, though this didn't look
ke one. The warden reported it, and
proved to be an airplane which was
eing brought down. I don't really like
eople to die, but when the Germans
queal about our barbarity I do some-
mes wonder what they think other
eople believe, especially as at the same
me they tell their own people of ter-
fic raids over London.

In the meantime we go to plays—many of them far away from the war, such as Restoration plays or Russian plays or some Shakespeare; we try to shop, but though the windows look full there is very little in the shops when it comes down to buying something; what you can do for a coupon is common conversation, far more than the huge prices of clothes for all but utility clothes, of which there are very good exemplars. Girls all go bare-headed and bare-legged—indeed, I was at an interdepartmental conference at one of the ministries the other day and two women pundits turned up with large mottled bare legs. Liquor is very difficult to get and costs a fortune. Rubber has disappeared, and we are wondering what to do about the various purposes for which elastic is necessary. But perhaps the most noticeable change is the disappearance into uniform of all the twenty-year-olds or thereabouts. There are the A. T. S. girls of the Army, the Waafs of the Air Force, and the Wrens of the Royal Navy. The latter look the smartest and are also perhaps most carefully picked. But they all look charming. Uniform has become an age mark, and everybody not in it is either very young, or getting on a bit.

We are painfully shabby and untidy, I am sorry to say. If you see somebody smart, she is generally American or Canadian. London seems full of these, and in buses you notice them everywhere, many of them of course in uniform, which is very becoming to them. If you could come straight to London from pre-war days, you would find it extraordinarily changed, even though the parks and to some extent the flowers, are at their loveliest—green mingled with blossom. Although this should have been a bad spring, there seems to be a wealth of flowers everywhere. The ducks are ornamental in the parks, too. I often wonder how they feed them. Keeping pets—even the harmless necessary cat—is very difficult, and some butchers have a private system by which cats become "registered customers," that is, if the holder of a ration book deals at a certain shop the butcher will keep dreadful-looking delicacies such as "lights" for them.

I want sometime to write to you what we are doing about planning, but I must stop now. M. H.

London, May 26

In Defense of Banks

Dear Sirs: Charles W. Sherman of Vallejo, California, whose letter was published in *The Nation* of May 29 under the title Old Hickory Was Right, will be surprised if he sees this answer to his letter. His first surprise will be at the fact that a banker reads *The Nation* religiously and finds it of great value in helping him in his effort to arrive at a fair and just analysis of the problems now confronting the world. Mr. Sherman's second surprise might be caused by a realization of how ignorant he is of how the banks operate, and why. This letter would not be written except for the fact that there are undoubtedly many men just as uninformed as Mr. Sherman is on this subject.

Mr. Sherman says that "too many bank officials have absconded with the people's money." I warrant that over the years there have been many more bank officials who have scraped the bottom of their own pockets in their effort to protect their depositors against the inevitable losses caused by breakdowns of the economic system.

In the case of very few bank failures have the depositors lost "all their deposits." Nearly always there was some salvage for the depositor, where there was none for the banker himself or his stockholders.

In the third paragraph of his letter Mr. Sherman calls attention to the fact that there were times when banks could afford to pay 3 per cent interest on savings accounts and there were no such things as service charges. He is quite right. In those times banks could obtain from 4 to 6 per cent on their self-liquidating loans to the largest corporations in the country, and even government bonds yielded 4¼ per cent. Now, that the demand for loans of all kinds has dried up, and the government bonds which the banks are expected to purchase pay ⅜ per cent or ⅞ per cent, the average rate received by most banks on the total of their deposits and capital is little over 1 per cent. Commercial banks still paying 1 per cent for savings are running that department at a loss.

Of course Mr. Sherman did not stop to think that there is such a thing as "overhead" in the banking business. Where does he think the bank gets the money to pay the rent, taxes, salaries, stationery, etc.? It costs on the average about 50 cents a month for a bank to carry a checking account. Each item deposited or withdrawn from a bank costs money to handle.

It is not true that the government deposits funds in each bank to meet its checks that are presented. These checks have to be collected from the government in the usual way and take the usual time. Many banks cashing government checks for non-customers without charge are merely lending money without interest, besides furnishing a very useful and convenient service to which the non-customer is not entitled. In addition the Treasury Department has warned the banks not to cash government checks for people they don't know, as the banks have to accept the liability for guaranteeing the indorsement to the government. This guaranty runs for many years.

Mr. Sherman does not know that it costs about $3 to put a loan on the bank's books. Does he expect to borrow $100 for thirty days at 6 per cent simple interest, for which he would pay 50 cents and the bank would lose $2.50?

Of course banks must operate at a profit or they are not safe places for the people to deposit their money. Mr. Sherman would certainly not like to carry his funds in a bank that he knew was losing money and impairing its surplus and capital, which are paid in by the stockholders or built up out of earnings for his protection. I am afraid that Mr. Sherman just did not think it through when he wrote his letter.

F. R. VON WINDEGGER

St. Louis, Mo., June 15

Strategy, Not Views

Dear Sirs: As my article Strategy for Negroes in the issue of June 26 was sent you in February, some of the contemporary allusions are now a little faded. Understandably you have changed my original comment on Soviet policy, since what I then suggested as probable has meanwhile come to pass.

But I regret the several other alterations you have made, apparently to spare Negro sensibilities. My own view and my experience is that the Negro deserves and relishes candor like any other man.

Apparently your solicitude springs from a total misconception of my theme. Your elaborate introductory disclaimer explains that you published my article to demonstrate the gap between your position and that of even the most advanced Southern liberals. Now I doubt whether I am qualified to represent Southern liberals, and as I was born in Pennsylvania, many of them would hardly accept me. That, however, is beside the point. In my article my views are never mentioned and, indeed, have nothing to do with the subject, for I was discussing not how I felt toward the Negro but how the Negro had best act toward the white man.

Naturally I have views on the Negro, but they are held by a minority North and South. Those who advise the Negro to act as if we were in the majority are therefore strategically unrealistic.

The Negro himself has in the past shown realism on this very point. He has given his allegiance, not to John Brown, but to one who denounced the old explosivist—Abraham Lincoln. Times change, but principles do not. I believe that in facing this problem, one of the most baffling in social history, our guide should still be the leader who balanced compassion with wisdom and sought, as we should now, only the utmost the generation can give.

JAMES BOYD

New York, June 30

Frontiers as Barriers

Dear Sirs: There is a real danger that the disputes which threaten to break out between various members of the United Nations over frontiers in Europe after the defeat of Hitler may fan the flames of isolationism among the American people and lead again to a withdrawal by the American government from cooperation in organizing the world for peace.

Under such circumstances, the duty of progressives is less to take sides regarding the location of boundaries, than to try to mobilize opinion in favor of reducing in every way possible the importance of frontiers as barriers to the flow of men, ideas, and goods moving in both directions.

Not where frontiers are but what they are is the most important question. As a matter of fact, this was the unanimous conclusion reached by a group of eminent Social Democratic refugees from the Axis nations and from those fighting them, and there is little doubt that what is left of the Labor and Socialist International would throw its full weight behind the program of reducing the importance of frontiers throughout the world.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York, April 1

There's a Difference

Dear Sirs: Although in my clearly u favorable review of Ilya Ehrenburg "The Fall of Paris" in your issue January I would have wished to gi the author at least his nominal due, see that the "h" was dropped from h name. It is unimportant—I have learne that the spelling has been subject to th variation in the past. But I very muc regret that a serious distortion in th political sense of the review was printe I represent Mr. Ehrenburg as sayin that the French workers "were sold o by the league between fascism and d mocracy," whereas what I wrote in m original was that according to "Th Fall of Paris" the French workers "we sold out by the league between fascis and the Social Democracy"—which quite a different matter. I shall be grat ful if you will call this printing err to the attention of your readers.

DIANA TRILLING

New York City, June 29

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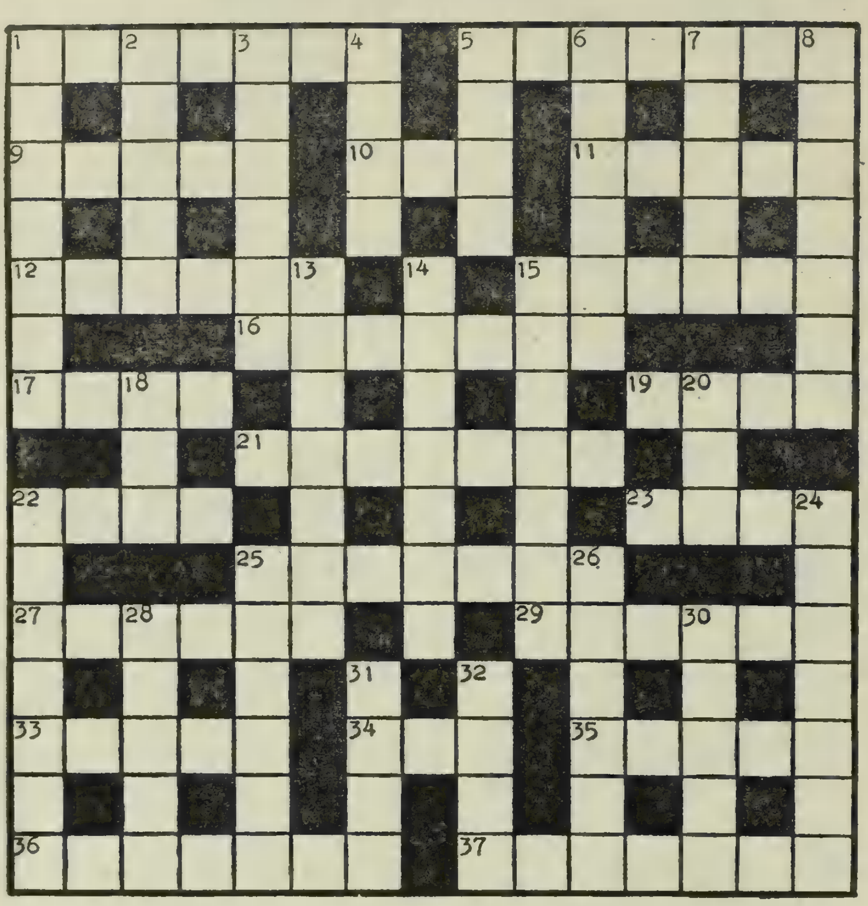

ACROSS

1 & 5 Pleased with your mail?
9 A close race
10 In the minority
11 A long berry
12 Always up in the air and harping on something
15 A latter-day Norman
16 The clue you solve first?
17 A change of mood
19 Describes the infantryman who tried to stop the tank
21 If marriage is a 36, this must be a sort of gambling debt!
22 Misled with no doctor about
23 A permanent one lasts about six months—ask the girls!
25 They keep coming round with monotonous irregularity
27 Ladies are changeable in respect of these
29 This, however, is not so hard
33 What is this may or may not be available (two words, 2 and 3)
34 What Mills became when the manuscript disappeared
35 Such a crowd is not necessarily slow in the uptake
36 Game of chance
37 This rat might be wanting something to drink

DOWN

1 Is always getting upset over trifles
2 A point often driven home at the dinner table
3 Struggle
4 Trodden underfoot for twisting the lion's tail
5 A game or a bird, but not a game bird
6 A latent gift
7 This bore sounds keen
8 Garment that fits the unmarried to a T
13 In burst of wit, Sarah doesn't stick to the truth
14 Put me in first
15 Stupid
18 There's no fuel like an --- fuel
20 Mix a drink
22 A capital thing to put on a handkerchief
24 Zealous might be the nearest
25 Affords some protection to one's arms in levees
26 Caucasian chief
28 Crow: anyhow, it's no longer last month
30 Beg this for a novice
31 Part of the make-up of a sprite
32 Nice girl, this! She monopolizes only half the umbrella!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 20

ACROSS:—1 SCRUPLES; 8 PACIFIC; 9 ESTONIAN; 10 EROSION; 12 RURAL; 13 SAGEST; 14 IRADE; 15 GUNMAN; 17 MELEE; 22 AGONY; 23 ASSAIL; 24 CAUSE; 26 PLAINT; 28 SCRAP; 29 APHASIA; 30 MAGNESIA; 31 ALL ILLS; 32 CASEMENT.

DOWN:— 1 STEERAGE; 2 RETIRING; 3 PENAL; 4 ELAPSE; 5 NACRE; 6 PIASTRE; 7 GIRONDE; 10 EGRET; 11 OSIERS; 16 ANGELS; 18 INDIA; 19 LACROSSE; 20 ELEPHANT; 21 TADPOLE; 22 ASPASIA; 25 STRATA; 27 AISLE; 28 SENSE.

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

IN ITS HASTE TO ADJOURN, CONGRESS MADE amends for some of its worst blunders. Under pressure from the House, the Senate abandoned its rider on the war-agency appropriation bills that would have required appointments of government employees receiving $4,500 or more a year to be confirmed by the Senate. By the narrow margin of a single vote the Senate finally passed the House bill expanding the borrowing power of the Commodity Credit Corporation until December 31, with no restriction against the use of subsidies for rolling back prices. Earlier in the day the House Agricultural Committee tabled the Senate's ill-considered bill to raise the ceiling on corn from $1.07 to $1.40. Thus on three major issues American voters had reason to be grateful for the Constitutional provision that all legislation must pass two houses of Congress. The only major setback occurred on the last day when the Senate acceded to the House demand for abandonment of the wheat and cotton crop-insurance program. Earlier the House also had its way in forcing the abandonment of the National Youth Administration, but the Senate had rescued the Farm Security Administration and the Office of War Information from destruction at the hands of ill-tempered critics in the House. As a result of these last-minute actions the record of Congress—which will be reviewed in greater detail in next week's Washington letter—turned out to be less disastrous than seemed likely a few weeks ago. Nevertheless, history will probably record the acceptance of the adjournment resolution as the most constructive action taken by the Seventy-eighth Congress to date.

*

THANKS TO THE COURAGEOUS USE OF THE President's veto power, the Administration's anti-inflation program emerged from the hectic Congressional session substantially intact. It is even possible that the veto of the original Commodity Credit Corporation bill with its anti-subsidy provision may prove to have been the turning-point in the long retreat before a creeping inflation. A ban on subsidies would of course have destroyed all possibility of holding the present price line and thereby opened the door to a flood of demands for increased wages and higher profit margins. With subsidies it is possible to take the offensive and roll back prices. Moreover, although little has been said about it in the press, the use of subsidies provides by far the most effective weapon available against black markets. In the case of meat, for example, the bonuses paid by black-market operators are no greater, and probably less, than the amount of the proposed subsidy. Producers and packers will therefore have an incentive to keep their products in regular marketing channels, in order to qualify for the subsidy. This will have the triple effect of freezing out black-market racketeers, holding down prices, and making certain that supplies will be equally available to everyone under the rationing system.

*

WHEN MR. ROOSEVELT BLANDLY DISMISSED the question of recognizing the French Committee of Liberation by announcing that as far as he knows there is no France except for about 5 per cent which is outside Europe, he vastly improved the chances of French unity. If there is one subject on which De Gaulle and Giraud agree—one subject on which Giraud cannot afford to disagree with De Gaulle even to keep the favor of the Americans—it is the subject of French sovereignty. With an army and navy at its disposal and the larger part of a great empire to rule, the Committee of Liberation is obviously a de facto government. No matter how provisional its powers may be, they exist exactly as do the powers of the various governments in exile. And it expects the recognition of its allies—no matter how provisional that recognition may be. The President's remark was an ill-timed affront not only to De Gaulle but to Giraud as well and to all the forces, inside and outside France, which have joined the war on our side. It revealed the sense of superiority and power that has characterized our whole policy. It turned North Africa into an American colony, the French committee into something less than a puppet government. It marked the low point in American political strategy. Not even the canards and unfounded aspersions against De Gaulle which have flooded the press since Giraud's arrival in Washington will cause such deep and well-founded resentment as those few supercilious words from the President.

*

AN INVESTIGATION OF SPANISH FALANGE activities in the United States and Latin America was demanded last week by Representative Coffee. The demand was based on revelations contained in a book "Falange," by Allan Chase, which asserts, on apparently good authority, that the Falange has been under direct control of the Nazi General Wilhelm von Faupel since 1935 and that it carries on active fifth-column work in behalf of the Axis throughout the American republics, including the United States. The information that the Falange has served as a focus of Axis activities in Latin America is not news, but Mr. Chase also has chapters on Falangist work in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the United States. He reveals, for example, how the Falange members in the Philippines became, with few exceptions, active members of the civilian-defense organizations and used their position to spread rumors and otherwise prepare the way for Japanese occupation. The same pattern of penetration into defense agencies is said to have been followed in Puerto Rico, and while the number of active Falangists in the United States is believed to be small, at least some are alleged to be active in American civilian-defense agencies. We have no way of verifying all the sensational charges contained in Mr. Chase's book, but there is certainly enough evidence of a direct link between Berlin and the Falange in Latin America to justify an inquiry. Such an investigation might profitably inquire why the Dies committee has failed to take notice of this avowed pro-Axis organization while it has been saving America from the Lovetts, Dodds, and Watsons.

*

THE *SATURDAY EVENING POST* DESERVES applause for having the fairness of mind to assess the evidence against Representative E. E. Cox of Georgia and the magnanimity to make amends to Federal Communications Commissioner Clifford J. Durr. The *Post,* which criticized Durr for asking Cox to disqualify himself as chairman of the committee investigating the FCC, has now reviewed the facts and decided—as *The Nation* did—that Durr is right. In an editorial printed last week the *Post* said that in view of the $2,500 Cox received from a radio station with a case before the FCC, "a truly sensitive man would have withdrawn from such a committee whether or not the facts mean what the commission says they mean." The *Post* also concluded that the House of Representatives had "forgotten its responsibilities when it permitted Representative Cox" to head the committee investigating the FCC. The House Judiciary Committee, in fact, seems to have forgotten completely to make any report whatever on Durr's formal petition for Cox's disqualification. The shameful situation still stands: a federal agency stumbled on evidence indicating that a Representative might have been guilty of a felony for taking money in a case before it. Instead of insisting on an inquiry by an impartial body to clear his name, this Representative, with the sanction of Congress, sets up an investigation to smear and harass the agency bringing the charges. This is not our idea of decent procedure in government.

*

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S LEAP INTO THE arms of Mayor Hague makes both the comrades and the Jersey City boss look so foolish that we are tempted to applaud. But however clownish a performance, it has a serious political purpose and one which bodes no good for the liberal and labor forces in this country. Ever since its foundation, the American Labor Party in New York has been torn by Communist attempts to secure control, with the result that its effectiveness has been considerably reduced. Now an effort is being made to organize labor parties in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other states. This does not suit the Communist Party, for the prospect that it will be able to win a foothold in such organizations is not promising. In New Jersey a labor party would gain its chief support from the strong C. I. O. unions, which are under excellent non-Communist leadership. That explains why the Communists have developed such surprising affection for Hague, who may privately be prepared to reciprocate since he too would find an American Labor Party in Jersey a threat to his power. The upshot is likely to be an attempt to hamstring independent political action by labor at a moment when the growing strength of reactionary forces makes it imperative that the voting power of the workers should be able to express itself. There are, however, compensating features in the Communist move, for one result may be to diminish still further the party's influence by enlightening some of its stooges. Already Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, who usually follows the line, has dissented from its latest swerve, declaring: "You can't whitewash a bum like that [Hague] just because he says he supports the war."

*

STUDY OF AN EXCESS-INCOME TAX HAS BEEN ordered by the House Ways and Means Committee as a possible device for raising the bulk of the $16,000,000,000 which the President has requested for the current fiscal year. The principle behind the proposal is both simple and logical. Increases in income that are directly the result of the war or the war-created inflation make up a considerable proportion of the surplus income that is threatening to create a runaway inflation. The war profits of corporations are taxed; why not extend the same principle to individual incomes? On the surface, the arguments for an excess-income levy sound so persuasive that it comes as something of a shock to find the proposal receiving enthusiastic support from conservative groups that advocated the Ruml plan and have stoutly opposed further increases in the corporation or individual income taxes on the upper brackets. This support appears to have both a political and an economic basis. The excess-income levy is in the nature of a counterproposal to the Treasury's spendings tax, which has already been blacklisted as a New Deal plan. Furthermore, the excess-income tax is regarded as a possible weapon for checking the income-leveling process which has resulted from the war. From this point of view the supporters of the Ruml plan much prefer it to the spendings tax, which would uncover the real sources of excess income but leave untouched those in which incomes have merely been raised from subnormal to normal. Despite the nature of its support, a case can be made out for the excess-income levy provided that it be combined with a spendings levy and provided that adequate safeguards be included. Low-income families should, for example, be protected by an absolute exemption that is at least as large as the present income-tax exemption, and the levy should start modestly and be graduated in relation to a man's total income rather than merely his excess income. Obviously, a man whose income has increased from $10,000 to $11,000 a year should pay more than a man whose income has risen from $1,000 to $2,000.

*

WHEN MINERS GO ON STRIKE AGAINST THE high cost of living, the newspapers, as everybody knows, call it a strike. They ascribe it, in no uncertain terms, to selfishness, lack of patriotism, and, in effect, to criminal tendencies on the part of the workers. But when cattle raisers strike for higher prices by holding their stock off the market, the newspapers speak mysteriously of "conditions which are keeping cattle out of the ordinary courses of trade." Turner Catledge wrote a whole column of this kind of double talk in the New York *Times* of July 7. He spoke of "new devices whereby the price mechanism will be manipulated in an effort to break down the fence which is holding the cattle back"—they didn't include, so far as we know, a threat to call out the troops, though as result of the stock-owners' strike cattle receipts through regular commercial channels in Chicago in June of this year were 37 per cent under last year's figure. It was not until the next to the last paragraph that Mr. Catledge came right out and said that "the livestock producers are holding back for higher prices or selling for high prices in channels which flow into the black market." As we write, the strike is being broken—not by the government, backed by an outraged newspaper opinion—but by the fact that the grass on the ranges is drying up.

*

IT IS A PITY THAT IN THESE CROWDED WAR days so little attention can be paid to the final report of the La Follette committee covering its great investigation of "Employers' Associations and Collective Bargaining in California." "No one," Senator La Follette said in presenting the report to the Senate, "has ever discovered an association of workingmen formed for the express and avowed purpose of denying to their employers enjoyment of the right to organize and associate together for economic purposes." Yet in California and elsewhere employers have organized to crush this right of their employees. Senators La Follette and Thomas warned the Senate that in a period of comparative industrial peace we dare not forget that there may be a revival after the war of the same poisonous practices. They expect anti-union employers to take advantage of reaction and deflation after this war as they did after the last and organize to smash unionism. The Oppressive Labor-Practices Act recommended by the committee report would provide labor and democracy with powerful weapons against a move of that kind. If labor is wise it will plan a strong campaign now for the eventual passage of a measure which will be badly needed once the war is over.

*

THE TRAGIC DEATH OF GENERAL SIKORSKI makes the urgent task of restoring Russian-Polish relations incomparably more difficult, for the late Premier and Commander-in-Chief approached this problem in a far more realistic manner than most of his colleagues. Indeed, there is a grave danger that the Polish government-in-exile will now become completely dominated by those romantic reactionaries who have persuaded themselves that they can pursue a war against both Germany and Russia. The Polish President, Wlaydslaw Raczkiewicz, who was formerly associated with Colonel Beck and who opposed the Russo-Polish agreement negotiated by Sikorski in 1941, is politically well over on the right as is shown by his choice of General Sosnikowski to succeed Sikorski as commander-in-chief. This selection provoked a Cabinet crisis which was patched up when Sosnikowski undertook to confine himself to military matters. The task of negotiating with Russia, if and when the two governments can be brought together, will fall therefore upon the new Premier, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, leader of the Peasant Party and a supporter of the Sikorski policy. Unfortunately the army, as the one remaining Polish institution which is intact—at least in miniature—exerts a powerful influence on political decisions, and its leadership by a man who broke with Sikorski because of his opposition to the original agreement with Russia is bound to be badly received in Moscow.

All Support for Wallace

EVERYONE who wants an all-out effort in the war must begin now, through progressive groups, patriotic organizations, and trade unions, to organize support for Vice-President Wallace in his fight with Jesse Jones. For while the Vice-President, by his outspoken and courageous attack upon Jones, succeeded in killing the McKellar amendment, that was only the first round in a new battle. The McKellar amendment would have given Jones an open legal veto over purchases of strategic materials by the Bureau of Economic Warfare. Jones's reply to Wallace indicates that he will continue to try to exert a veto by surreptitious means, despite the defeat of the amendment and despite the Presidential directive of April 13, 1942, shifting control over such imports from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the Bureau. For Jones in that reply said that the duties and responsibilities of the RFC could not "be properly discharged by signing blank checks or executing without careful examination contracts that commit the government for hundreds of millions of dollars." This is tantamount to saying that Jones will not obey the Presidential directive. And it serves notice that Wallace may in the future expect the same kind of obstructionism from Jones and the RFC that has so badly hampered the BEW in the past.

To this challenge the Vice-President can make two replies. He can ask the President to remove Jones for disobedience. This the President may not feel himself strong enough to do, for Jones has great power in Congress. Or he can ask Congress to place at the disposal of the BEW the funds it needs for the purchase of war materials and thus make it completely independent of the RFC. This is what the Vice-President has decided to do. In his statement of June 30, after the White House conference with Jones and James F. Byrnes, Wallace said that the BEW would prepare legislation of this kind during the summer recess. "Mr. Jones," the Vice-President said, "did not object to this policy decision." Jones replied only, "Mr. Wallace was not authorized to speak for me."

If Jones has so much power in Congress that the President cannot fire him, how can Wallace hope to obtain independence from Jones at the hands of Congress? This question is not so formidable as it looks. Wallace and Milo Perkins, executive director of the BEW, have twice convinced key Congressional committees that it would be unwise for Congress to give Jones a veto over the stockpile program. A number of important Congressional committees, in one investigation or another, have seen for themselves how unsuited Jones is by temperament and outlook to wage total war. The Administration still has some power left in Congress, and there are enough fair-minded and thoughtful men in that body to be impressed by facts. With a measure of public support, the Vice-President should be able to obtain passage of the desired legislation. It would be disastrous for the war effort if the BEW were left at the mercy of Jones.

On the solid basis of the facts Wallace is still the winner in this dispute. Jones's reply to Wallace's charges made up in intemperance of statement what it lacked in concrete refutation. For when one has sifted the irrelevant and the trivial from the thirty-page document released by Jones, one finds virtually all Wallace's basic contentions admitted. And one sees that Jones's principal defense is that the OPM and its successor the WPB share responsibility for the failure of the stockpile program. This is hardly news.

Jones falls back on demagoguery: "Squandering the taxpayers' money even in war time is no proof of patriotism." This not only begs the question but has a comic aspect. The man who made our present contracts with the Aluminum Company of America, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Bethlehem Steel for expansion in the fields of aluminum, synthetic rubber, and steel is in no position to accuse others of squandering public funds.

The clash between Wallace and Jones is a clash not merely of personalities but of opposed philosophies, and a victory for Jones would have serious consequences for the war effort and for post-war America. We ask all our readers to do what they can to build up the public understanding and support Wallace needs to win.

Rehearsal in Sicily

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE invasion of Sicily seems to have been accomplished with the same precision that marked the American landings in North Africa. Every report has emphasized the care with which advance arrangements had been made, the beautiful coordination of all forces, the impressive scale of the attack. Eisenhower has proved his skill in organizing and executing one of the most difficult of all military operations—a successful landing on a well-defended hostile shore.

How important the action will turn out to be no one can yet say. Some first-rate military experts believe that Hitler is prepared to sacrifice not only Sicily but all of Italy and to draw in the walls of his fortress around the heart of Europe. If this view is correct, it may be more essential for the Nazis to win a victory on the Kursk line than to shift troops to the south. But on the other hand the danger that the little second front in Sicily will develop into a real second front on the Continent may be sufficient to limit Hitler's offensive in the east.

But whether the attack on Sicily is looked upon as the direct prelude to an invasion of the Italian mainland or merely another step in the conquest of the Mediterranean island bases, it can at least be taken as a full-dress rehearsal for the final assault upon the Continent. For Sicily, unlike North Africa, is enemy territory. In North Africa a well-laid plot made possible an almost bloodless landing. In Sicily, according to the scanty reports from Allied headquarters and the more detailed if less reliable stories put out by the Axis, our troops face formidable defenses. In spite of superior air and sea power, the Allied forces landed under heavy fire and had to fight their way up the beaches. Several of Sicily's biggest airfields are still operating. Nor can we look for help from the population or from subverted officials. It is true that Sicily has always been an anti-Fascist stronghold; but even the most courageous and politically conscious elements will lie low as long as the island is guarded by three to five hundred thousand Italian and German troops. They will emerge only when military resistance begins to crumble. And even if Allied arms prevail, any potential fifth column will want to know the political intentions of the invaders before it goes into action.

We may be sure that every Italian anti-Fascist has drawn the obvious moral from the fate of the De Gaullists and other French patriots who helped the Americans in North Africa. Many of them were jailed by the men with whom we did business after the landings were accomplished; some are still locked up in Vichy prisons. And the elements we recognized and have worked with since then—from Darlan to Peyrouton and Noguès—are little different from the men against whom the Italian underground has conducted its twenty-year vendetta. Anti-Fascists in Sicily will need to be convinced that support of the Allied forces will not result in the perpetuation of reaction in Italy.

And if the underground is likely to be immobilized for political and military reasons, the ordinary people of Sicily will have the usual human reasons to resent invasion. They may be sick of war and disillusioned about Mussolini's dream of empire, but we cannot hope that they have reached the point where they prefer the horrors of invasion to continued Fascist rule.

In this sense, as well as in military terms, Sicily is a dress rehearsal for the Continent. It presents us with the difficult double job of conquest and collaboration: we must bring the enemy to his knees while at the same time we try to come to terms with those individuals and organized groups which form his active and potential opposition. To accomplish this, our commanders must develop more political sense than they have demonstrated in Africa. Unfortunately the course of events in Algiers and Washington and London offers little reason to believe that they have learned anything from their political blunders. It suggests instead that they will continue to deal with those elements in each "liberated" country which prove reliably subordinate to American authority. Men and women who have risked their lives for freedom and the defeat of fascism make poor puppets. They believe they have earned the right to govern their own countries. They will collaborate as allies; they will never serve as tools. These truths should be self-evident. They will prove as stubborn in Italy as in Algiers. And the hope of peace and a decent future depends upon the ability of those in authority to accept them while there is still time.

What the situation urgently demands is a simple, open declaration of intentions by President Roosevelt. He should promise the Italian people, in the name of the United Nations, that the Allied armies and governments after the liberation of Italy will have no dealings with Fascists but will carry out the occupation of the country in cooperation with known and trusted Italian democrats. Such a pledge would go a long way toward wiping out the evil effect of recent American policies. But we would have to mean it.

Mr. Nelson and Complacency

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 9

THERE is a serious letdown in production. Its principal cause is complacency and overconfidence. One of the main sources of that complacency and overconfidence is WPB Chairman Donald M. Nelson. To support this charge, I beg the reader's indulgence while I go over some recent events and some significant, though little-noticed, figures. Statistics make dull reading, but these concern the welfare of our armed forces and our allies, may even affect the course of the war, and they deserve our patient attention.

On June 19 Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson told a press conference that production of supplies for the army ground forces in May was 3½ per-cent under April and 5½ per cent below schedule. WPB Chairman Donald M. Nelson would make no comment for publication. But "off the record," in Washington fashion, a reply was made to the press. A WPB official said that the program of the army ground forces was only one-sixth of the total war program, that this was the area in which the largest "cut-backs" had been made, and that as a whole production in May "appeared to be" about 2 per cent above April.

The Under Secretary of War criticized both labor and management for "overconfidence and complacency." He tried to make them aware of what these production figures meant. He said that men in training would be denied needed equipment in order that shipments overseas might be maintained. "If the situation continues," the Under Secretary added, "even our overseas troops will suffer from shortages of critical equipment." The effect of the rejoinder from the WPB was to restore much of the complacency the Under Secretary may have shattered. The WPB seemed more interested in presenting an excuse than in helping to bring industry and the public to a sober and adult awareness of the greater efforts necessary if war supplies are to keep pace with strategy.

The statement issued by the WPB after the Patterson press conference was not merely poor psychology; it was also untruthful. That statement, made on June 19, estimated that over-all arms production in May was up 2 per cent. But on July 6, when Nelson issued his regular monthly report on production, it was disclosed that output in May, instead of showing a 2 per cent increase, was "virtually unchanged" from the April totals. Had the May totals been slightly above April, I think the report would have said so. My hunch is that "virtually unchanged" means slightly below April. It is true that the index number of munitions production in May is given as 563, the same as the figure for April. But the May figure is marked "preliminary," and that for April is the figure as finally revised. Preliminary figures, the ones given out to the press in these monthly reports, are usually revised downward; while the April figure is now recorded as 563, the preliminary figure originally given to the press on April production was 567. The day after the report was released, Nelson held a hurried press conference, of which Charles E. Egan, of the New York *Times,* wrote: "Nelson said that arms output was not discouraging, despite a 1 per cent decline in May as compared with April. . . ."

Whether "virtually unchanged" or down 1 per cent from April, production in May was obviously not keeping to schedule, for the schedule calls for a steady increase in production. The lag behind schedule is disclosed in the Nelson report of July 6. "Of the four major programs," this says, "merchant ships are farthest advanced, with 44 per cent of the year's objective estimated as completed by June 30. At the half-year mark, army ordnance and output of naval vessels and equipment were estimated at approximately 40 per cent of the 1943 goals, and the year's aircraft program will be 35 per cent completed." This indicates the need for a very sharp increase in the rate of production during the second half of this year if goals are to be achieved.

This lag in schedule is a very important matter at a time when the Nazis have launched a new offensive against the Soviet Union, and a second front is urgently needed, not merely to help the Russians, but to increase our own offensive striking power by coordinating it with action on the eastern front. General Brehon Somervell, in a warning against complacency in the July issue of *Mill and Factory,* says "a steady month-by-month increase in production" is necessary "to supply the bare minimum requirements of the army for the remainder of 1943, and to place us in position to deliver the striking power called for in our 1944 offensive plans." Somervell, the army supply chief, declares, "Obtaining the required rate of production increase for the rest of the year presents one of the major problems of the war for us." This quiet statement is a measure of the responsibility which rests on both management and workers in the factory.

The full measure of this responsibility cannot be brought home to the public if the WPB continues to handle production figures in its accustomed manner. On

June 19 the public is given to understand that the Under Secretary of War is exaggerating. On July 6, in the monthly report on production, Nelson admits that the lag in production is serious and says, "We cannot afford to relax our efforts for an instant." On July 7 he holds a press conference in which he says that while there has been a decline in production, arms output is not discouraging. The main impression created by Nelson at the July 7 press conference was that the failure to show an increase in May was due principally to "cut-backs" in the army program, notably in tanks, and to changes in design in aircraft. The very next day Nelson goes to Toronto and makes another of those vapid bragging speeches: "American Production to Top Axis 2 to 1 in 1943, Nelson Says." Nelson boasted that we are turning out enough small-arms ammunition to fire 1,500 bullets at every soldier in the Axis armies. Dishing out statistical tripe of this kind is no way to awaken workers and management to a sober consciousness of their responsibilities.

Nelson is relying for his main excuse on "cut-backs," especially in the tank program, on which he dwelt in some detail at the July 7 press conference. Undoubtedly these "cut-backs," along with the changes in plane design to which Vice-Chairman C. E. Wilson referred, played their part in reducing the May totals. But the "cut-backs" in the tank program began last winter. In spite of this fact, output in April had shown a 7 per cent improvement over March, and not merely an over-all increase but an increase in all categories of munitions. Cut-backs in tanks cannot explain the 4 per cent decline in merchant vessels in May or the 3 per cent decline in ground ordnance and signal equipment. I do not blame Nelson for these declines, but I do blame him for not admitting them in manly fashion and focusing attention on them in order to wake people to the need for greater effort. I believe that he himself must bear a large share of the responsibility for the complacency and overconfidence which have most to do with the letdown.

An example of Nelson's methods is seen in his June 12 report to the President on the progress of war production in 1942. "The record," Nelson wrote the President, "certainly makes it clear that the American industrial system can be justifiably proud of an astonishing display of economic muscle." A giant industrial system like ours naturally can show big economic muscles. But the record does not indicate that these muscles have been flexed to their fullest extent. For if one reads the report carefully one finds, first, that the original Victory program for 1942 was reduced from $68,000,000,000 to $51,000,000,000 and, second, that actual production was only $40,500,000,000 or 20 per cent short of the reduced goal. Nelson's excuse is that "the objectives were too high." "Had the schedules been prepared realistically," he says, "it would have been obvious early in 1942 that the objectives were out of line with resources. . . ." But how can this be reconciled with the report's admission that in 1942, despite Pearl Harbor, "the volume of commodities and services going to consumers . . . remained almost exactly at 1941 levels"—the highest in history, 8.5 per cent over 1940 and 15 per cent greater than 1939. Can it be said that the program exceeded the "limits of feasibility" when civilian consumption of materials and man-power continued at boom levels?

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE CONFERENCE of the British Labor Party, by a vote of about two to one, has decided to withdraw from the political truce. This means . . . that the party will now begin to contest by-elections, and with such action under way it is difficult to see how the Labor members can retain their seats in the Cabinet unless they withdraw from the party. On the other hand, . . . they may seek to maintain their position and carry with them in support of the government the more conservative wing of the Labor Party.—*July 6, 1918.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: . . . Joyce, J. "Exiles." Huebsch. $1.—*July 6, 1918.*

THE ANNOUNCEMENT that Miss Jeannette Rankin will contest the election for United States Senator from Montana with Senator Walsh presages an interesting fight, with the bare chance that to her lot may fall the honor of being the first woman to enter the Senate as well as the first to grace the House of Representatives.—*July 13, 1918.*

THE CIVIL WAR in Finland is over—at least temporarily. The "Whites," with the help of the Kaiser's bayonets, have conquered the "Reds" and are now apparently trying to make the country a more or less constitutional monarchy with a German prince as King. Simultaneously the White government has concluded treaties with Germany, virtually making Finland a German vassal.—*July 13, 1918.*

MORE THAN 1,000,000 Americans have been sent overseas, according to an announcement authorized by President Wilson. The total number of those returned and lost and of all casualties is now 8,165.—*July 13, 1918.*

THE NEWS from the Marne, the scene of the fifth German offensive in 1918, will thrill all America. Our troops, in this, their first major engagement, have covered themselves with glory by breaking up the German offensive on the first day by their vigorous defense and their prompt and successful counter-offensives.—*July 20, 1918.*

WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS whatever as to the enormous difficulty of the task ahead of the advocates of a liberal trade policy. No week passes without bringing fresh evidence of the strengthening of protectionist ideas by the inflamed nationalism of the war.—*July 27, 1918.*

NICHOLAS ROMANOFF, ex-Czar of Russia, was shot to death on July 16.—*July 27, 1918.*

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Washington Gestapo

BY X X X

[*For reasons which this article itself makes clear, its author has deemed it necessary to guard his anonymity with especial care. His identity has been revealed only to our Washington editor, I. F. Stone, who as a friend of long standing is able to vouch for his absolute reliability. The personal experience of the editors of* The Nation, *together with checks they have made with other government officials, fully bear out his charges. A second and final instalment will appear next week.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

I AM a minor government executive. My job is helping to run one branch of a war agency in which several thousand persons are employed. We cheerfully work long hours, swelter in the country's worst climate, live jammed together like sardines—all this because we know that our work is vital to the war. We read the bulletins from our war fronts with a thrill of pride because we know that, though we are civilians, the army and navy rely heavily on us.

We have done a great deal to help smash the Axis—far more than we can boast about in public. And we could do a great deal more if we were not daily growing more exhausted, bitter, demoralized, and even terrorized by the unceasing warfare carried on against us. The situation has been bad for a long time. It has now become intolerable. The fascists we are helping to destroy in Europe and Asia might well wish to destroy us, but this campaign is waged right here in Washington by persons working for the government, paid out of public funds. I do not refer to Dies and Kerr and Cox and Smith—their demagoguery, though annoying enough, is worse than their bite. Far more effectively the Civil Service Commission and the FBI, by their attitude toward government workers, are undermining Washington's strength and will to fight. Hitler could do no more.

The weapon that is causing all the mischief is the so-called "character investigation" to which all workers in war agencies are subjected. It is made once, twice, sometimes over and over again. As an investigation it is a travesty. It is little if at all concerned with a man's character, loyalty, or sympathy for democratic ideals and forms of government. Sometimes one or two perfunctory questions are asked concerning possible sympathy for our enemies; sometimes none at all.

A man I know has kept score on the last hundred investigators who have come to his office, consuming with their inanities, vicious or otherwise, some forty-eight hours of time that he could ill spare from his war job. He tells me that only seven of the investigators showed more than a casual interest in uncovering the facts that you or I would want to know about a man's suitability for responsible war work. (One of the seven wanted to know if the man in question was a "Nasi or a Fasi"—he made the two words rhyme and, when asked, said he wasn't sure what a "Fasi" was.)

Before this comic and tragic investigation begins, a war worker has had to survive the thorough scrutiny of the agency which hires him. We are fussy about that and properly so. Job candidates usually have to be known to some one of us, and even then they have to run a gauntlet of many searching interviews, careful checking of references, and close questioning of friends and former employers. Then, often six months or a year after a man is hired, the FBI or the Civil Service sleuths swing into action.

Every day, and sometimes four or five times a day—because I am personally responsible for the work of three or four hundred of my associates—an investigator approaches my desk, flashes his credentials, opens a notebook, and begins a routine that is both blood-chilling and exasperating. It is a sad display of confusion, bigotry, and lack of understanding of the war we are fighting. We are engaged in a struggle to the death with the fascists. Grand juries have returned indictments for sedition and treason against many of their henchmen in this country. Yet this city alone has several thousand government investigators ransacking the town for anti-fascists and using as their textbooks and tipsheets the propaganda publications of the very men and women now awaiting trial on the most serious of charges.

The investigators who come to sit by my desk solemnly ask me such questions as the following. These are actual questions, written down as accurately as I can recall them, put to me and to people I know by Civil Service and FBI investigators.

> Has Jones ever agitated for labor unions?
> Does he favor the good or the bad unions?
> Does he support cooperatives?
> Does he mix with Negroes?
> Does he seem to have too many Jewish friends?
> Does his face light up when the Red Army is mentioned?
> Does he support a second front?
> How often does he read *PM?*
> Does he own pro-labor or radicalistic books?
> Has he ever criticized the Dies committee?
> Is he one-sided or advanced in his conversation?

Is he always criticizing Vichy France?

Does he buy out-of-town newspapers?

Does he stay up late every night?

Does he turn first to Russian news in the paper?

Does he think the colored races are as good as the white?

Is he faithful to his wife?

Why do you suppose he has hired so many Jews?

Is it true that he reads *The Nation* and the *New Republic?*

Has he ever solicited for the Russian War Relief?

Did he ever say any other form of government is as good as ours?

Does he praise the movie "Mission to Moscow"?

Would you say he went far enough in condemning the Russian system?

Does he talk a lot against the poll tax?

Do you think he is excessive in opposing fascism or Nazism?

Did you ever hear him whistle or sing the communistic "Internationale" or other subversive songs?

Does he support the Newspaper Guild?

Questions like these are being used as a sieve to strain anti-fascists and liberals out of the government. They serve no other purpose. You don't look for enemy agents or sympathizers among people who read *PM, The Nation,* the *New Republic;* among people who believe in the dignity and equality of all men; among people who condemn the poll tax, Vichy France, Dies, Jim Crow; among people who admire unions, cooperatives, and the heroic exploits of the Red Army.

If investigators can manage to place Jones, the government worker, in any of those categories, the next step is a curt letter from the Civil Service Commission requesting his employers to fire him because his "suitability has not been established." This curious, weasel-worded phrase is the only indictment furnished against Jones; it usually means that he loves liberalism or hates fascism. The almost certain result is that the millions and millions of Americans who share his views and desperately need their expression in Washington will be deprived henceforth of his services.

What sort of people do the investigators single out as victims? Ordinary, decent people like ourselves. Let me tell you about three or four typical cases. Professor A, whose honors, distinguished career, and scholarly publications would fill a quarter-page in "Who's Who," was found "unsuitable" after six months or more of investigation by both Civil Service and the FBI. No one questioned his qualifications. No one suspected him of sympathy for our enemies; he had been denouncing them for a decade. But that was his undoing. He was under the usual suspicion of being a Communist or of sympathizing with Communists apparently because a cranky neighbor had said that he had loud, boorish people, "obviously Communists," at his house and because a labor-baiter with a criminal record and drunken habits spun a fantastic tale of malice. The FBI and the Civil Service Commission gave Professor A no opportunity to confront his accusers and disprove their slander. Instead, they brought forth more nonsense. Professor A had given as reference another professor, even more distinguished, whose name is well and honorably known to most educated people. The FBI looked up this man in one of their favorite authorities and reported that he was said to be radical and communistic. Their source-book was "The Red Network," by Elizabeth Dilling, who was at the moment under federal indictment on charges of sedition!

Take the case of Miss B, who was accused of having had "mixed parties" at her apartment and dismissed from her job. "Mixed" was defined, under pressure, as meaning "Negroes and whites"; later this was cautiously modified to "boys and girls." Miss B was an able, competent worker. It would be hard to say which of the definitions furnished as a basis for her dismissal was the more frivolous.

Mr. C, a scientist with hard-to-replace skills, was also found "unsuitable." He would have been perfectly suitable, it appears, if he had not been quite so active in connection with a committee organized to sponsor a concert by Marian Anderson after she had been jim-crowed by the D. A. R. (His fellow-sponsors included half a dozen Cabinet members, more than two score members of Congress, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, William Green, the Washington Chamber of Commerce, and an American Legion post.)

Mr. D, a writer, incurred the wrath of the Civil Service because six years ago his agent donated an unsalable article to *Fight,* a magazine published by the American League Against War and Fascism. In this article D said that if the fascists of Germany and Japan were not discouraged by common action of the democracies they would some day attack us. While this prophet without honor in the government was under fire, the Civil Service Commission and the FBI made no objection to the employment in a confidential post of a person who had been secretary to both the German and Finnish embassies, or of a person later arrested as an undercover propagandist for the Japanese.

Too much reading of the works of Mrs. Dilling has given the investigators a "network" psychosis. They seem happiest when they can catch a number of people in the same flimsy spider's web. Then they have uncovered a great conspiracy and can bring about a mass purge of government workers. Investigating Jones, they discover that he knows Smith; Smith is a cousin of Brown; Brown in an unlucky moment once signed a petition calling for diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union, thus getting himself immortalized in the FBI's files. Smith, Brown, and Jones, all attend a party at which stranger Zilch, who has had six martinis, says that the Red Army, by saving Stalingrad, saved mankind. Jones, Brown, Smith, and Zilch are then linked together as subversives.

Or take an actual case. An FBI agent somehow managed to copy a list of telephone numbers hanging by a government employee's telephone. The list included the plumber, the grocer, the laundry, the corner movie house—and the name of a man in the same office who, when cross-checked in FBI files, turned out to be on one of Dies's lists. A dentist was also included. A man with a name similar to his had given money to a civil-rights organization. A social acquaintance whose number was given had a brother who was on the mailing list of a cooperative organization in ill repute with the inquisitors. This was all that was needed to piece together a whole Washington "red network"; the list of telephone numbers became a "contact list" and was actually offered as ground for firing the employee in question.

By just such a trick Stuart Chase once proved that Martin Dies was a Communist; one could similarly prove that the King of England is a Nazi, or that you beat your wife. Absurd as it is, this is one of the devices of intimidation here in Washington. Through its use the most innocent of actions can be given a sinister tinge. For example, when a rabid Southern Congressman described the New York *Times* as a "Jewish Communist newspaper," an FBI man, within a week, asked me whether my acquaintance habitually read the *Times*.

In any proper procedure of hearings the investigators' stupid prejudices and absurd evidence would be ruled out—just as a policeman's notion that a man is a murderer because he wears a striped suit vanishes in the fair trial that is guaranteed to any suspect brought into court. But the hearing afforded government workers by the Civil Service and the FBI is devoid of any color of fairness or justice. The investigators are prosecution, judge, and jury rolled into one. The accused is denied counsel, witnesses, and even a statement of the charges against him. He is not allowed to face his accusers. In secluded rooms, for all the world like Gestapo headquarters in Berlin, he is bullied and intimidated and peppered with questions designed to trap him. The rankest hearsay passes for crushing evidence.

The penalty for an investigatory finding of guilt is peremptory dismissal from the government. This means being blacklisted for life, a denial to a citizen of his right to serve his country in time of war, the inference—soon known to the whole community—that he is somehow a traitor, a seditionist, a disloyal fellow to be shunned by decent men.

No government employee is safe from such an obscene attack on the elemental decencies. President Roosevelt himself could not qualify for work in a war agency. Did he not entertain the Soviet Premier, Molotov, in the White House? Busy as he is with questions of global war, he perhaps does not mark the steady weeding out from his agencies of those who could be counted on to push rather than sabotage his war program. But if the public allows the last liberal, the last anti-fascist, the last friend of the workingman and the consumer to be stoned out of Washington, or submerged until submissive in a Potomac ducking-stool, the results will be grave indeed.

Let's Look at Labor

III. DEATH IN THE FACTORIES

BY ALICE HAMILTON

THE National Safety Council's preliminary report on accidents in 1942 presents a startling picture of what the intensity of war production means in the life of the workers. Accidents, fatal or crippling, have mounted and are still mounting. Here are a few figures. While the death rate for automobile accidents fell 30 per cent in 1942 as compared with 1941, that for manufacturing establishments rose 14 per cent. In seven states the rise was more than 25 per cent. Some 18,500 workers were killed on the job, and 1,750,000 were injured, 70,000 of them permanently. Among railroad employees there were 26 per cent more deaths than in 1941, 37 per cent more accidents. Two mine explosions took the lives of fifty-six and thirty-four miners; an explosion in an ordnance plant killed fifty-four. Using our customary method of presenting disaster in terms of dollars and cents, the report informs us that the money loss of 1942 accidents—wages, medical expenses, overhead costs of insurance—is estimated at $900,000,000.

What are the causes of this appalling loss of life or of what makes life worth living—health and the ability to work? First must be cited the great increase in the number of persons employed; an influx of new, inexperienced workers inevitably increases the rate of job accidents. Also hours are longer; there are night shifts; many workers have the added fatigue of a long drive to and from work. A good hot meal does more to banish fatigue than any other measure, but even according to the optimistic statement of Dr. Victor Heiser, only some 51 per cent of the plants engaged in war production provide this for their employees. Then there is the difficulty of getting proper safety devices installed in new plants, although it is sometimes startling to see how quickly this can be done after a serious accident has made the need evident. We do not yet know what change will follow the increased employment of women, but we must not forget that women in industry are massed in the early age groups, as men are not. The majority are under thirty, many under twenty. A minority are mothers of families with many duties outside their jobs. Though women are less reckless than men, they are less experienced, more easily tired, more liable to illness, more given to day-dreaming.

On occupational sickness, which is less spectacular than accidents but in certain industries more common, we have no data from the National Safety Council as yet, and it will be some time before any can be presented. This is easy to understand. Accidents are evident to everyone; disease comes on insidiously, and often the worker does not know that the cause is connected with his work. His physician may be quite as much in the dark, and thus many cases of occupational disease go unrecognized and unreported. We hear a great deal about false claims for compensation made by malingerers, but my experience, over many years, has led me to believe that the number of workmen who conceal illness for fear of losing their job is greater than the number of those who fake illness to collect damages. There is every reason to believe that the rate of industrial disease is going up.

Inevitably it is being accelerated by the conditions of war production. Exposure to familiar harmful substances is increased, and new processes are unloosing new fumes and gases. The dangers of silica, lead, mercury, and brass are well known. Silica is one of the most widespread of the industrial hazards and one of the hardest to control. Wherever sand or silicious rock dust is present in the air, we must expect to find silicosis. And as industry is increasingly mechanized, the danger grows. Silicosis increased steadily among granite cutters after the air hammer was introduced; among anthracite-coal and metal miners after the jackhammer came in. Every increase in the demand for copper, lead, and zinc means more men exposed to silica dust. Manganese, a poison to the brain and nerves, is needed in ever greater quantities for steel; chromium, cadmium, fluorides, all are endangering larger and larger groups of workmen.

Red lead, which had practically disappeared from ship painting, is now being used again on a large scale. Enormous quantities of nitric acid go into explosives—TNT, nitroglycerine, guncotton. It is also used in the reopened mercury mines and mills to make the mercury fulminate which is the booster charge in bombs and shells. In the great class of solvents, some are highly toxic, others only slightly so. Industry had rid itself very efficiently of the more dangerous ones, but now they are back again because war production monopolizes the safer ones. The manufacturer of coatings cannot use toluol any more because it is needed to make TNT; so he turns to poisonous benzol.

New chemicals have come into use to meet war needs —to produce synthetic rubber and for new explosives. The federal Public Health Service takes up these compounds at once and tests them on animals, publishing the results as promptly as possible, but such studies tell us nothing of the slow action of a poison which the workman breathes in doses too small to produce any acute symptoms. To discover this, large groups of workmen must be carefully watched for long periods.

What should be the attitude of organized labor toward the war-time problems of accidents and disease? I think that its first duty is to take the matter seriously, and this will be a new departure. Workingmen are like all men: as long as they are strong and well they are not interested in the prevention of sickness or very much concerned about the prevention of accidents. It is a part of our national recklessness, our willingness to take risks and impatience of control, a recklessness clearly demonstrated in the automobile-accident rate when gasoline was abundant. Only the sick or crippled in any walk of life take health protection as a really important question. In my experience trade-union officials, with a few brilliant exceptions, devote their efforts not to the prevention of accidents and disease but to the securing of compensation for the victim. Money, however, can never really compensate for death, or even for serious illness. A man with lead palsy, even if he has a pension, is still a cripple. The widow of a zinc miner may have a monthly income but is still a widow. The fact that the victims face the possible disaster with fatalistic indifference and fight much harder for a wage increase than for safe conditions of work does not remove responsibility from their unions. It is for the union to be wiser and more far-seeing than the individual.

Most unions—for example, the building-trades unions and the miners—have been more alert to prevent accidents than disease, and this is natural. Accidents are dramatic and their causes are clear. Industrial disease sometimes comes on like an accident, as when a man is gassed by carbon monoxide or a girl faints on a hot day over a kettle of solvent, but usually it is gradual in its course, with nothing startling about it. Now that inexperienced men and women are coming into industry, far more vigilance is needed if they are to be protected against the dangers which the old hand has learned to recognize and avoid. In some manufacturing plants the instruction and care of green hands is admirably handled, but in

BURLINGAME

others the old rule still prevails: say nothing about the risks or you will start the employees fancying themselves sick and making foolish claims. This is where the union should step in and give the needed instruction. The federal Department of Labor supplies leaflets which describe in simple words the uses of each of the known dangerous dusts and gases, the symptoms they give rise to, and the way the worker may protect himself.

Often the workers are familiar with the danger, and then what is needed is continual preaching of safety maxims, seeing to it that the accepted safeguards are provided by the employer and used by the worker. In the case of the newer hazards, union officials can render invaluable service. Members should be encouraged to report any suspicious illness that seems to be connected with a new process. For instance, a new solvent may be introduced, and presently many of the workers may complain of illness. It is for the union to insist on an investigation by experts. Such watchfulness has led to the discovery of many a dangerous industrial gas or dust about which even physicians previously knew little or nothing.

Sometimes the investigation can be made by the medical staff of the plant. In some states the Labor Department is equipped to do it; in others the state Department of Health will consent to undertake it. When all else fails, there can be an appeal to the federal Department of Labor. The ideal system is in operation in New York State, where the Department of Labor has its own staff of expert physicians working in close collaboration with the factory inspectors. Before the war Senator Murray of Montana introduced a bill which would have made it possible for all state labor departments to be so equipped, but the measure is probably shelved till the war is ended, although it is more needed now than ever. In a few states there is good cooperation between the health and labor departments, and labor can get a hearing and intelligent help.

It is gratifying to hear that the United Automobile Workers in Detroit are reopening their own medical department. They made a fine beginning with this in the early days of the union but closed it some years ago. Such a department is in strong contrast to the system that still obtains in the coal mines, where the physician is appointed by the company and responsible to the company but is paid entirely by money deducted from the monthly pay check of the miners. The men have nothing to say about the choice of a doctor, and even if they dislike and mistrust the company's choice they are forced to support him. It is amazing that a strong union like that of the coal miners has submitted all these years to such a system.

[*This is the third of a series of seven articles on the problems confronting the American labor movement. The fourth will appear next week.*]

In the Wind

THE POLITICAL thought-reading department of *Business Week* announces that President Roosevelt doesn't really want to stop inflation: "To cinch the white-collar consumer vote, the President is counting on a campaign built around the high cost of living. That campaign calls for a vigorous price-control policy—even though an ineffective one—to establish him as the consumers' friend. Proponents say that Congress will get the blame . . . when prices go right on up despite brave words from the White House."

THE BULLETIN of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States calls for larger allocations of steel for farm machinery, and hints that the large companies could use it to better advantage than the small ones. "They have better facilities for using a variety of types of steel . . . and, in some cases, they can switch workers from munitions production."

TWO PROMINENT Massachusetts doctors who gave public support to a birth-control referendum in the last state election have been notified by St. Luke's Hospital in Pittsfield that they will not be permitted to practice in that hospital.

A *NATION* CONTRIBUTOR reports this dining-car conversation with a man just returned from Bolivia: "What's the labor situation in the mines?" "Okay now, since they picked out four or five bolsheviks and shot them." "Is that a fact? Well, what are wages?" "Seventy-five cents a day." "Can a man live on that?" "No."

THE WAR has changed our reading habits. Althea Warren, president of the American Library Association, says reading today is "of two extremes of density—thistledown entertainment . . . or research of the most . . . exacting type. . . . People who used to consume three or four volumes a week now spend a month on books like the Beveridge Report or Mackinder's 'Democratic Ideals and Reality.' "

ENGLISH ACTORS are now allowed special licenses to buy double-breasted suits, according to the London *Evening News*, "because it is considered 'not quite nice' for music-hall performers to show their braces [suspenders] or too wide an expanse of shirt on the stage."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Czech fascist organization, *Vlajka* (Flag), has been dissolved by the Nazis. It was too small to be worth while. . . . There has lately been an epidemic of fires in Belgian theaters requisitioned "for Germans only." . . . To a Bible study group in Bergen, Norway, the Nazi Bishop Falch Hansen announced that he had found references to Vidkun Quisling in the Book of Revelation.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Food Relief: a Neglected Report

BY ALLAN SPALDING

EVEN if other more controversial issues have been shoved aside, one might at least expect that on the issue of food relief the United Nations would by this time have devised a clear-cut policy. It is certainly not a problem which can be shirked until the last minute. After the war is won and the armistice is declared, there will be millions of people in devastated areas all over the earth who, because the systems of agriculture and transportation have been disrupted, will either succumb to starvation or present an insuperable obstacle to any attempt to organize the peace. In this dismal dilemma more than one political strategist may discover the hope that by offering the masses food he can abolish the danger of riot and rebellion. Such a supposition is naive. The transition from war to peace cannot be dealt with in terms as simple as that. But with an efficient relief machinery the United Nations can at least facilitate the job of reconstruction and at the same time prove that "freedom from want" is not just another empty slogan.

Up to now, no such machinery has been established. Worse still, the public has been deliberately kept unaware both of the vital necessity for coordinated planning and of the failure to secure it. Official activities with regard to food relief have been cloaked in mystery. The usual excuse for censorship is that relief feeding will require huge amounts of food and therefore be unpopular with the American people, who are getting tired of the hardships they've already been forced to undergo. Any relief program will have to be devised with great secrecy so that it can spring into full-fledged operation, unhampered by popular dissent in its initial stages.

This slipshod, undignified excuse doesn't argue well for the fiber of the American people. It is even held in contempt by most of those who are forced to advance it. Many officials in charge of the relief problem feel that people should know how the matter is being handled.

Jealous supervision is exercised by the State Department over the whole field of food relief. Not only is the Lehman committee housed in the State Department, but its staff receive their salaries direct from the department. Relief activities of other government agencies must receive the nod of the State Department. The domination of the department has made impossible even such practical steps as the creation of a central relief stockpile. No policies have been formulated which could be put into effect if war ended tomorrow.

An excellent nucleus for planning was created last October when an Interdepartmental Committee on Food Relief was authorized by—paradoxically enough—the State Department. The committee worked rapidly, and submitted its first progress report to Governor Lehman on December 15. Apparently it worked too rapidly, and too efficiently, for its own good. Its report was seen by very few officials and all mention of it was hushed. Its recommendations ignored, the Interdepartmental Committee died an ignominious death.

But the fact that a problem does exist, and that it is serious, was amply proved in the Interdepartmental Committee's report. The committee confined itself to working out the first year's relief needs for the "outer fringe" of continental Europe, comprising Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Greece, Italy, Albania, and the coast of Yugoslavia. The period of one crop year was selected as a yardstick by which to gauge requirements over a longer period of time. Members of the committee concentrated their attention on these questions:

1. About how many people in the territory considered will need some form of food relief?

2. To what extent has production in each occupied country been knocked out by the war?

3. What are the exact nutritional deficiencies, and what are the minimum rations required to supply them?

4. How large will be the food reserves of other United Nations?

5. What are some of the specific difficulties involved in establishing a relief reserve?

Here are some of the committee's conclusions—never before made public:

1. Out of a total population of about 115,000,000 in the eight countries studied, about 23,000,000 people will need either emergency or supplementary food relief. This will necessitate shipment of at least 5,800,000 tons of food during the first year. In specific proportions, the supplies will probably be composed of 13 per cent legumes, 9 per cent vegetables and fruits, 7 per cent potatoes, 7 per cent meat and fish, 4 per cent fats and oils, 4 per cent milk and milk products, 2 per cent sugar and molasses, and 1 per cent eggs, in addition to the basic cereals.

2. Domestic production in Greece, Belgium, and Norway will not be able to achieve more than two-fifths of its normal volume; in France and the Netherlands only slightly more than half. Italy's farms will produce about 80 per cent of their pre-war average.

EUROPE EXISTS

In spite of the fact that France was last week officially declared non-existent and that the same theory may be extended any day to the other occupied countries, news from England indicates that some prominent Europeans cling to the illusion that the Continent is still there. An Alliance of Parliamentarians of Occupied Countries, including France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Norway, Holland, and Luxembourg, was recently called together in London, under the chairmanship of the president of the Belgian Senate. Among the resolutions adopted was one affirming that the war was being fought "not alone for the restoration of national independence and the territorial integrity of the various countries but also to bring about the revival in the liberated countries of civil rights and a system of government conforming to democratic principles."

3. Dietary diseases are already widespread in the occupied countries, and relief demands will be almost entirely for protective foods. Since requirements for these will vary among different sections of the population in each country, four kinds of rations have been suggested—emergency, maintenance, supplementary, and special rations. These rations would call for a considerable expansion of our present processing facilities.

4. Stocks of food normally exported—such as wheat, cereals, sugar, coffee, etc.—have been piling up in some countries, and these might be contributed to a central United Nations reserve. An international food-relief program is necessary to determine potential food supplies in these regions and to arrange to pool all reserves.

So far, the closest approximation to international cooperation on the food problem, following the international wheat agreement, is to be found in an agreement we signed with England establishing a liaison between the Interdepartmental Committee and the Inter-Allied Committee in London. The Inter-Allied Committee, created in 1939, has confined itself almost entirely to research on the nutritive requirements of occupied territories. Since the Interdepartmental Committee has stopped functioning, this agreement has no validity.

5. Many technical problems will be encountered in setting up a central stockpile, such as the locating of warehouses near shipping points, the turnover of stocks to prevent spoilage, etc. Such a stockpile would have to be kept extremely flexible so that it could be used not only for all countries but for contingencies other than relief, including losses of supply areas, shipping losses, and variations in production.

In its report the committee stresses the fact that these conclusions are merely tentative. In addition to the broader policies still to be worked out, there are countless details, such as an inventory of all storage and processing facilities in the United Nations, determination of relief shipping requirements and allocation of tonnage, and training of administrative personnel.

The promised relief conference this summer faces a gigantic task. It will be helped by sporadic work already under way, much of it extremely valuable. The Board of Economic Warfare, for example, in addition to drawing up plans for the creation of relief stockpiles in Tunisia, has done excellent work in determining foreign supplies and requirements. The Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations has established committees to study the agricultural situation in each country. Lend-lease has its own general-purpose stockpiles which might be drawn upon for relief needs if necessary. But all the work being done barely scratches the surface. We need a centralized, coordinated policy on foreign food relief. The formulation of that policy is the job which the relief conference must shoulder, or else fail in its responsibility to the peoples of the world.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

WHENEVER people try to picture conditions in post-war Europe the idea is put forth that political and criminal gangs will play an important role. Confirmation for this view is found in the *Essener Nationalzeitung* of June 18 in an item reporting the arrest of thirty members of a robber band which had established itself in Duisburg, or rather the ruins of Duisburg. Their leader was a certain Willi Springfeld who—and this is also interesting—had deserted from the army in October and been sought in vain ever since. One of the members was the owner of a city-wide freight business, and his trucks were valuable equipment for the gang's activities. Everything that is scarce in these times of war was stolen out of bombed houses and sold. Used clothing was in especial demand; 110 trunkfuls were said to have been found in cellars occupied by the gang. The members also made forays into the country and stole calves and pigs, which were then slaughtered and sold on the black market. Is it the pattern for the shape of things to come?

Alsace-Lorraine is a "redeemed" province. Of all the countries which had been subjected to the blessings of the New Order, it presented the most favorable conditions for successful Nazification. A considerable number of the inhabitants were not enthusiastic about the French. The whole French-speaking population had been moved out, and the people "of German descent," the only ones who remained, were handled with kid gloves.

The result has been disappointing, and the press is beginning to speak out about it. The *Mühlhauser Tageblatt* of June 6 complained of the "opportunists who during the two years in which National Socialism went from success to success joined us vociferously, only to falter as soon as a single defeat followed on the victories." On June 20 the same newspaper became several shades more explicit, indeed almost tragic: "We party members have no more illusions about the difficulties facing us in Alsace—difficulties which sometimes seem beyond our strength. During the Battle of Stalingrad, for instance, life was frankly hard for party members. But the Führer, in his struggle for Europe, needs men who keep their word for better or for worse. In Alsace we must do our duty in silence, endure all insults."

"Can anyone seriously believe," asked the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on July 13, "that the National Socialist state will allow persons who hoard things of intrinsic value to fare better in the end than those who put their savings in government bonds?"

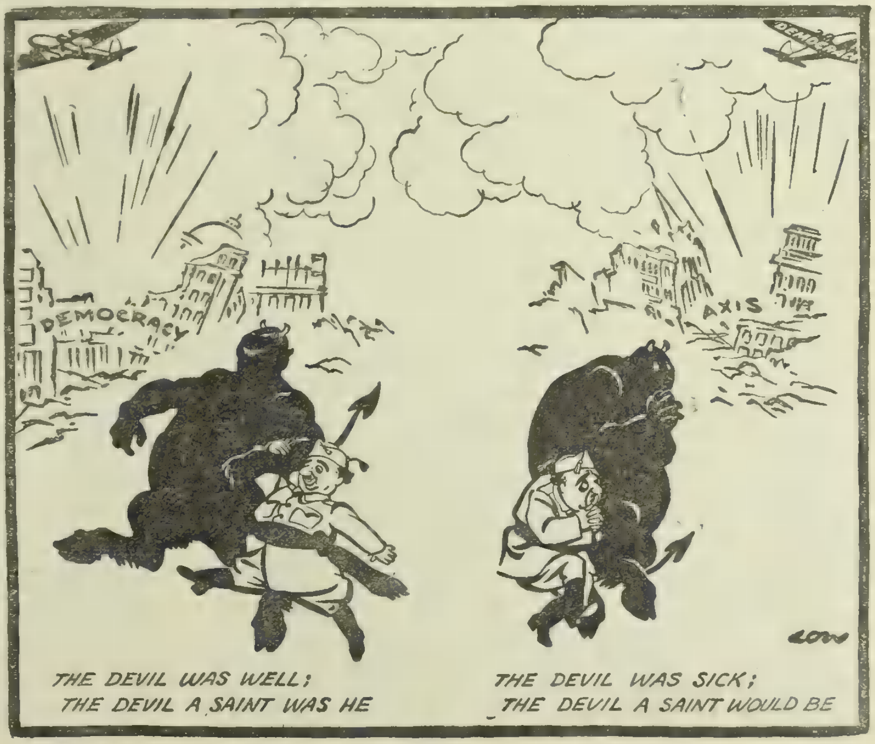
For months the campaign against persons buying up articles of "real worth" has been carried on in the newspapers with varying intensity—and of course with no effect. Germans have had experience of inflation. They learned in 1923 what it means. They learned that the value of money melts away but not the value of substantial things—goods of any kind, houses, land, factories. And since they are firmly convinced that the mark will collapse again, they have embarked on a "buying spree." All classes are trying to turn every spare mark into something of real value, no matter what.

Not much is to be had now. Most things are rationed. The shops are empty, and anyone who owns anything wants to keep it for himself. But for that very reason the demand has become fiercer and less discriminating. "Everything obtainable," cried the *Völkische Beobachter* on June 12, "is being bought blindly. Why, for heaven's sake, this buying of millions of useless pieces of pottery? This orgy of spending and buying must stop." In the higher brackets it is not such things as pottery that those who would lay up wealth for themselves are buying. Other articles of intrinsic worth have been discovered, for example, objects of art. Pictures which promise to keep their value in some measure are bringing two and three times their price on the world market. A Berlin dispatch of April 5 to the Stockholm *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snaelposten* said: "In these days, when works of art are considered a particularly good investment, forgeries flourish as never before. Countless false Spitzwegs, Böcklins, Manets, Monets, Renoirs, Van Goghs, and so forth are offered for sale. The Reich criminal police has had to set up a special bureau to deal with art forgeries."

On June 22 Minister of Economics Funk announced that he intended to use more than warnings to combat the craze for objects of real worth. "I do not doubt," he said, "that the sound feelings of the people will approve of stiff taxation measures against those who are acquiring such property." But apparently he misunderstood the feelings of the people. There seem to be few who are not hoarding—pottery or Manets.

Congratulations!

FOR centuries British diplomats have been famous as writers of memoirs. Even in the midst of this war the public was presented with that invaluable book "Failure of a Mission," in which Sir Nevile Henderson with engaging candor explained how an ambassador, in a grave hour, can make a fool of himself. But he died too early to write the full inside story of appeasement, and somebody must finish the task. If the story must be written in terms not of success but of failure, according to the pattern laid down by Sir Nevile, no man appears to be better qualified to do it than Sir Samuel Hoare. His latest failure is simply dazzling. With his encouragement, the Spanish Monarchists address a formal request to Franco asking for the restoration of the monarchy in the person of Don Juan. For a while it looks as if Franco will say yes. But hardly have the Nazis advanced twenty-five miles on the Russian front when he turns back to Hitler and visits disciplinary measures on the signers of the manifesto.



THE DEVIL WAS WELL;
THE DEVIL A SAINT WAS HE

THE DEVIL WAS SICK;
THE DEVIL A SAINT WOULD BE

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Winged Skull

THIS IS LORENCE: A NARRATIVE OF THE REVEREND LAURENCE STERNE. By Lodwick Hartley. The University of North Carolina Press. $3.

DID the chaise break down under the broiling sun in a treeless waste near Toulouse, as Sterne wrote in a letter to his banker, or was it much earlier and more amusing, near Lyons, as he says in "Tristram Shandy," or were there two accidents? And why did he say in that book he decided to dash to France so suddenly it never entered his mind that England and France were at war, when plainly he had planned it long before, and had to get leave from his Bishop and ask for a safe conduct from Mr. Pitt? To say nothing of a twenty-pound loan from Mr. Garrick. Did he really get into bed with that long procession of shadowy ladies, from Catherine Fourmentelle early to Eliza Draper late, or did he just think and talk and write about it and make a great display of sentiment and then back out more or less gracefully at the right, or wrong, moment? Exactly how diabolic were those night-long frolics at Skelton Castle with his old friend Hall-Stevenson and the other demoniacs, squires and parsons as they mostly were? Were they imitating feebly the goings on of the Medmenham Monks, from which now and then John Wilkes strayed over to Skelton? Did he actually leave his mother to die in the workhouse (Byron thought so, and many before him and since), or did he care for her last days? Was his wife's belief, for a time, that she was the Queen of Bohemia due to his neglect and infidelities, or was it a strain of paranoia in that ill-starred mind? Was his mother really low Irish as he said, or member of a respectable Lancashire family? Just how deeply in love is a man who writes, through the years, substantially the same letters to a series of women, sometimes keeping copies for himself? Just where does truth end and fiction begin in Sterne's account of himself in "Tristram Shandy" and "The Sentimental Journey"?

Mr. Hartley wrestles manfully with these and a hundred other trivial or dubious or off-color questions of Laurence Sterne's career with a discretion and strait regard for the records that might surprise his subject, who, being a novelist, was hampered by no such scruples. An immense amount of devoted study and trained research appears to have gone into this fairly short book, which handles with ease a baffling complexity of detail and carries the story along swiftly and with concentration on several planes at once. It is only the tone I find a little troublesome at times; such a balancing of the evidence for and against, such a leveling down of both the good and the evil in the history of Sterne, almost succeeds in smoothing the man away. There is a smack of prudishness at times, small biased hints of moral disapproval dragged in by the ears as if under some compulsion not the author's own. Mr. Hartley confesses that one of his aims was to make the book palatable to the lay, or general, reader in the hope that this mysterious being may be encouraged to seek out "Tristram Shandy" and read it for himself. I never saw a general reader, but I am convinced he exists, so many books are written for him. It is a mistake, just the same; general reader should not be pampered in any such way; Laurence Sterne should not be arranged to advantage or disadvantage for his view; he should be made to take his chances along with the rest of us, not only with the available truths of life but also with the very best work the author can do. For this book, in spite of its placating foreword, will be a stiff introduction indeed to a reader who does not already know something of the period.

For one who knows "Tristram Shandy" "This Is Lorence" may bring to mind again how melancholy a cloud lies over all the recorded life of Laurence Sterne, even his triumphs and frolics, and how clear and merry the light shed by "Tristram Shandy." That book contains more living, breathing people you can see and hear, whose garments have texture between your finger and thumb, whose flesh is knit firmly to their bones, who walk about their affairs with audible footsteps, than any other one novel in the world, I do believe. Uncle Toby, Corporal Trim, Yorick and Mrs. Yorick, the Widow Wadman, Bridget, Dr. Slop, Susannah, Obadiah, the infant Tristram hovering between breeches and tunics, all live in one house with floor boards under their bootsoles, a roof over their heads, the fires burning and giving off real smoke, cooking smells coming from the kitchen, real weather outside and air blowing through the windows. When Dr. Slop cuts his thumb real blood issues from it, and everybody has a navel and his proper distribution of vital organs. One hangs around the place like an enchanted ghost, all eyes and ears for fear of missing something. The story roams apparently at random all over creation, following the living thoughts of these human beings in their infinitely varied experiences, memories, points of view. Sparks of association flash in showers at the slightest collision of temperaments. Every word spoken gets its instant response in the hearer; they are all intensely interested in each other and everything else under heaven all the time. Little clashes of wills lead to the most complicated roundabouts of personal history, anecdotes, opinion; a mere gesture is enough to set up a whole new train of thought and deed in these people, who live and go about their affairs every instant, not just at moments chosen by the author when it suits his convenience. Meanwhile, steadily, like time passing visibly before your eyes, Uncle Toby's unbroken devoted occupation with his campaigns, and the building of his fortified town, go on, accompanied by the most remarkable theories of military strategy and a running comment on the science of warfare, full of deep and sly satire. The celebrated comic improprieties go on too, a running fire of double talk punctuated by episodes such as that of the hot chestnut, the Abbess and the Novice who divided the sinful words which move a balky mule, the courtship of the Widow Wadman, the accidental circumcision of the newly born Tristram. It all has the most illusive air of having been dropped upon the paper by a flying pen which never stopped long enough for the author to read what he had written. Sterne drew on a page a few little graphs of his progress in "Tristram Shandy"; they are amusing but also accurate. That lightness was achieved with the intensity and painstakingness of a spider spinning its web, during those twenty obscure years as parson, along with the farming, and the philandering, and the wife driven distracted with jealousy, and the breaking blood vessels in his lungs, and the rows among his large family connection, and the local politics and the jollifications at Skelton Hall and the hunting and the August racing season at York.

Then his life work was published, a book or so at a time, and he went up modestly to London in the wake of Squire Crofts, a local worthy who paid the expenses of the trip, and there found scandalous fashionable success and enjoyed it enormously. Dr. Johnson thought his sermons "froth," Oliver Goldsmith found him dull, the Bishop of Gloucester called him "an irrecoverable scoundrel," but Sir Joshua Reynolds painted his portrait, David Garrick carried him into the orbit of the theater, the extremely mixed society around the Duke of York found him fascinating, for there was nothing they liked better than the cloven hoof peeping from beneath a cassock; he was in the dear tradition of the worldly abbé, and could write it all down, besides. Religion in any formal sense, and I greatly doubt any sense at all, he had not, and with some relief he ceased to feign it. He took some pains to be cultivated by respectable society, but what he loved best among even that was the fringe of wealthy young rakehells and their desperate sports. The rest is flight from death and pursuit of fame and pleasure: he "met" most of the great of his time, but his happiest days seem to have been a few weeks (when he had already the look of a dancing skeleton) of rioting around Paris with John Wilkes, interrupted, alas, by another blood vessel breaking at the height of the fun. As for women, to whom he gave so much attention, and who responded infallibly in their various ways, there is no fathoming his feelings or his motives. He appears to have squandered his whole available fund of human love upon his daughter Lydia, a headless, flighty creature ruled by her mother; judged by her story, she was the fine flower of all the weaknesses of every branch of all his families, a notably faulty lot. Even the highfaluting affair with Eliza Draper died, as all his fancies died, of his own weariness with his own role in them.

Mr. Hartley makes all the ladies rather duller than they may have been, even, but his wife must be admitted as a total loss. She was a homely woman whose husband made cruel caricatures of her, and wrote to a friend that he grew more sick and tired of her every day. She loved pleasure too, and had had a dull dog's life of it for years. She was delighted to get to France, and her ruses and stratagems to be allowed to stay on there, with her daughter and without her husband, would have been pitiable if they had not succeeded. But they did. Sterne died in lodgings in London, with the nurse and the landlady present, and a footman sent to inquire after him by John Crauford of Errol, who was giving a dinner to Garrick, Lord Ossory, David Hume, the Earl of March, Lord Roxburgh, the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. James, husband of Anne—the gay and good-hearted, who visited Sterne almost constantly in his last days. The footman reported to the waiting guests: "He was just a-dying . . . he said: now it is come. He put up his hand as if to stop a blow, and died in a minute."

His friends were saddened, but went on with their dinner. His wife and daughter and Eliza Draper were severally bitterly inconvenienced by his death. This and much more is in the book, but where is the real Laurence Sterne, the one who wrote "Tristram Shandy"? That winged skull seems to have made his getaway again, taking his main secret with him.

KATHERINE ANNE PORTER

American Men of Letters

THE SHOCK OF RECOGNITION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE IN THE UNITED STATES RECORDED BY THE MEN WHO MADE IT. Edited by Edmund Wilson. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $5.

ONE has always wished that Edmund Wilson would do more with American literature than he has ever done: there are subjects there which he has never dealt with in his published criticism but which would lend themselves wonderfully to that admirable method of his, that method as of a Sainte-Beuve who has understood Freud or a Brandes who has understood Marx. What he has made of writers like James and Mrs. Wharton exacerbates one's impatience to know what he would make of Poe or Melville, of Thoreau or Whitman, of Henry Adams or Mark Twain.

This anthology does not allay one's impatience, naturally, but it is the beginning of an answer, and it suggests the hope that Wilson is about to write at some length on at least a half-dozen of our classic *Dichter*. The notion of the anthology itself is an extremely happy one: Wilson has brought together in this rather bulky volume a collection of pieces (essays, poems, even small books) by American writers—practicing artists themselves, not professional critics or reviewers—on other writers who were their fellow-countrymen; and from one to another, as Melville—whom he quotes—would say, runs the shock of recognition that men of genius detect, standing hand to hand in a circle. Fortunately Wilson has provided introductory notes to his selections, and these abound in his characteristic insights, discernments, éclaircissements. They are the tantalizing germs of imaginable full-scale essays.

For the most part the selections are unimpeachable. Here, quite properly, are Lowell's early and usually garbled essay on Poe, the whole of his "Fable for Critics," and his late and rather upstage essay on Thoreau; here are eleven of Poe's reviews, as no doubt they ought to be; here is Emerson's generous tribute to Thoreau, and (an inspiration) a collection of pieces that tell the whole story, the partly comic, partly touching story, of Emerson's and Whitman's fluctuating relations with each other. Everyone will rejoice that the whole of James's wonderfully delicate book on Hawthorne has been included, and indeed that Wilson has reprinted Henry Adams's bleak little book on George Cabot Lodge, since it tells something both about Henry Adams and about the New England mind of Lodge's very Novemberish era.

J. J. Chapman's astute study of Emerson, James's ever-so-slightly over-kind tribute to Howells, Eliot at something like his best on Hawthorne and James, Mencken at his very best, his most modulated best, on Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson's wistful letters to Van Wyck Brooks—none of these could be spared. And I for one would wish to own the book if only because Wilson has had the fine sense to violate his own American canon by including all of D. H. Lawrence's incomparable "Studies in Classic American Literature"—surely (despite the occasional intrusion into it of the Lawrence who suggests a cockney Keyserling and even a cockney Goebbels) the deepest-probing, the most intuitive, the most passionately felt book that any European has written on the subject. How many Americans, in fact, have sent down deeper bells into those waters?

Fortunately, too, the book will satisfy none of us completely, or it would be merely a "sound" and "balanced" job. Some of us will find Bayard Taylor's amusing parodies in "Diversions of the Echo Club" not really worth the space they occupy; will accept the inclusion of Mark Twain on Cooper only because it incites Wilson to say some wise things about the latter; will not find Dos Passos on "The Enormous Room" particularly memorable; and would have left out Amy Lowell's often snappy and spirited but terribly undiscriminating imitation of James Russell's "Fable for Critics." All this would have saved space for a few things one would have liked to slip in: for the sake of the "long foreground" Fenimore Cooper's letter on American writers in "Notions of the Americans," or (brief as it is) Hawthorne's review of "Typee," if only as a pendant to Melville's essay on Hawthorne (which is here), or something of Howells's on a younger writer (Fuller or Norris or whomever), or Ezra Pound on James or Eliot or W. C. Williams, or one of Conrad Aiken's sensitive essays in "Scepticisms," or Tate's fine essay on Hart Crane, or Glenway Wescott's homage to Fitzgerald. I would stubbornly hold out, also, for two or three of Margaret Fuller's reviews (surely she was something more than a professional reviewer); on Poe, on Hawthorne, on Emerson, on "American Literature" she had things to say that are still striking—if Poe's piece on Margaret Fuller is.

This, however, leads one into deep waters! Like all first-rate critics, Edmund Wilson can be magnificently wrong, illuminatingly wrong; and he is this, surely, on the subject of Poe. Most of his selections demonstrate it, though, as I say, one feels they ought to be here on other counts. "Intellectually," says Wilson of Poe, "he stands on higher ground than any other American writer of his time." The judgment leaves one breathless. At two or three points, no doubt, Poe generalized somewhat in advance of his day, but the mental soil beneath him was a quicksand, and who can forget the puerile upshot of his most serious poetic theorizing—the death of a beautiful woman as "the most poetical topic in the world"? To Hawthorne's talent Poe did fine justice, but he was almost without a sense of proportion, and month in, month out, he expended his energies mainly on the mice and minnows of the hour—the Thomas Wards and the P. C. Headleys and the Epes Sargeants whom no instructed person of the time gave a second thought to; he saw birds of paradise in a hundred house flies ("Mrs. Amelia Welby has nearly all the imagination of Maria del Occidente, with a more refined taste; and nearly all the passion of Mrs. Norton," etc., etc.). The high ground Poe really stood on was not the ground of the great critics, and the sources he drew on were far less conscious, less luminous, less "cultivated" than theirs: his sources were darker and wilder and bitterer, and they made him a beautiful minor romancer of suffering and fear. As a critic, he was never safely out of the mental purlieus of Orson Fowler or Nathaniel Parker Willis.

After which, one should note that Wilson's prefatory remarks about Poe are full of acute perceptions nevertheless. They are only the most discussible portion of an anthology that is richly discussible as a whole—and a savory foretaste of what may follow.

NEWTON ARVIN

Napoleonic Ideas

NAPOLEON III. By Albert Guérard. Harvard University Press. $3.50.

AMONG the few lost causes that seem unlikely now to plague a resurgent France with claims and counterclaims, one may perhaps safely venture to list Bonapartism and the cult of Napoleon. Exponents of those related systems of political practice and theory, the uncle and the nephew, have shepherded the French people down the Hundred Days to Waterloo, through the Second Empire to the first battle of Sedan. Not even the phoenix—let alone the imperial eagles—could be expected to rise again from two such holocausts. The cult of the Emperor is dead, certainly. Forever now, amid its clustered battle flags, it lies enshrined under a block of red porphyry beneath the green dome of the Invalides; and when lately the Führer himself attempted to breathe life into the old bones of *la gloire,* this time by transferring the ashes of Napoleon II from the necropolis of the Hapsburgs to the banks of the Seine, the gesture went for nothing unless to show once more how inveterate is the German concern over mortuary arrangements. The mockery was too cruel even for Pétain.

And yet, upon reading Albert Guérard's challenging and thought-packed reappraisal of Louis Napoleon as a shaper of modern Europe—of that imperial adventurer's ruling ideas, rather than the train of compromises and wrong guesses that led to the demise of his regime—one wonders. The open-minded reader will be struck by, so to speak, the "nostalgia value" arising nowadays from the era 1848-70 in French life and thought; the Continental equivalent of the Victorian heyday across the Channel. Not the unshakable incubus of the French garrison at Rome, safeguarding the focus of reaction, haunting every step of the Emperor's efforts toward reform; not the blundering volleys in the Paris streets that turned the otherwise benign coup d'état of '51 into the crime commemorated by Victor Hugo, nor the stench of the Crédit Mobilier, nor the tragic Mexican gamble, nor the fatal miscalculation of Prussia's gathering strength—none of these cloudy misadventures can obscure the fact that life under Napoleon III in the City of Light not only glittered but was good.

Great nations have paid a higher toll to tyranny and have got less in return. One has only to regard an Offenbach and a Renan, living the good life freely (for the most part) in their divergent ways, to see the Bazaines and the Palikaos De Morny and the rest of the gilded troupe fall back into

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truer perspective. Says the author, "Criticism could be sharp and even bitter, if it remained courteous. Those keen-edged weapons, allusion and irony, recovered a favor and an effectiveness they had lost since the days of Voltaire. The fearless expression of delicate thought has two enemies: the dead silence imposed by a despot, and the universal tumult of full license; the second is worse. Not merely expression but thought itself is drowned by competitive bellowing; in the stillness of a jail a man can at least hear himself think. The Second Empire was neither a jail nor a pandemonium; men could reflect, and talk." As they talked, money came out of its hiding-place. There was technical progress in the departments, contentment over the teeming fields.

Held in check by their somnolent but strong-armed Emperor, then, and by the discreet ministrations of his alert police, the French were able to enjoy some twenty years of relief from confronting directly the political dilemma by which their republics appear fated to be split. The "Caesarian democracy" of Napoleon III, as practiced by him when diplomatic expediency and Caesar's health permitted, was based on the assumption that the people's will, by plebiscite, had found expression in the Emperor's person. This Napoleonic idea was by no means strictly new: in the words of the Imperial Uncle, "I am the nation's work. . . . The nation must uphold me." But its application under the nephew did bridge for a while the dreadful gulf that yawns in French political thought between the concepts of *la patrie,* which can be endangered from without, and *le peuple,* whose indignation from within may summon up the red specter of that third element, *la foule,* "the vile multitude," and set Frenchmen at one another's throats until they turn for salvation to the man on horseback.

As Professor Guérard reminds us, once Frenchmen had accepted *le mot d'ordre* from Louis Napoleon, they were told: "Liberty has never contributed to the foundation of a durable political edifice; when the edifice has been consolidated by time, liberty crowns it." Time, however, was not allowed to crown with liberty the edifice projected by Napoleon III. "The only political leader in the nineteenth century whose thought could still be a guide for us today"; such is Professor Guérard's estimate of one aspect of the man's personality. Yet time is the great enemy of all Caesars, howsoever democratic. When the ex-Emperor died at Chislehurst, less than three years after Sedan, he was contemplating, as unfortunate strong men must, a comeback (Gambetta's republic had proved a disappointment) and "was working on an economical stove for the poor." No legend had begun to take form around his suburban St. Helena; and gone from the political arena, to be implemented no more until Woodrow Wilson's day, was Louis Napoleon's unrealized ideal o an alternative to the "realistic" balance of power of Europ —the principle of self-determination.

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THE MIND AND FAITH OF JUSTICE HOLMES: HI SPEECHES, ESSAYS, LETTERS, AND JUDICIA OPINIONS. Selected and Edited with Introduction an Commentary by Max Lerner. Little, Brown and Com pany. $4.

MAX LERNER has performed a service for America literature in "The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes." He has brought together in one volume all that is mos characteristic of the Justice: occasional addresses and essay selections from "The Common Law," a sheaf of his letter as well as his principal opinions and dissents on the Suprem Judicial Court of Massachusetts and the Supreme Court c the United States. Lerner has provided a biographical sketc and a running commentary done with good taste and shrew insight. There emerges the portrait of a supremely civilize man, a judge, thinker, and artist of first rank.

Holmes brought a sophisticated mind to bear on our co stitutional law. He did for it what Freud did for psycholog He opened up its unconscious. He laid bare the unspoken an unprofessional premises, the respectably suppressed real m tivations, behind the formal parade and maneuver of jurist concepts. He divested these concepts of the absolute valu with which a naive jurisprudence had clothed them. Th devaluation was made possible by philosophic perspective an legal scholarship. Holmes looked at the law with a historian sense of continuity and change. He saw man with the indu gence of an anthropologist, society with the tolerance of skeptic. No one could have been less like the social reforme whose idol he became. They wished passionately to bett the world. He was willing to let them try because he didr think it mattered. His quarrel was with those who sought make the Constitution a Canute, and thus an annoyed arist crat found himself at the head of a procession of agitators, busybodies, idealists, and the humble.

The essence of Holmes's approach to constitutional law and the thoughts later polished into some of his most famous aphorisms may be found in his very first opinion on the United States Supreme Court. "It is true, no doubt," he wrote in *Otis* v. *Parker,* "that neither a state legislature nor a state constitution can interfere arbitrarily with private business or transactions. . . . But general propositions do not carry us far. While the courts must exercise a judgment of their own, it is by no means true that every law is void which may seem to the judges who pass upon it excessive, unsuited to its ostensible end, or based upon considerations of morality with which they disagree. Considerable latitude must be allowed for differences of view. . . . Otherwise a constitution, instead of embodying only relatively fundamental rules of right . . . would become the partisan of a particular set of ethical or economical opinions." This was not said, as the reader may imagine, in dissent but for the majority. And that majority within two years was forcefully to demonstrate how true it is that "general propositions do not decide concrete cases." For the general principles they were willing to accept in 1903 to validate a California provision against short selling were abandoned in 1905 when New York sought to enact a ten-hour law for bakeries. For thirty years the Supreme Court was, in fact, to enshrine "a particular set of ethical or economical opinions," the theory of laissez faire, in the Constitution long after it had been riddled with exceptions or abandoned in economics, business practice, and (covertly) in legislation.

Holmes, in a famous address on Marshall, said that "a great man represents a great ganglion in the nerves of society . . . a strategic point in the campaign of history." This is true of Marshall. It is not the measure of Holmes's greatness. A collection of Marshall's opinions is of interest principally to the historian and lawyer. Holmes was not only a great judge, a greater one than Marshall, but a poet and a philosopher who was fated like Cardozo to work in the harsh and uncongenial medium of the law. Holmes's first feelings and doubts about the law may be found expressed in some of his later speeches. "One found oneself plunged in a thick fog of details," he said, "in a black and frozen night, in which there were no flowers, no spring, no easy joys." "How can the laborious study of a dry and technical system," he asked in another speech, "the greedy watch for clients and practice of shopkeepers' art, the mannerless conflicts over often sordid interests, make out a life?" "If a man has the soul of Sancho Panza," was his answer, "the world to him will be Sancho Panza's world . . . to those who believe with me that not the least godlike of man's activities is the large survey of causes, that to know is not less than to feel, I say . . . that a man may live greatly in the law as well as elsewhere; that there as well as elsewhere his thought may find its unity in an infinite perspective; that there as well as elsewhere he . . . may drink the bitter cup of heroism, may wear his heart out after the unattainable."

It is worth learning a little law to read Holmes, as it is worth learning a little Latin to read Horace. In the work Lerner has brought together one will find the joy to be derived from a noble prose, the consolation to be drawn from

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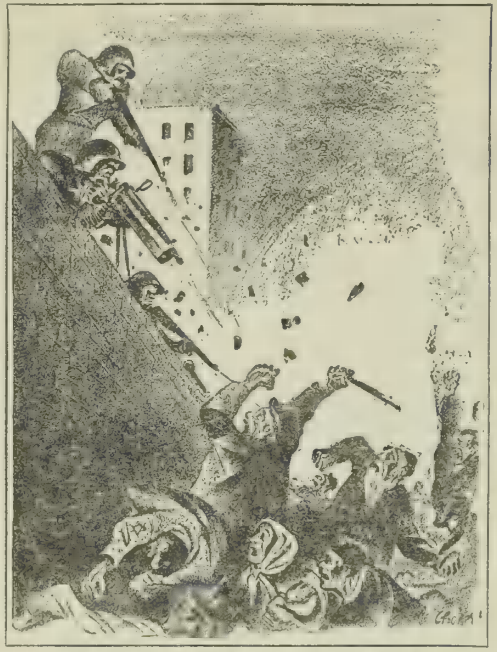

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an equally noble philosophy. In one of the letters in this volume Holmes says of Kant and Hegel, "They each had profound *aperçus* here and there, and these were their real contributions, and the world would have been less bothered and bored if they had stopped with them." Holmes offers the *aperçus* without the system. He cultivated brevity, and he was too wise and had too good a sense of humor to attempt to tailor the universe. Holmes was a stoic in philosophy. He did not have what Lerner called the "illusion of centrality." Few men have lived as completely as he in a Copernican universe. He did not need the constructions, theological, ethical, or metaphysical, which most men require to shield the brevity of their lives from the cold winds of the infinite. He once wrote William James that he thought "the demands made of the universe" even by so secular a system as pragmatism "too nearly the Christian demands without the scheme of salvation. I long ago made up my mind that all that one needed was a belief in the significance of the universe. And more lately it has come to seem to me that even that might be ambiguous." Thirty years later he wrote to his Chinese friend Wu, "We must be serious in order to get work done; but when the usual Saturday half-holiday comes I see no reason why we should not smile at the trick by which nature keeps us at our job."

This is too adult and austere a philosophy. It would be a mistake to believe that even Holmes could live by it. Though he was without illusions on the intellectual plane, he was not without their comfort on the emotional. Holmes was a romantic, and relished himself as spectacle, as do all poets. One might venture a pun at the expense of Santayana and say that Holmes's real philosophy was compounded of romanticism and animal faith. He was a lover in all senses of the term. There is that grandly boastful letter in adolescence to William James in which he says that there "are not infrequent times when a bottle of wine, a good dinner, and a girl of some trivial sort can fill the hour for me." There is another sixty years later in which Holmes writes of Cardozo that he has "noticed such a sensitive delicacy in him that I tremble lest I should prove unworthy of his regard. . . . I believe he is a great and beautiful spirit." So was Holmes. To read him is not only to enrich one's understanding of the law as the crossroads at which man and society meet but to share the gusto, the gaiety, and the wonder he felt for existence. This, the essence of poetry, is not the less precious when largely distilled, as Lerner has distilled it, from the forbidding and regimented rows of the "United States Supreme Court Reporter."

I. F. STONE

Our Eastern Enemy

MY WAR WITH JAPAN. By Carroll Alcott. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

THIRTY SECONDS OVER TOKYO. By Captain Ted W. Lawson. Random House. $2.

FEW Americans have had such an opportunity as Carroll Alcott's to study Japanese character at its worst. He lived in Shanghai for thirteen years working on English-language newspapers and, in the four years before Pearl Harbor, broadcasting. The seamy side of Shanghai fascinated him:

he was more than a crime reporter; he was a connoisseur of the underworld. He delved into the racketeering system by which beggars had to pay tribute to their "king," who in turn had to pay tribute to the overlord of Shanghai gangsters. It was Mr. Alcott who discovered that the Anti-Kidnapping Society, which advertised its ability to protect rich Chinese from abduction, actually was organized for the purpose of spotting rich men for kidnapers. He was a passionate student of counterfeiting, murder, narcotic peddling, gun-running, smuggling of various sorts, and the arts of gang terrorism.

The crime trails all led to the Japanese army, which was systematically promoting every species of lawlessness, partly for the profit and partly to add to the general chaos preparatory to conquest. The Japanese, by improved gangster methods, took over and expanded the illicit trade in opium and heroin, for instance, and derived a monthly revenue in the Nanking and Shanghai areas which Mr. Alcott estimated at $20,000,000, Chinese; this the Japanese converted into American money to buy scrap iron and oil. In December, 1940, the Japanese army threw a military blockade around a quarter of a million Chinese living just outside the International Settlement; Chinese died by hundreds from hunger and cold, and the corpses were strewn about the streets for weeks. Mr. Alcott found out the reason for the blockade: the owners of the gambling dens in the district had refused to pay an extra assessment of tribute to the Japanese commanding general.

The more Mr. Alcott probed into these matters the angrier the Japanese became. They tried to kill him by bomb and by simple shooting. One evening when he was going to the radio station and had given his bodyguard the night off, uniformed Japanese almost succeeded in kidnapping him. Thereafter he had two armed guards with him at all times and wore a bullet-proof vest. This was in 1940, when the United States and Japan were at peace, or at least Americans thought so. The Japanese knew better; Pearl Harbor merely marked a new phase in a war which they had been fighting all along.

The blindness of England and America to Japan's continuing war upon them through the years before Pearl Harbor was attributable not solely to stupidity but also to greed, Mr. Alcott suggests. For many years British and American commercial interests had been betting on the wrong horse; they thought that a strong Japan might bring order to the Orient and that markets would then be opened up. Ignoring the two thousand years of Chinese culture, England and America encouraged the Japanese barbarians instead of helping with the unification of China.

Mr. Alcott's book builds up a picture of Japanese deception and brutality beyond comprehension. Reading Mr. Alcott—who tells his incredible story in a matter-of-fact way, with grim humor, never ranting—one comes to think that the Nazis are pleasant, civilized people by comparison with their Far Eastern ally. "My War with Japan" is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Pacific enemy.

Whereas Mr. Alcott had thirteen years of experience with the Japanese, Captain Lawson had just thirty seconds; fortunately he did not meet any face to face or he would not have been able to tell the tale of the Doolittle bombing raid on Tokyo. And what a tale it is! For pure adventure and

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high excitement this story ranks right at the top of the war books.

Captain Lawson had no idea what the mission was to be when he was in training for it in Florida in March, 1942. Not until the second day out in the Pacific aboard the aircraft carrier Hornet were he and the other seventy-nine fliers told that they were to bomb the cities of Japan. They were to have taken off 400 miles from the coast, flown over Tokyo at night, and landed at dawn in China. Because a Japanese boat sighted them and thereby endangered the whole expedition, they took off 800 miles from the coast, dropped their bombs at noon, and reached the China coast at dusk.

At that point they ran into thick weather. The question was whether to fly at 10,000 feet until their gas ran out and then parachute to earth, or whether to fly at 50 feet and hunt a beach to land on. Captain Lawson, the pilot, chose the latter alternative; but both engines failed and the plane crashed into the sea, throwing out him and the other four crew members. Captain Lawson's face was bashed in and his leg ripped open; the other four were injured less severely, but only one was able to walk.

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Two-thirds of the book tells of their miraculous escape through China in April and May. Chinese guerrillas smuggled them inland to safety, carrying them much of the way on stretchers. A Chinese doctor kept Captain Lawson alive, but his leg had to be amputated. A Chinese carpenter fashioned him a crutch, after having previously made a coffin for him. Now Captain Lawson can be what he wanted to be in the beginning—not a pilot but an aeronautical engineer. Meanwhile he has produced with the help of Robert Considine, a newspaper columnist, a swiftly paced book that makes Sinbad the Sailor look like Caspar Milquetoast.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Fiction in Review

IN DEFERENCE to the popular superstition that summer is the time to catch up on the reading one failed to do in the year, I am devoting this week's space to a quick survey of the novels that might possibly be recommended for vacation consumption. While of course I can make no claim to have read every work of fiction published in the last twelve months (such notable books as Ignazio Silone's "The Seed Beneath the Snow," Anna Seghers's "The Seventh Cross," and Isak Dinesen's "Winter's Tales" were commented on by other reviewers in these pages), I think I saw the majority of novels that made any claim to seriousness or even literacy—at any rate, a sufficient number to enable me to pass some sort of judgment as to the quality of current fiction. What that judgment is may be inferred from the very small number of volumes I can even "possibly" recommend. And I find it interesting that of the books which achieved some measure of popular success in the last year, only two—Howard Fast's "Citizen Tom Paine" and Helen Howe's "The Whole Heart"—appear on this lamentably short list. Evidently books which other readers found enlightening or enjoyable I found meretricious or dull. But this works the other way round as well, and perhaps I can call attention to a small handful of books which, at least comparatively, are worth more notice than they received.

To my taste, then, the best fiction I read this past year was a collection of Latin American short stories, "Fiesta in November," edited by Angel Flores and Dudley Poore, with an introduction by Katherine Anne Porter. Prejudiced against primitivism in any of the contemporary arts, I admit that I came to "Fiesta in November" prepared to find it quite self-consciously outside the international literary tradition; but while these short stories could have been written nowhere but in Central or South America, they accept their whole responsibility in the world. Necessarily their major concern is with primitive people, but these Latin American writers are in the best sense of the word sophisticated, and their stories are full of the effort, not of artfulness, but of art.

The most serious and in some ways most talented novel of our own country was Ira Wolfert's "Tucker's People," which I reviewed at length only three weeks ago and mention again merely for the record; it is a story of the numbers racket in Harlem, but an infinitely more interesting book than this subject matter would indicate. Slater Brown's "The Burning Wheel" and Paul Horgan's "The Common Heart" may neither of them have been as impressive as "Tucker's People," but actually they were both rather more enjoyable reading than Mr. Wolfert's novel, and both certainly deserved wider audiences than they won. Mr. Brown has that first instinct of a novelist, to write about *people;* "The Burning Wheel" is about the relationship between a group of Connecticut farmers and the city people who buy summer places in their countryside; the novel is modest in scope but dramatic and deeply thoughtful. "The Common Heart" also springs from a truly novelistic feeling for character; written in a fine, simple prose, it is the story of a group of everyday people who live in the Southwest, and it has a pair of the most convincing little-boy characters I have come across in contemporary fiction. You will be acquainted with Mr. Horgan's satiric gifts from his earlier novels, but unfortunately in "The Common Heart" his bite is softened by a certain piety.

Of the two novels already mentioned on which my opinion pretty much coincides with popular opinion (for I regret that I find little to commend in such best-sellers as Marcia Davenport's "The Valley of Decision," Nancy Hale's "Prodigal Women," or Joseph Freeman's "Never Call Retreat" except their effort—they are all such long books), I liked Howard Fast's "Citizen Tom Paine" rather less than his "The Unvanquished," published last summer, but I still think Mr. Fast the only historical novelist writing at the present time whose books are a pleasure to read; and I found Helen Howe's intelligent and self-effacing first novel, "The Whole Heart," a most welcome change from the undisciplined self-indulgence of so much current fiction. It has been called to my attention that Mr. Fast distorts or ignores many of the known facts of Tom Paine's life; if I nevertheless repeat my favorable judgment of his novel, I wish it to be clear that it is not because I repudiate a historical novelist's obligation to historical scholarship, but simply because I myself am too little scholarly to have been troubled by Mr. Fast's errors. "The Whole Heart," Miss Howe's account of a Boston gentleman's relation with politics and with the four women in his life, is lively, witty, and decent—worth reading, if for nothing else, for Miss Howe's annihilating portrait of an all too typical American college girl.

In the line of annihilating portraits, I enormously enjoyed Dawn Powell's "A Time to Be Born" for its satire, though not for its sentimental love story; Miss Powell has yet to write the whole book that is up to the best parts of what she has already written. Also witty and intelligent was Jerre Mangione's "Mount Allegro," a series of family reminiscences in the style of the *New Yorker* and the best of several accounts of Italian-American life published in the past year. There was a serious and promising first novel called "The White Queen" by Betty Baur and an interesting though less promising first novel about life on a destroyer, "East of Farewell," by a young naval ensign, Howard Hunt. Barry Fleming's "Colonel Effingham's Raid" was better politics than fiction (but this is no faint praise in these days of fictional politics), and Caroline Slade's "Lilly Crackell" was better sociology than fiction. As a change from people, I can conclude this sad little report by recommending Vardis Fisher's "The Darkness and the Deep," a novel of apes.

DIANA TRILLING

NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Restrictions on July paper shipments, controlled by the War Production Board of the United States and the War Prices and Trade Board of Canada, have temporarily delayed our regular paper receipts for this month. Neither *The Nation* nor the mill is responsible for this situation.

Because of the delay we are obliged to hold to 32 pages our Midsummer Book Number, originally planned for 40 pages. We have found it necessary, for that reason, to eliminate the Puzzle and Letters to the Editors. Additional reviews and a one-act play by Bertold Brecht, scheduled for the book number, will appear in early issues.

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FILMS

I ONLY hope Major de Seversky and Walt Disney know what they are talking about, for I suspect an awful lot of people who see "Victory Through Air Power" are going to think they do. Certainly I am not equipped to argue with them. I have the feeling I was sold something under pretty high pressure, which I don't enjoy, and I am staggered by the ease with which such self-confidence, on matters of such importance, can be blared all over a nation, without cross-questioning. Beyond that, I can only talk of it as a certain kind of moving picture.

When Disney is attending strictly to mechanics and to business, it is good poetry and, barring its overpersuasiveness, good teaching. When, instead, he is being poetic, or cute, or in this case funny, it is neither. Such images as that of the Nazi wheel are vivid and instructive. Such images as that of the bird which nests in a Maginot gunmouth are the defective side of this notably split talent or composite of talents. The human animations, like all of Disney's, are so bad they become interesting as misanthropic footnotes. The real poetic energy in Disney's films has always come of the children and grandchildren of his basic metaphors—the sounds and images of impingement, for instance, as the Nazi wheel is assaulted—and usually these are finely detailed and polished. Here they are not much more than roughed-in. The non-musical sound is good without his occasional brilliance; the music is a loss. The color undersea (as in Disney's forest glades, etc.—there is something fishy about either him or me) is subdued and quite pretty; the extroverted color is so much loud candy, if candy were to develop aesthetic pretensions. The patronizing comic cuteness with which early aviation is treated and the gay dreams of holocaust at the end seem to me as ill-advised as the finely mechanized expository stuff between them is new and correct.

If you want food for thought, read the

VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW

The Summer number contains such forceful articles as

THE NEW DEAL AND THE SOUTH
by H. Clarence Nixon

HAS AIR POWER MADE GOOD ITS CLAIMS?
by Lt. Col. Harold E. Hartney

NO PEACE WITHOUT PROSPERITY
by Richard A. Lester

THE JUNKERS: HOSTAGES TO THE PAST
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I noticed, uneasily, that there were no suffering and dying enemy civilians under all those proud promises of bombs; no civilians at all, in fact. Elsewhere, the death-reducing virtues of De Seversky's scheme—if he is right—are mentioned; but that does not solve the problem. It was necessary here either (1) to show bombed civilians in such a manner as to enhance the argument, (2) to omit them entirely, or (3) to show them honestly, which might have complicated an otherwise happy sales talk. I am glad method 1 was not used, and of method 3 I realize that animated cartoons, so weak—at least as Disney uses them—in the whole human world, would be particularly inadequate to human terror, suffering, and death. Even so, I cannot contentedly accept the antiseptic white lies of method 2. The sexless sexiness of Disney's creations has always seemed to me queasy, perhaps in an all-American sense; in strict descent from it is this victory-in-a-vacuum which is so morally simple a matter—and so salubrious for the postwar if only it were true—of machine-eat-machine.

At last I saw "The Ox-Bow Incident." I also saw "Bataan." Between the two of them there is a great deal one might talk about on the difficult question of the proper and the incestuous relationship, in any work of art or entertainment, between nature and artifice. After a good deal of effort to get it on to paper and into feasible space, I'm afraid it is wiser to give up, saying only as follows. "Ox-Bow" is one of the best and most interesting pictures I have seen for a long time, and it disappointed me. "Bataan" is incomparably less of a picture, and I liked it very much. It seems to me that in "Ox-Bow" artifice and nature got jammed in such a way as to give a sort of double focus, like off-printing in a comic strip. Here was a remarkably controlled and intelligent film; and in steady nimbus, on every detail, was the stiff over-consciousness of those who made it of the excellence of each effect, to such a degree that the whole thing seemed a mosaic of over-appreciated effects which continually robbed nature of its own warmth and energy, and the makers of the ambitious claims which they had made on nature. This complicatedness of attitude, as I infer it, accounts for occasional flagrant mistakes, like the phonily gnarled lynching tree or the angelic soprani which are used as motif for the Negro preacher; and accounts also for unluckier, more intrinsic flaws than those—for the literariness and theatricality, the essential patronage and indirect self-pity, which braid and infuse the best of the show. Henry Fonda is a good median example. His performance is the most sympathetic of his career; and beneath it his personal fondness for "the part" and his awareness how to temper his mannerisms to an unshorn wind show like several inches of slip. If I seem to be going out of my way to find faults to explain what was chiefly a troubling of intuition—and I'm afraid I may be—let me at least pay my respects to this film by adding that I find the same arteriosclerotic fault-of-attitude harming still better things—nearly all the good writing of this century, the films of Pudovkin and Pabst, and some of the music of Brahms.

But not in Mozart, and not, far down the scale, in "Bataan." Its claims on nature are modest enough to be almost shamefully safe, being only those which a certain kind of melodrama can dare to claim; and from there on what still might have been very bad becomes instead a small triumph of pure artifice. And that becomes possible, I think, thanks again to creative attitude. The people who made this film, I judge, were lucky enough to believe in it so warmly and innocently that the small area they staked out in nature remained at the fertile center of their affection, and their cinematic intelligence and skill—with none left over for self-congratulation from the sidelines—were released entirely to the proper business of embodiment. What they had to embody was as formal and naive as a pulp story. Thirteen men defend a bridgehead against hopeless odds. Like their number, their types and their troubles and

RESORTS

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their deaths are conclusions so foregone that to try to freshen them by tampering and basic invention would have been a deep aesthetic mistake (again, as with Disney, the power of the secondary and tertiary metaphor). The mistake was not made. The story was simply put into patient and fecund detail, excellently written, acted, photographed, paced, above all directed (by Tay Garnett) into something as perfectly artificial, and as strongly rooted also in nature, as good ballet or, in another aspect, Italian opera, which like the pulp story has a large believing, yet critical audience. It seems to me irrelevant to criticism on any other grounds so long as it ventures on to no other grounds. I have heard "Bataan" criticized for presuming so shallowly to portray war. But I think it much less shallow than most of the more ambitious war pictures, which are indeed insults both to the men who make real war and to the men who made the images. We may not yet recognize the tradition, but it is essentially, I think, not a drama but a certain kind of native ritual dance. As such its image of war is not only naive, coarse-grained, primitive; it is also honest, accomplished in terms of its aesthetic, and true.

Eric Ambler's stories are not yet getting very good breaks on the screen. Orson Welles's "Journey into Fear" had sophistication without much journeying, in the kinesthetic sense of the word, still less fear. "Background to Danger" has plenty of danger, in lively motion at that, without a background keenly drawn enough to make it really dangerous. Short of the really "creative" men, Raoul Walsh is one of my favorite directors; but—besides thoroughly enjoying it—you could use this film for one kind of measurement of the unconquerable difference between a good job by Hitchcock and a good job of the Hitchcock type.

There is still doubt—and should be none—about the American release of two English "documentaries," both of which deserve better than that rubber truncheon of a categorizer. "World of Plenty," about past, present, and future food, was energetically and well written by the late Eric Knight and surprisingly (to me) well edited by Paul Rotha, with some adroit pedagogical help from the Isotype Institute and a general boldness of ideology which I would like to see cutting grease in as many American theaters as possible. "The Silent Village" is a reenactment by Welsh miners of the story of the mining village of Lidice. The unobstreperous sensitiveness of those who made it and the fistlike authenticity, dignity, and seriousness of those who performed in it make this an expiation for every odious advantage which has been taken of that village. It is a question, probably a sad one, whether any group of miners in this country would have been capable of it.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

WISHING to avoid Schuman's "Newsreel" and Harris's "Ode to Truth," which Morton Gould conducted first at his July 4 Stadium concert, I tuned in late, and missed the beginning of the Suite from Copland's music for "Billy the Kid." Most of it turned out to be excellent music to listen to without the ballet—the music of the card game being especially beautiful; but some of it—for the episode of the girls in red tights, and for the gun battle—needed the action to have point. This music might have been omitted; and certainly the music of the pas de deux should have been included.

As for Mr. Gould, in my limited experience of his music I have found him to be at his best when he is deftly, expertly, but unpretentiously diverting, as in the "Guaracho" Overture which the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe played before "Rodeo," and in the opening section of the second movement of the American Symphonette No. 2 which he conducted at the Stadium. His serious Lincoln piece which Toscanini broadcast last fall was terrible; and in the rest of the Symphonette the attempt to divert is driven too hard and is carried out with too much technical expertness and cleverness.

At Toscanini's mid-June broadcast with the N. B. C. Symphony I thought I discovered what was behind the pace for the first part of Debussy's "Afternoon of a Faun" that is strikingly faster than the one other conductors take. It happened to be the first time that I had followed his performance with a score; and as it went along I noticed Debussy's directions for tempo: "Very moderate" for the beginning; "Becoming more animated" for the approach to the middle part; "First rate of movement" and "Same movement, very sustained" for the middle part; "Movement of the beginning" for the return of the first part. The first part and the return of the first part were, then, to be taken at the same
pace; and Toscanini, unlike other co
ductors, was obeying this directio
They take the first part more slow
than the return; he brings the pace
the first part up to that of the retu
(since the wider spacing out of t
flute theme in the return makes a slow
pace for the return impossible).

Other unusual tempos of Toscanin
have reasons of this sort behind ther
I am sure. I have the impression, f
example, that it is his desire to esta
lish, in accordance with Beethoven's a
Schubert's directions, a single unifyi
tempo for the various sections of t
second movements of Beethoven's Se
enth and Schubert's C major Symph
nies that produces tempos which a
unusually fast for their opening sectio
—too fast for some listeners, but n
for me. And years ago, when he play
Brahm's First Symphony for the fir
time in New York, he seemed to ha
decided that the *Poco sostenuto* intr
duction to the first movement and t
Poco sostenuto reference back to it
the end of the movement should be
the same tempo; and that since the o
at the end could not move at the tra
tional slow pace of the one at the b
ginning, the one at the beginning wou
have to move as fast as the one at t
end. In all three or four performanc
of the work that season he stuck to th
consistency and to the excessively fa
pace for the introduction; but the ne
season the *Poco sostenuto* introductic
was taken at the traditionally slow
pace than the reference back to it
the end of the movement.

I will not be surprised if the sa
thing happens with Haydn's Sympho
No. 94, which he played at the rece
broadcast. As far as I can recall, it w
his first performance of the work in th
country; and it had the mercurial mov
ment, the sharpness of contour and i
flection that make his performance
Haydn so marvelous. But the minuet–
for reasons which I was unable to unde
stand—was speeded up to an unprec
dented pace that was obviously too fa
for the internal relations of the musi
and a strain on the orchestra. It will
interesting to see what he does wi
that minuet next year, and ten yea
from now.

B. H. HAGGIN

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The Shape of Things

IT IS A HEARTENING EXPERIENCE TO TURN back to the headlines of a year ago. Then the British were standing with their backs to the wall at El Alamein and the Russians were retreating towards the Don as the second Nazi summer offensive gathered momentum. In the Pacific the Japanese had met defeat at Midway but still held the initiative and still threatened Australia. Today it is Japan that is struggling to hold its far-flung outposts at a steadily mounting cost, particularly in ships and planes. In Russia the Nazis, seeking to stage one more offensive, have been stopped in short order and now find themselves hard put to resist a powerful Soviet counter-attack. Finally, in the Mediterranean the Axis is at long last suffering the pains and terrors of invasion. Within a week of the Allied landings one quarter of Sicily has been overrun. As we write, a decisive battle for Catania is being waged, and if this stronghold falls, there can no longer be any doubt about the outcome of the campaign. The Allied operations have been brilliantly conceived and meticulously organized, and, it is clear, we have developed a punch which has both surprised and shaken the enemy. In fact, the Italian backbone is visibly cracking as invasion of the mainland becomes an early probability.

*

MUSSOLINI'S TOTTERING REGIME IS BEING subjected to political as well as military assault, and the question of how long it can survive has ceased to be academic. Seldom in war has there been a greater opportunity for skilled political strategy. But such a strategy, to be fully effective, must be constructive, and the weakness of the joint ultimatum delivered to the people of Italy by the President and Mr. Churchill is its rather negative appeal. It correctly seeks to drive a wedge between the Italians and their fascist oppressors and warns that the sole hope of survival lies in "honorable capitulation." But there is no suggestion of what sort of government will succeed that of Mussolini; no positive hope extended of a chance for Italians to choose their own rulers. This kind of appeal may encourage piecemeal surrenders; it might even foster a palace revolution; it will not light the spark of revolt in a dispirited and hungry people. Nor do we believe that the workers and peasants will find much inspiration in the military government we have installed in Sicily—presumably as a model of what is in store for the whole of Italy. Inevitably such an administration must operate through the local authorities, and since all Italian office-holders had to be members of the party, this means we shall be dependent on the cooperation of Fascists, even though the party itself is to be suppressed. It is difficult to see how this situation could be avoided altogether, but we ought to take steps quickly to fill the political vacuum which will exist in Italy with the overthrow of the Fascists. We can hardly make progress in this direction by prohibiting all political activity and refusing to deal with exiled anti-Fascists.

*

IN THE CURIOUS ARGOT OF AMERICAN diplomacy Admiral Robert of Martinique has "expressed a desire to relinquish his authority." Translated, this means that Vichy's last viceroy in the Americas has been starved out of his hole. The State Department's cryptic announcement about Robert was forthright simplicity compared with its comments on his successor, Henri-Etienne Hoppenot, who was designated by the French Committee of National Liberation. Accepting Hoppenot's authority—indeed utilizing that authority to secure American military interests in the Caribbean zone—the State Department is careful to divorce its profitable recognition of the appointee from the faintest suspicion that it recognizes those who appointed him. The acceptance of Hoppenot's designation, reads the announcement, "is not to be construed as affecting either pro or con the question of this government's relations with the French Committee of National Liberation." In short, the action is not to be construed. It is to be left suspended in that fog of unreality which conceals even from the President the truth that the French Empire, with 40,000,000 inhabitants, is a fighting ally, that it is administered by a committee, sitting in Algiers, with at least as much claim to recognition as the exiled government of Poland, sitting in London. In this same fog our allies are beginning to lose sight of us altogether. From London Geoffrey Parsons, Jr., reports to the New York *Herald Tribune* the disappointment of the British and Russian governments over our refusal to join in a three-power recognition of the Algiers committee. "Being patient allies," he writes, "the British and Russians have withheld action while hoping that a revelation of reality and common sense might strike Washington." If we were the State Department we would construe this as con.

*

A GOOD MANY GOOD PEOPLE THINK THAT the President's rebuke to Messrs. Wallace and Jones will prove a healthy tonic to a divided and bickering Administration. They say the President, having issued instructions against the airing of official disagreements, "had to" do just what he did. With this interpretation we disagree. It seems to us to ignore the political reality behind the administrative façade—the struggling for control between the most conservative group in the government and the group which is trying to use the federal machinery to hasten the winning of the war even at the expense of the guaranties and safeguards which big business has generally tried to exact as the price of cooperation. The Vice-President would never have attacked Mr. Jones openly if the President had backed up with action his verbal support of Wallace and the Board of Economic Warfare. Instead of doing so, he not only let Wallace carry the ball but failed to provide the necessary interference. It was suggested in a résumé of the case by Jack Beall in the New York *Herald Tribune* last Sunday that Mr. Wallace had "taken up" with the President the advisability of making a public attack on Mr. Jones, although he had not checked "the actual contents of his statement." But even assuming that the President was genuinely surprised and felt that he had to admonish the adversaries, we still believe he could have done it in a way that would not have jettisoned a vigorous New Deal agency and turned its functions over to a reactionary henchman of Mr. Jones—while continuing the latter in financial control. The fact that he presented this major victory to his chief opponents seems sure proof that today political appeasement is the President's own guiding directive.

*

PRODIGAL JOHN L. LEWIS IS ABOUT TO return to the paternal mansion. The fatted calf—perhaps in this case the Progressive Mine Workers of Illinois—is ready, and the benedictions have been amply rehearsed. Those who fear that labor's bad boy is returning home with the idea of standing Father William on his head and taking over the house have relied on Dan Tobin of the Teamsters' Union to bar the way. The reliance proves to have been misplaced. Mr. Tobin, one of the New Deal's most ardent champions within the American Federation of Labor, not only welcomes Lewis in the name of unity but has some pretty harsh things to say about "political office-holders who interfere in any way in the cementing of the labor movement." It seems strangely unclear to Tobin and other Federation officials that nothing could be more calculated to *prevent* unity between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. than the success of Prodigal John's maneuver. It is not at all far-fetched to suppose in fact that this is one of his prime objectives. The man who broke away from the Federation to found the C. I. O. and then broke away from the C. I. O. when he lost caste is clearly a devotee of power, not unity. His present plans, we suspect, have more to do with building an anti-New Deal political machine than with "cementing the labor movement." What prompts Tobin to accept Lewis's bid at face value is anybody's guess. James A. Wechsler of *PM* reports that with the prospect of reen's imminent retirement from the presidency of the ederation, Tobin emerges as a leading candidate. "He uld not be licked," Wechsler adds, "with Lewis's cking."

*

HE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS ntinue to speak louder than its words. A Fourth of ly speech by Foreign Minister Seguno Storni hailing e solidarity of the American nations persuaded some our more Pollyanna-like correspondents and commen- tors to begin hanging out the flag. "The Argentine epublic," said Storni, "will stand with the other Ameri- n nations in all those fields to which she is summoned her commitments of honor and by her duties of pan- merican cooperation." A few days later the wishful inkers were still more encouraged by a letter addressed Storni to Alberto Guani, chairman of the Emergency dvisory Committee for Political Defense of the Hemi- here. This announced the appointment of an Argentine ter-ministerial committee to examine the relation be- veen Resolutions Nos. 1 and 17 of the Rio conference. o. 1 recommended rupture of relations with the Axis owers; No. 17 dealt with subversive activities. The task the inter-ministerial committee was to examine the ossibility of giving full effect to the second without reviously carrying out the first. The fact that the ques- on of implementing No. 1 was brought up at all gave se to hopeful suggestions that the Ramirez government as about to jump on our side of the fence. Since then, owever, the fascist regime in Buenos Aires has fooled e optimists by its own interpretation of "subversive ctivities." For while it has suppressed the Nazi Federa- on of Welfare and Cultural Clubs, it has also cracked own on eight pro-United Nations societies on the round that they have been infiltrated by "Communists." he excuse will seem thin enough to everyone except oebbels and Martin Dies, especially in the case of the cción Argentina, whose 400,000 members include the ost respected names in the country. Meanwhile most of e pro-Nazi groups continue to operate undisturbed.

*

RENCH CULTURE MAY BE IN TEMPORARY clipse, but French couture still carries on, according to me Dieudonné Coste, who managed to "escape" from azi-controlled Paris last September with several trunks ull of it. Mme Coste, who herself provides complete roof that clothes make the woman, gave a spirited pic- ure of a "valiant Paris" where "gay parties . . . go to ongchamps and the races just as they used to," where omen bravely "start out in the morning in the dress hey intend to keep on all day. . . . At night they ride the theater or restaurant wearing a dress that may parkle lightly with sequins." The names in Mme Coste's ll of those who are keeping up the morale of Paris, nder Nazi auspices, are well known—Maggie Rouff, Piguet, Balenciaga, Lelong, Alix, Paquin. And Mme Coste eagerly displayed some of their wares—a white satin Balenciaga with full skirt appliquéed with red violet flowers, a pink jersey Alix, an evening jacket from Piguet. She didn't say how she had managed to get her treasures past the Nazi-guarded frontier; she did say that "much of the skirt fulness is going to the back." We are fascinated by Mme Coste's revelations; we could wish, however, that she had told us more about underground fashions in the City of Light. We should like to know, for instance, what the anti-Fascist Parisienne wears when she starts out bravely in the morning, her eyes lightly sparkling with the knowledge that she may be in Nazi custody by night. But obviously Mme Coste never rode on the underground.

Why the Whitewash?

THE statement issued by Under Secretary of War Patterson on the situation at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation is unworthy of an official who has often in the past shown himself forthright and independent. Its net effect is to disparage the findings of the Truman committee and to whitewash the procedure inside the Army Air Corps. It may, indeed, be true that conditions at the Lockland, Ohio, plant were "much less sensational than some of the inferences drawn in recently published statements." But improvement is more likely to come from a straight admission of abuses uncovered than an attempt to gloss over the facts. Public criticism will be good for both the company and the inspection corps, and it is easy to believe Senator Truman's retort that his committee's conclusions were "exceedingly temperate" in the light of the 1,286 pages of sworn testimony on which they were based.

The fact is that the Patterson statement, whether the Under Secretary realizes it or not, is but the latest and most important of a series of steps taken by the army bureaucracy to keep the facts or at least their full import from the public. The first was when Brigadier General Bennett E. Meyers of the Army Air Force assured the Truman committee that nothing irregular was going on at the plant. It was after these assurances that the committee in its own hearings discovered that tests were being falsified, records destroyed, and inspection reports forged to enable the company to get by with defective and substandard parts and engines. The committee found that honest army inspectors were browbeaten and punished by higher-ups for doing their duty. It accuses Lieutenant Colonel Frank C. Greulich, chief inspector of the Army Air Forces, of misrepresentation. It says that the Office of the Air Inspector has still taken no action looking toward the investigation and punishment of officers who attempted to deceive the committee. The army's own board of investigation under Lieutenant General William S. Knudsen finally confirmed most of the facts found by the Truman committee but sought to minimize their importance. This is a strange attitude to take toward conduct that was hurting the morale of workers and inspectors and might well have endangered the lives of our own airmen and those of our allies. The Under Secretary would do better to use less energy in talking and more in house-cleaning.

Seven Years of Franco

THE seventh anniversary of the German-Italian-Spanish uprising finds the Franco regime moving rapidly toward crisis. Placed in power by Hitler and Mussolini, Franco for two and a half years enjoyed the benefits of the strong military position of the Axis. Today, as the Axis begins to lose ground, Franco begins to slip with it. An eloquent sign of deterioration is the way his own representatives abroad talk about him. Recently an official of an American relief organization returned from London, where he had been seeking transit through Spain for several thousand European refugees. In London he asked the Duke of Alba, the Spanish ambassador, to obtain the necessary clearance from Madrid. "Is the matter urgent," the Duke asked, "or can it wait a couple of months?" The visitor admitted that the request could be temporarily delayed. "Then," replied the Duke, "let us wait. In two months the request may well have to be addressed to someone other than Franco." During the visit of Archbishop Spellman to Madrid the American churchman was frequently asked whether the Allied armies would guarantee the safety of the conservative class in case of what is called in Spain the *segunda vuelta.*

These revealing symptoms appeared at about the time that the Spanish monarchists addressed a message to Franco asking for a restoration of the throne. Although American newspapers carried only brief extracts from that document, every word of it is interesting. The following phrases are worth particular attention: "The end of the World War will have serious repercussions on the life of every nation. When the peace is signed, Spain must not be found still in a period of transition. Our country must begin now to build a state machinery consonant with the established traditions of Spain and adapted to the present circumstances. Only in that way can we prepare our nation to meet the brutal assaults of internal and external forces of dissolution and revolt."

The message of the Monarchists is, as anyone can see, something more than a subtle criticism of the present regime. It is a public notice of bankruptcy. Yet it would be unrealistic to conclude that the Franco dictatorship will be summarily displaced or that its growing weakness makes its adherence to the Axis no longer a matte of concern. While Monarchist plans find backing i Vatican Rome, and perhaps in Washington and Londo Franco continues to benefit from the material and diplo matic support supplied by the Allies and to render valu able service to the Axis. His weak position at home doe not, for instance, prevent him from suggesting peac when the Allies appear to be winning, or proposing limitation of aerial warfare when the industrial cente of the Reich begin to crumble under the fierce attacks o British and American bombers. It does not prevent hi from continuing to act as the main agent of the Ax in Latin America. In carrying out these important mi sions he can count on the facilities extended to him b Anglo-American policy. His agents travel everywhe on visas supplied by the democracies. The sea lanes an South American ports are open to his ships. In Sout America his priests agitate every Sunday against the allie of atheist Russia and condemn the destruction of th cathedral of Cologne.

That Franco's influence in Latin America is beginnin to cause alarm at least in liberal quarters in Washingto was indicated by the resolution introduced by Represent tive John Coffee asking that a committee be appointe to investigate Falangist activities in the Western Hem sphere. Even some officials who have ranked among th staunchest supporters of the "Christian General" hav come to the conclusion that a change of rulers in Spai would serve the cause of the United Nations in Americ They are beginning at last to realize that the influence Franco is not merely encouraging clerical reaction Latin America but is wholly enlisted on the side of th Axis. It is in this light that their recent maneuvers fo a restoration of the monarchy may be understood. Th diplomacy of expediency and balance of power that d stroyed the Spanish Republic and supported Franco's te ror is now being manipulated to place Don Juan on th throne of Spain.

The attempt is ridiculous rather than irritating. In a case it comes too late. In the year or two immediate following the end of the civil war the people of Spa might possibly have accepted a solution which wou have freed them from the yoke of Franco and th Falange. Today they see the decline of the Axis abroa and at home a regime in utter chaos. They have hea the Allied pledge that this is a war for democracy, a they are determined to accept no half-freedoms in th place of real freedom under the republic. Not even as transitional solution could a monarchy be made accep able. Kings do not ascend the throne to rule for a sing winter. The republic is the only real and lasting sol tion for Spain. Those diplomats who seek in royal plots the answer to their self-made dilemma will on add another explosive problem to the task of organizi post-war Europe.

Wallace Betrayed

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 16

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT has again run out on his friends. The letters to Wallace and Jones are a repetition of the "plague o' both your houses." In 937 this craven tactic drove from progressive ranks ne who might have been America's ablest labor leader nstead of the dark menace that he is today. In 1944 will probably cost Henry Wallace the Vice-Presidency, he New Deal its most promising leader. When the firing rew hot in the Little Steel strike, Roosevelt turned impartially on the workers who believed in him and those vho shot them down. Now, smugly even-handed, he qually rebukes the loyal and the disloyal, the lieutenant ho risked his political future for the war effort and the eutenant who sabotaged it. Justice itself could not be nore blind.

No one would gather the true state of affairs from the resident's complacent epistle of July 15. Until April 13, 942, power over the importation of strategic materials vas divided between Jones's Reconstruction Finance Cor- oration and Wallace's Board of Economic Warfare. On nat date the President issued a directive placing full ower in the BEW and instructing Jones to provide it vith the necessary funds on order. Jones has ignored and isobeyed the Presidential directive. Instead of enforcing is order, the President decides to punish both men, the ne who was carrying out instructions and the one who vas violating them. This may be the comfortable way ut, but it is not good administration.

Jones had gone to the Senate Appropriations Commit- e for an amendment by McKellar which would have estored by law the veto over material imports which vas taken from Jones by Presidential directive. Jones was hus in the position of going over his chief's head to ongress. So serious a challenge to the President's author- y called for summary action if White House instruc- ons were to be taken seriously in the future. Jones is powerful man, but the President, if he took his courage his hands, is more powerful. A fight between them night hurt Roosevelt in 1944, but Roosevelt could ask for ones's resignation as Secretary of Commerce and Federal oan Administrator, and my guess is that in a show- own the Texan would knuckle under rather than re- nquish a potent national position he might never ecover. Roosevelt chose weakly to overlook Jones's in- ubordination.

What the President, with all his power, feared to do, he Vice-President accomplished. The political reasoning that led the President to acquiesce in the flouting of his authority applied with greater force to the Vice-President. By Roosevelt standards Wallace should have quietly accepted the McKellar amendment and knuckled under to Jones. What Wallace achieved by a brave and outspoken discussion of the facts is the best answer to the defeatist strategy of the White House. When the Senate Appropriations Committee voted down the McKellar amendment, it showed that Jones could be defeated in Congress and that appeasement was not the political necessity it is represented to be in White House apologetics. Wallace was fighting Roosevelt's battle as well as his own. The blow that struck him down was not Jones's but Roosevelt's, and the President chose to run away, not in the heat of battle, but in the flush of victory. The President has never shown less courage.

From several sources, a few days before the President betrayed Wallace, I heard that Speaker Rayburn wanted the Vice-Presidential nomination in 1944 and that the Texas delegation was trying to convince the White House that the Wallace-Jones dispute was an ideal occasion "to get rid of Jones" by sacrificing Wallace. But Jones emerges from this affair with little, if any, diminution of his power and with his prestige at the Capitol enhanced. Everybody knows the President cannot be relied on to support a subordinate who becomes unpopular or suffers a defeat. Apparently he cannot be relied upon to support one who is victorious. If Wallace was let down by Roosevelt after twice defeating Jones in Congress—the Danaher amendment last December would have accomplished the same purpose for Jones as the McKellar amendment in June—if the President will not stand up in victory for the man he himself picked in 1940 to be his successor, will any lesser official in the future dare flout Jones's wishes, even when Jones himself is flouting the President's?

What rankles most in the President's action is its specious air of fairness. Both Wallace and Jones are to be punished for violating the President's instructions by engaging in an "acrimonious public debate . . . in the public press." But those instructions against intra-Administration quarreling—overlooked by the President in a whole series of cases—permitted subordinates to speak freely before Congressional committees, and Wallace was answering false allegations made in testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee. It was Jones who violated the agreement reached at the White House conference with Byrnes and Wallace by rushing into print with an attack on Wallace. It was Jones who ignored the President's wish that there be no Congressional investigation of this affair. It was Jones who arranged for an inquiry by his friend Senator George and the Senate Finance Committee and tried to stir up another inquiry in the House. Here again the innocent are punished with the guilty—ostensibly.

Actually only the innocent are punished. The BEW alone is abolished; not the RFC. Jones's friend, Leo T. Crowley, becomes head of a new Office of Economic Warfare. He does, indeed, take from the RFC those subsidiaries engaged in importing materials, but these subsidiaries remain dependent on Jones and the RFC for their funds. Byrnes is given final authority over imports in line with policies laid down by Hull. Thus a right-wing quadrumvirate—Crowley, Byrnes, Hull, and Jones—take over from Wallace and Milo Perkins In Rayburn or Byrnes the President may think he has a running mate better suited to the political climate o 1944. But he has struck a blow, through Wallace, at al that he himself has represented in the minds of the masses. Leon Henderson, Thurman Arnold, Henry Wallace—this is the roll in recent months of the mer Roosevelt has sacrificed to the right. The man who created the New Deal seems intent on destroying it before he leaves office in his flaccid retreat before the bourbons of his own party. Isn't it time for labor and the left to look around for new leadership? Newer men notably Wallace and Willkie, are providing a courageous idealism that contrasts more and more hopefully with the appeasement policies Roosevelt is steadily pursuing in both domestic and foreign policy.

The Purgers and the President

BY FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

ALL champions of the Four Freedoms and all defenders of constitutional government will rejoice at President Roosevelt's public rebuke to Congress in his press conference of July 13 for its efforts to purge three distinguished liberals from the federal service. In recent months many Washington officials have wondered, sometimes despairingly, when and how the Chief Executive would face this issue.

The legislative inquisitors were cheated of an immediate and sweeping victory by their own intra-mural and intra-psychic confusions rather than by any warning against their endeavors from the White House. They still hope to enjoy a Roman holiday next fall. For they have now created a situation in which the President is forced to take counter-measures or surrender all along the line when Congress reconvenes. His announcement that he will submit a message at that time repudiating the bill of attainder and presumably asking Congress to reconsider is the opening gun in a long-overdue executive counter-attack on legislative vindictiveness and irresponsibility.

James Lawrence Fly and Harold L. Ickes, both among the few forthright New Dealers left in the Administration, are the ultimate targets of the purgers. As usual in such cases, they are struck at not directly but through allegedly "subversive" subordinates—in this case, Goodwin B. Watson and William E. Dodd, Jr., of the Federal Communications Commission and Robert Morss Lovett of the Department of the Interior, all slated to be ousted for being premature anti-fascists and for keeping "bad company" in their early efforts to awaken America to its peril. The same House majority which sanctioned Cox' smear campaign against the FCC voted new funds t Dies and indorsed the Kerr committee's demand fo three heads. The committee's first report, incidentally which urged Congress to take an action plainly unconstitutional, opened with a eulogy of the Constitution i the style of an old-fashioned Fourth of July oration After repeatedly rejecting the House bill of attainder, majority of the Senators compromised, five days befor Congress adjourned, on the present formula, whereb the three men are to be deprived of their salaries afte November 15 unless previously appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. On November 15 moreover, the Kerr committee will resume its inquisition the scope and effect of which will be determined b what the President and Senate do. The Cox committe is preparing to carry on through the summer.

No member of Congress can take the position, despite Presidential reticence, that he was not advised i time of the unconstitutionality of the rider. Distinguishe lawyers in both chambers, most notably Sam Hobbs o Alabama, pointed this out from the beginning, wit ample citations of authorities. Said Hobbs of the fina compromise: "Multiplying the number of non-judicia trials is as absurd as trying to make three or a doze wrongs constitute a right. Congress has no more constitutional power to invade the province of the executiv authority by requiring the Chief Executive to submit appointments of certain named employees to the Senat for confirmation than it has to remove them from offic by more direct legislative action. Neither postponin he date of execution nor the grant of the possibility of nother non-judicial trial adds any color or semblance of onstitutionality to this latest proposal." But the reacionaries who control the House persisted in striking at he President in this furtive fashion and finally wore own the Senate's opposition.

Whether the President was wise in waiting until now o make known his views is debatable. He could have topped Cox by asking the Department of Justice to indict the Georgia Congressman for violation of Section 13 of the United States criminal code. In March, 1942, he evidence warranting such an indictment was submitted to the Attorney General—to no avail. "Liberal" Mr. Biddle prefers to concentrate on unsuccessful eforts to deport Bridges and denaturalize Schneiderman. And President Roosevelt, having allowed the House o commit itself to support of Cox's witch-hunt, is now hampering the hunt, with results still uncertain, by forbidding certain officials to testify. The President might lso have hampered, if not halted, the Dies-Kerr inquisition by encouraging all agency heads to follow the xample of Fly and Ickes in defending their subordinates; by preventing the Attorney General and the so-alled Interdepartmental Committee from giving aid nd comfort to Dies; by insisting that the principles of he merit system be observed by the Civil Service Commission, which has repeatedly cooperated with the Dies ommittee in seeking to dismiss liberal officials; and by pointing out earlier to the House the unconstitutionality of the measure demanded by the Appropriations Committee and by the Kerr subcommittee. The latter step might not have altered the result in the lower chamber. But it would have rallied some timid Democrats and a number of fair-minded Republicans to oppose the purgers, and it would almost certainly have prevented the Senate from yielding to House pressure.

Having allowed the House to make the issue one of egislative pride and prejudice, the President placed himelf in the position of having to choose—so his enemies hoped—between two equally painful courses: (1) that of failing to appoint Lovett, Watson, and Dodd and hereby repudiating Fly and Ickes and inviting the purgers to go to work in earnest next autumn behind deceptive façade of "clearing" some of the small fry among those accused by Dies; or (2) reappointing the men in question, thereby defying the House, possibly isking their rejection, and perhaps precipitating another unconstitutional "trial" in the Senate—which, by the way, "tried" and "cleared" Watson more than a year go.

In the final debate Senator McKellar, after persuading he Senate to reverse itself through what Senator Clark of Missouri termed "the most specious, the most ilogical, and the most outrageous argument from his mouth" ever heard on the floor, predicted that the President would take the second course, with the Senate according the accused "every fair opportunity to be justly dealt with." Representative Taber of New York, however, reiterated the Cox charges against the FCC and declared it "incredible" that the President would appoint the men or the Senate confirm them. For the Chief Executive to have impaled himself on either horn of this dilemma would have been to play into the hands of his most unscrupulous opponents, many of whom "planned it that way."

But the President has other avenues of action open to him, as he suggested in his press statement. Cox can still be indicted. The Civil Service Commission and the FBI, whose collaboration with the purgers—now being ably exposed in *The Nation*—is known to every agency in Washington, can be reformed. Adequate machinery can be set up to protect federal employees from intimidation and persecution. Congress can, and presumably will, be asked in September to repeal its bill of attainder as an obviously unconstitutional usurpation of executive and judicial powers. Such a request, accompanied by an opinion from the Attorney General, would command a majority in the Senate. Many Representatives of both parties might well be moved to abandon their recent course of blindly following the dictates of the reactionaries who control the Rules and Appropriations committees. And if a majority of the House refuses to reconsider, the President can support Fly and Ickes in keeping the three men in office after November 15, letting them carry the case to the courts through a suit for salaries. What the Supreme Court will say on the constitutional issue is not open to doubt.

In the long run the highest judicial tribunal will, if need be, vindicate the victims of the purgers and declare the action of Congress invalid. In the short run, the issue will be one of the President's ability to persuade the House to redeem itself and to return to American standards of fair play and loyalty to the supreme law of the land. This impending test of the President's leadership will have far-reaching effects on the Civil Service, on the war effort, and on the issues of 1944. If the forces of reaction and monopoly are not to win new victories on the home front, the Commander-in-Chief must have widespread and vocal public support on this as on other pending issues. The purgers are well intrenched and determined. The coming showdown imposes a duty to speak, to organize, and to act upon all who respect the Constitution and hope for some minimum of honor and logic on Capitol Hill. To lose this battle in the legislature, even though it be won later in the courts, will be to discredit Congress as an instrument of democracy and to open the gates at home to the very forces we are sworn to destroy abroad. The battle will not be lost if liberal voters make known their wishes to their lawmakers.

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Washington Gestapo

BY XXX

II

I FIRST set eyes on a government investigator early in 1940. He was tall, bespectacled, humorless, and he eyed me sharply as he was directed to my desk in the office where I work as a minor government executive. I was cordial in my greeting and rather excited at the prospect of aiding in a man-hunt against some desperate criminal. I sat back in my chair expectantly as he produced notebook and pencil.

"We are investigating Bill Smith," the investigator said, "and I understand you can give us some information about him." I smiled incredulously. Bill Smith has been a friend of mine since we were boys together, and I know no one more law-abiding, honest, and virtuous. But to the FBI he had become a government employee under suspicion of "subversive connections or being linked to Communist organizations." This was not apparent to me immediately; I suspected it as I was being questioned, and the suspicion was confirmed later by the seventeen-page report on Smith which eventually reached our office, transmitted by J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The investigator asked me a number of routine questions about Smith. His age? How long had I known him? His education? His marital state? Then a curiously fanatical look came into his eyes. Could I tell him why Bill Smith had grown a beard? What did he have to conceal? (He was trying to hide a receding chin about which he is inordinately self-conscious.) Why did he sometimes use an alias instead of his real name? (When we were boys and played on the sand-lot baseball team we nicknamed Bill "Hicky" after some now forgotten pitching hero, and the name has stuck.) The FBI had received a report that Smith had installed powerful radio apparatus in his home. What could I say about that? (It was perfectly true that Bill's apartment was cluttered up with loudspeakers and amplifiers. But his radio was specially designed to receive high-fidelity broadcasts from a New York radio station that broadcasts record concerts. I said I believed that his set was patterned after specifications given by B. H. Haggin in his music column in *The Nation.*) Did he seem to play only Russian music on his phonograph? (I have often deplored Smith's devotion to Tschaikowsky.)

"You say Smith reads *The Nation?*" The investigator pounced on my earlier comment. "Why, yes," I replied, "I think he has subscribed to it for years." My questioner made a note of this in his notebook. "Does he subscribe to any other subversive publications?" I said I did not regard *The Nation* as subversive. What made him think it was? He changed the subject quickly. Why did Smith sometimes have Communist newspaper stories on his desk? (They came in bales from the government clipping agency, which sends us everything that appears in print on the subject with which we are concerned.) Does he make a habit of frequenting Russian or foreign eating places? (I had to confess that Smith had often praised *shashlik,* but thought it better to suppress his preference for Russian dressing on his salad.)

The investigator seemed stung by my increasing inability to take these questions as seriously as he meant them. I asked their purpose. He said that they were to determine Smith's character and Americanism. Then he became slightly bellicose. Did I think it was good Americanism to be always agitating for unionism? Did I know that Smith was reported to have said that all government employees ought to belong to unions? Was I aware that Smith was said to have supported sending medical aid to the Spanish Communists? Hadn't Smith made radical statements about our government, such as that "men like Mayor Hague are unfit to hold office"?

Seeing that my irritation was doing Smith no good, I adopted a conciliatory manner and told the investigator at length my reasons for knowing that Smith was a good citizen. But he went away no more satisfied with my answers than I was with his questions. And without having ever seen Smith he prepared a report which indicated that Smith had Communist tendencies.

In Smith's case I was easily able to show that the charges against him were completely without substance and provided no grounds for ousting him from government service. Hundreds of other government employee have been less fortunate in the same circumstances Lacking old friends to defend them, they are out of job. today, under the undeserved stigma of disloyalty, merely because spiteful and malicious persons have maligned them in secret to government sleuths whose standards o "good character" and "loyalty" are those of Fathe Coughlin and Elizabeth Dilling. Smith is still working at his job, but the dossier on him remains in governmen files. It is available to any reactionary Congressman who wishes to attack him or the agency for which he works

My encounter with the investigator who scented subversion in a liking for Russian food and the "Pathétique" was followed by so many similar incidents that I made i business to find out to what extent my experience s typical of that of others. The chief agencies active ainst government workers, I learned, are the Civil rvice Commission and the Federal Bureau of Instigation. "This police work," as Civil Service Comssioner McMillan has called the investigation of vernment employees (1942/522),* is divided almost ually between these two agencies. The commission sumes the right to authorize the appointment of perns to the federal service or their transfer from one job another "subject to character investigation" (1943/ 55). Persons already in the service against whom comaints are made, usually by an anonymous letter or teleone call to the FBI or Civil Service or by undercover formants employed by those agencies, are investigated the FBI.

This jurisdictional line of demarcation is more aprent than real. Actually, the investigative agencies ork hand in hand with each other and the witch-huntg committees of Congress. Civil Service Commissioner rthur S. Flemming testified before the House Approiations Committee: "We tie in with the FBI. We tie with the Dies committee and with Military Intellience and Naval Intelligence. There is exchange of inrmation all around" (1943/768). At the same hearing lemming told Joe Starnes of the Dies committee: "We ave had the finest kind of cooperation from the Dies mmittee on the various investigations we have conucted" (1943/764).

Attorney General Biddle likewise hailed this cordial tente: "The Dies committee has been most cooperative. hey have given us everything that they had" (DJ1943/ 8).† The FBI's area of cooperation also takes in Miliry and Naval Intelligence, the Royal Canadian Mounted olice, and contact men on "practically every lawnforcement agency" throughout the country (DJ1943/ 89). One of these contact men, it turned out, was the otorious labor spy and chief of the Los Angeles "red quad," William F. (Red) Hynes.

Commissioner Flemming has told Congress that e spends practically all his time now on war matters, at the investigation of government employees "is a unction that I have been very much interested in," that e personally reads the reports of his investigators 1942/522, 528, 529). A passion for investigating govrnment workers developed in the commission almost mmediately after he became a member in 1939. reviously, Flemming had been associated for over four ears with David Lawrence, who has often used his olumn to attack the personnel of the New Deal.

Before Flemming took the investigation of governnent workers under his wing, the commission's Division of Investigation confined itself to the verification of references, qualifications, and other statements made by applicants for government employment. For this necessary task four or five investigators and two dozen clerks and stenographers sufficed until 1939. In December of 1941 the number of investigators had grown to 400. Soon Flemming reported to Congress that he could use at least 1,000 (1943/766-67). Since then the staff of subversion-seekers has been steadily augmented.

On several occasions Flemming has discussed the philosophy of his investigations with Congress—always enveloping the subject in the pseudo-scientific lingo dear to the hearts of personnel men. His investigators are not seeking violations of law, he has explained; they are trying to detect persons of "weak character" and prevent them from serving the government and causing "bad situations" (1942/530). "It is important," he has insisted, "to do everything we can to prevent undesirable persons from getting into the service and creating difficult situations" (Ibid.). "They may have had no association with Communists, Bunds, and so on, but if they have a weak character . . . we are eliminating that type of person . . ." (1942/529-30).

"Weak character" and "difficult situations" are ingenious euphemisms, as is proved day in and day out by the investigators' questionings and the reports they write. Having read more than fifty reports of Civil Service hearings and talked to more than one hundred investigators, I can say flatly that "weak character" is double talk for liberal or progressive views, while "difficult situation" means that a person of liberal views has obtained government employment despite the vigilance of the Civil Service.

An applicant may be eliminated from the service on the basis of information obtained not only from former employers but also from unfriendly neighbors. A man who plays his radio after neighbors are in bed, or has a crying baby or barking dog, or refuses to lend money or a lawnmower to a neighbor, does so at the possible peril of his livelihood. In one case a Scotty slipped his leash and uprooted plants in a neighbor's garden. The neighbor told an investigator that the dog's owner was obviously a man of "low moral character," and this was solemnly reported by the investigative agency to the man's employers.

That rare fellow who is the darling of his neighbors, employers, foremen, superintendents, and janitors may none the less be listed in the files of the Dies committee, which are largely based on mailing lists, subscription lists, and newspaper clippings. If so, he is subject to another blackballing procedure. The Civil Service Commission values so highly the dubious files of Martin Dies—said by Representative Stefan to contain 750,000 names (DJ1943/19, 128)—that it has maintained a full-time employee in the filing rooms of the committee merely

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* Hearings before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on ppropriations on the Independent Offices Appropriation bill for 942, p. 522. Other hearings are similarly cited.

† Hearings before the same committee on the Department of Justice ppropriation bill.

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to facilitate its use of information assembled by Dies.

We shall perhaps never know how many American citizens have been the victims of Civil Service investigative hysteria. One report to Congress, however, indicates that the number is in the tens of thousands. On December 11, 1941, Flemming told the Appropriations Committee that since June, 1940, the commission had declared "approximately 8,000 [persons]—7.5 per cent [of those investigated]—ineligible on loyalty grounds or because of connection with subversive organizations. This indicates, of course, that subversive connections are one of the primary items we take into consideration in connection with our investigations" (1943/766). It should be remembered that there is no legal definition of "subversive connections" or even of "subversion." Flemming's investigators apparently rely chiefly on their library of such texts as Elizabeth Dilling's "The Red Network," Joseph J. Mereto's "The Red Conspiracy," Lucia R. Maxwell's "The Red Juggernaut," R. M. Whitney's "The Reds in America," and Martin Dies's "The Trojan Horse in America."

The operations of the FBI against federal employees have seen a growth parallel to that of the Civil Service Commission. In January of 1942 Attorney General Biddle told Congress: "I was confirmed on September 6, 1941. One of the first things I did was to . . . [institute] a new system of examination of all alleged subversive employees in the government." Soon afterward $100,000 was made available by Congress to the FBI to finance this large-scale inquiry. A list of 1,300 government employees was obtained from the Dies committee, and according to J. Edgar Hoover, 3,700 names were immediately added to the list by the FBI (DJ1943/127). "When we hear of some particular government employee who may belong to a 'subversive' organization we add that name to this list for investigation. In other words, this list is not closed" (DJ1943/129). The source of these names was indicated by Biddle: "Of course many of these complaints are without foundation. Thus we get quite a percentage of complaints from disgruntled employees without any foundation, and many of the complaints have charged employees with belonging to certain organizations. When examined, it has developed in many instances that the employees had never heard of the organizations" (DJ1944/17).

In each year after 1941 the FBI has allocated $200,000 or more to the scrutiny of government workers' thoughts and opinions. Increasing amounts of the time of the FBI's 14,377 employees are being devoted to this purpose. The results of such a policy may be seen in the fact that in February of this year Department of Justice officials admitted that they were six to nine months behind in the investigation of fraud cases arising out of war contracts and the procurement of war materials, such as
falsification of inspection records on munitions for ou
fighting forces and those of our Allies (DJ1944/111)

The Department of Justice investigators receive guic
ance both from the standard textbooks on subversior
such as "The Red Network" by the indicted Mrs. Dilling
and from a small group of officials in the departmer
who have made a profession out of hunting what J. Edga
Hoover used to call "ultra-advanced thinkers." Hoove
himself, who personally directed the notorious Palme
raids of the 1920's, has always suffered from a "radical
psychosis. He is joined in the Department of Justice b
such men as L. M. C. Smith, chief of the War Policie
Unit of 237 employees. This unit cooperates with th
FBI in the effort "to know about and prepare for an
necessary action to protect the country against any illeg
activity by the leftist groups in the United States, suc
as the Communist Party of the United States, the Sociali
Workers Party, the Industrial Workers of the Worl
and so forth" (DJ1944/178).

Dean Dickinson, also of the Department of Justic
has been secretary of the Interdepartmental Committe
on Investigations, composed of the Civil Service Com
mission's legal adviser and representatives of old-lin
Washington agencies. On June 1 of last year he got o
for the use of Washington department heads a mime
graphed manual which assembled in convenient form th
statutes and regulations which might facilitate firin
government workers. Somewhat later he prepared, an
Martin Dies put in the *Congressional Record,* mem
randa which made ex parte findings against vario
organizations as being Communist or subversive. In the
one of the most commonly applied criteria of "subve
sion" was opposition to the Dies committee. Of o
organization it was stated that it had aided the C. I.
"in staging a New Jersey . . . organizing rally." T
National Negro Congress was singled out for criticis
in the Dickinson memoranda for having indorsed t
defense of the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon, an
Tom Mooney and for having *"been an agitational for
against lynching and all forms of so-called Negro di
crimination"* (my emphasis).

The anti-Negro theme of these memoranda ru
through all the investigations of government worker
Washington is a Southern town, and though the Roos
velt Administration has done much to alleviate discrin
ination, individuals who refuse to adopt the local attitu
toward Negroes invite investigation. J. Edgar Hoove
who has steadfastly refused to include Negroes amon
his 4,800 special agents, has a long record of hostili
to Negroes. Representative Ramspeck denounced him i
1940 for playing upon the race prejudices of a con
mittee of Southern Congressmen by saying that the Civ
Service Commission had sent "white applicants to c
ored doctors for physical examination."

Government investigators are imbued with the san ejudices; they apparently consider that the most damn-g evidence they can present against a government orker is that he has had "mixed parties" or has enter-ined Negroes at dinner. Needless to say, racial bias is ot only against Negroes. Anti-Semitism thrives in this mosphere of stupid bigotry. In one instance it had to e explained to an investigator from the deep Ku Klux lan South that membership in the Catholic church and Catholic lay organizations did not prove the existence f a Popish plot against the security of the United ates.

The quality of the work done by the FBI is unfortu-ately no higher than that of the Civil Service sleuths. is about what one might expect from detectives verted from their normal pursuit of bank robbers and hite-slavers into the misty world of opinion and in-llect. The *New Yorker* has reported the case of the tist seeking government employment. An FBI man ssigned to investigate him suspected that he was a Com-unist because it was reported that his painting was in e cubist style.

The classic example of what happens when the G-men rsake the underworld of crime to spy on their fellow-orkers occurred late in 1940. Representative Howard mith, who was then, as he is now, investigating the ew Deal, found in the files of the National Labor elations Board, and put in the records of his committee, letter marked "Personal and Confidential" over the gnature of J. Edgar Hoover. The letter was a report the NLRB that one of its employees was "known to ave radical tendencies leaning toward communism." To ack up this charge, Hoover reported solely that the mployee had "studied anthropology" and "visited exico City, Mexico, to observe the presidential election that country in July, 1940" (Washington *News*, edi-orial, November 30, 1940).

I remember that when that newspaper item appeared ew government workers thought it funny. It is hard to augh when pressure can be applied successfully to take way your livelihood because you play Tschaikowsky on our phonograph, or read *The Nation,* or argue against ynching, or make cubist drawings, or study anthro-ology.

"Subversive" is a vague word. But it is being used reely in Washington as a club with which to beat iberals out of town. Attorney General Biddle, who pre-ides over one of the agencies harassing government orkers, gave the game away last February when he said Congress: "What is 'subversive'? I do not know. I do ot think anyone knows definitely. . . . I have had only terrible headache" (DJ1944/21).

Biddle is not the only one.

[*This is the second and concluding part of an article n the inquisition in Washington by a necessarily anony-nous government executive.*]

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

AMERICAN INDUSTRIALISTS are in a state of unprecedented uncertainty. Their lawyers tell them one thing, their consciences tell them another, and always they are haunted by fear of the Roosevelt Big Stick. Not overequipped with brains in the first place, their immediate predicament is truly pathetic, and it would be easy to sympathize with them if all one's sympathies were not already exhausted over the poor devils who do their work and buy their goods. —*July 5, 1933.*

THAT THE ADMINISTRATION, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, is lending $4,000,000 to Soviet Russia for the purchase of American cotton is doubly heartening news. For economically it points to the resumption of trade with Russia on a large scale, and politically it points to long-overdue recognition.—*July 12, 1933.*

ALFRED HUGENBERG, the man who was chiefly responsible for the appointment by Hindenburg of Adolf Hitler to the Chancellorship of the Reich, has received his walking papers. His party, the National Front, . . . has been forced to announce its voluntary dissolution. . . . The owner of more than a hundred newspapers has been retired to the darkness of political obscurity, a hopelessly discredited man. —*July 12, 1933.*

IT IS OFTEN and pertinently asked what the United States Supreme Court will say about the constitutionality of some of the Roosevelt measures. Certainly there are at least three reactionary old men on that bench who would take profound satisfaction in standing by their plutocratic concepts of society if they knew the mob was battering at the door. . . . Congress could pass an act requiring members of the court to retire upon passing the age of retirement. . . . If this reporter knows anything at all about the temper of the present Administration, it will never permit the whole economic structure of this country to be disrupted and demoralized because less than half a dozen dyspeptic old men are determined to uphold precedents established before the invention of the telephone.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, *July 19, 1933.*

TAMMANY, corrupt, exposed, but still unchastened, once more faces a mayoralty election. Never in the history of New York City, however, has it incurred the resentment and wrath of so many and so diverse foes. . . . One man of incorruptible integrity, a vigorous fighter with practical political experience, stands preeminent as a candidate. He is Fiorello H. LaGuardia.—ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, *July 19, 1933.*

THE NAZI ASSAULT on reason is a challenge to the whole world. . . . Fortunately a constructive opportunity is provided. Alvin Johnson, director of the New School for Social Research, . . . has formulated a plan to bring to this country the outstanding scholars of Germany, victims of Nazi obscurantism, and to establish them here in an autonomous "University in Exile."—*July 26, 1933.*

The Pacific Offensive

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE reopening of the campaign in the Southwest Pacific in early July was a relief to many who feared that the absorption of the United States in the European phase of the war would allow Japan opportunity to exploit its conquests and become unbeatable. The long delay in launching an offensive can be ascribed to several causes. There was first the preoccupation with the war in Europe, the tendency to underrate the importance of Japan. Secondly, operations in the Pacific, because of the distances involved, require more time for preparation than elsewhere. Thirdly, the quality of our strategic thinking, characterized by extreme caution and unwillingness to risk heavy casualties, has drawn out the time of preparation. When the Guadalcanal attack, supposedly a limited operation, turned into a long sanguinary struggle which at times we came very close to losing, the conservatives among our war planners insisted upon the most thorough preparation for any further step. The fighting in New Guinea and the Aleutians was mainly defensive in character.

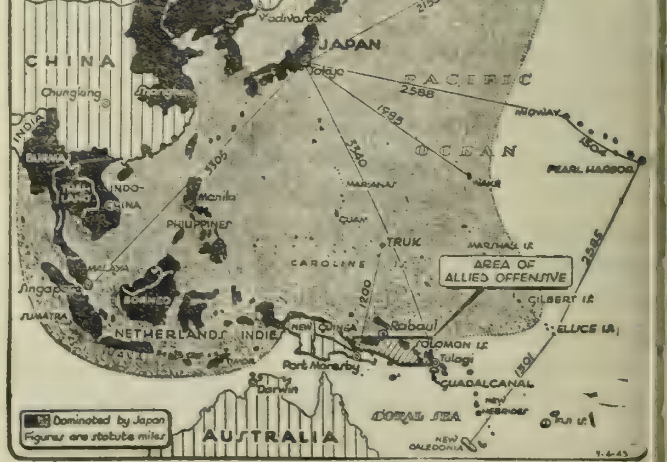
Our slowness in opening a new campaign, while it has permitted the Japanese time to consolidate their gains, has not been an unmixed evil. Amphibious warfare demands large naval forces, a considerable quantity of merchant shipping, an adequate air force, and well-trained if comparatively small land units. With all these we are now much better supplied in the Southwest Pacific than we were a year ago. Our own bases, moreover, have been overprotected to the point where they are very nearly invulnerable. And in addition the continued aerial skirmishing has built up a decisive qualitative superiority in the air.

The three initial steps of the current campaign were taken with very little risk. Nassau Bay on the north coast of New Guinea was well covered by Allied air power. The landing of troops there near Salamaua and Lae, combined with an Australian advance from the south, was a repetition of the tactics which destroyed a small force of Japanese in the same area a year ago. Owing to the absence of enemy troops the occupation of the Trobriand and Woodlark Islands likewise represented no great feat. Only in the central Solomons was serious resistance encountered, and there the impact of surprise, the quick unloading of troops, and the adequate air and naval coverage assured success, though not without losses. It is reasonable to assume that the American forces are more adequate than they were at Guadalcanal and that the Japanese will hesitate to risk large forces at Munda in attempts at rescue which are likely to prove fruitless.

Rabaul is commonly viewed as the ultimate objectiv of the campaign. But it is 400 miles distant from th new Allied footholds. Unless, therefore, the Allies ca neutralize it by bombing they are likely to have to reduc first the intermediate bases of Gasmata, Kieta, and Buin

The difficulties of approaching Japan from the sout are made apparent by a glance at the map. The reductio of Rabaul, which would doubtless require heavy fightin and considerable time, would bring the United Nation only one step closer to victory. Truk in the Carolines 800 miles farther north, much stronger than Rabaul an beyond convenient bombing range, is the next base fro which opposition might be expected. Unfortunately Tru is not an isolated strong point but one of a group o "stationary plane carriers" within supporting distance o each other. To deal adequately with this nest of enem strongholds would require a campaign to the west base on Hawaii. And Truk itself is still more than 2,00 miles from Japan. Its loss would be a considerable on for the enemy, but many other island bases would stil guard his mainland, and we should be too far away t cut his lines of communication to his southern colonies Thus unless the Japanese risked most of their forces i an immediate showdown, many more steps would b required before a campaign along this line could pa large dividends.

One other line of approach from the south has possibilities should the Allied high command be willing t run the risk of by-passing Truk. First New Guine would have to be completely cleared of the enemy an made into an offensive base, and then the Molucca Islands and Celebes, directly west, must be recaptured


SOVIET UNION
MONGOLIA
CHINA
Chungking
INDIA
BURMA
THAILAND
INDO-CHINA
MALAYA
Singapore
SUMATRA
BORNEO
NETHERLANDS INDIES
Manila
PHILIPPINES
Vladivostok
KURILE IS.
JAPAN
Tokyo
PACIFIC OCEAN
765
ATTU
AGATTU
KISKA
ALEUTIANS
2155
2588
1995
1340
3305
MIDWAY
PEARL HARBOR
WAKE
MARIANAS
GUAM
TRUK
CAROLINE IS.
MARSHALL IS.
AREA OF ALLIED OFFENSIVE
GILBERT IS.
ELLICE IS.
2585
1200
NEW GUINEA
Rabaul
SOLOMON IS.
Tulagi
GUADALCANAL
Port Moresby
Darwin
CORAL SEA
NEW HEBRIDES
FIJI IS.
NEW CALEDONIA
1301
AUSTRALIA
Dominated by Japan
Figures are statute miles
7-6-43

Courtesy New York *Times*

An amphibious attack might then be made on the southern islands of the Philippines, only a little more than 00 miles distant. Such a move would almost surely bring about a decisive battle, for the reestablishment of American strength in the Philippines would drive wedge between Japan and its other conquests. If the move succeeded, the recovery of the former Netherlands Indies would be well on the way. At the same time, the risks involved in penetrating so deeply into enemy waters without first reducing all nearby bases are so great that such a plan of action is not likely to be considered until our superiority in the Pacific is further increased.

The southern approach to Japan did not recommend itself to strategists prior to 1941 and was adopted principally to safeguard Australia. With so large an investment of force already in this area we have hesitated to embark on other lines of attack. Nevertheless, the southern route from the United States to Japan is not only the longest and most roundabout but through the greatest concentrations of enemy strength. Since the purpose of safeguarding Australia has already been achieved, offensives in the South Pacific should be somewhat tentative. If the enemy opposition makes our losses disproportionate to gains, we should shift our attack elsewhere.

Unfortunately, we are as yet far from the point where we can undertake a major offensive to knock Japan out of the war. In the North Pacific we have made headway in preparing Alaska as an offensive base. The completion of the Alcan Highway and the development of an oil industry in northern Canada greatly add to this region's self-sufficiency for defense or offense. The slight threat Japanese occupation of Kiska offered has been dissipated by the taking of Attu and the establishment of neighboring American air bases. But if our defenses in the Aleutians are in better shape, we have as yet shown no readiness to carry the war to the enemy in this region.

The dearth of action in the Central Pacific, the area picked before the war as the most likely scene of a decisive struggle, has been surprising. A big offensive in this region may be undertaken in the future, but if so its preparations are being well concealed.

With the liquidation of the ill-starred British and Japanese offensives in Burma and Central China, respectively, the situation in southeastern Asia has reverted to a stalemate that is unfavorable to us because it leaves Allied territory securely in Japanese possession. Until successful land offensives reopen adequate supply lines into China, the so-called short cut of the air enthusiasts, bombing of Japanese industrial centers from Chinese bases, must remain a dream. Whether Siberian bases will in the future be made available is still doubtful.

After more than a year and a half of war the position of the Allies with regard to the Japanese is still poor, though we have made great progress in turning out the tools of war and have stopped all recent attempts of the enemy to extend his gains. Of course our general position in the Far East is better because we are measurably closer to victory in Europe. Also the war of attrition has recently been in our favor. But the big offensives which are needed to defeat Japan are not yet in sight and perhaps will not be attempted until Hitler is defeated. However, the present campaign, despite its limited scope, is to be welcomed because it interrupts Japan's unhindered development of the second greatest colonial empire in the world.

In the Wind

A RECENT ADVERTISEMENT inserted in the New York *Times* by Freedom House, asking support for a campaign to promote a world organization to enforce peace, carried the notation that contributions would be deductible from income tax. The New York *Daily News,* without mentioning the fact that Freedom House is an educational organization, interprets it thus: "It looks to us as if some enthusiastic world-stater in the Treasury Department gave Freedom House the green light on this point."

CONVERSATION PIECE: An American business man was recently sitting in a Helsingfors restaurant, talking with a friend in English. A Finn at a nearby table called over, in Finnish, "Hey, you, stop talking English. Don't you know we're at war with England?" The American and his friend ignored him. The Finn then came over to their table with his fists clenched and said, "I told you to stop talking English!" The American quietly replied, "I'm not talking English. I'm talking American." There was a pause while it sank in, and then the Finn, completely deflated, murmured, "Oh, I'm sorry," and walked away.

IT APPEARS that the migration of Negroes to war-production centers is not an economic phenomenon. The *Union News* of Towson, Maryland, an anti-union, anti-New Deal paper, explains it thus: "Certain Washington politicians back of the fourth-term drive hope to pack Maryland with a large number of Negro workers, place them in good-paying jobs and comfortable government-built homes, have them declare their intentions to become Maryland citizens before November, and swing Maryland, which is doubtful, to the New Deal column."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Food rations in Holland represent a cut of 50 per cent in food value from the normal Dutch diet before the war. . . . In Czechoslovakia, home of the giant Bata shoe works, a Nazi-controlled newspaper announces, "The production of hand-made shoes has been revived, and skilled shoemakers are wanted." . . . Newspapers throughout Alsace have published the following public notice: "Philippe Schwall of Strasbourg, farmer, has been arrested for talking French. Some Alsatians seem to think that they need not pay any attention to the rule against speaking French. Those who take this attitude had better remember that the National Socialists' patience is not inexhaustible."

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The Balkan Gateway

EVERYONE agrees that the Allied landings in Sicily were a marvelous accomplishment. Time will tell whether the political preparations for the first assault on Italy match General Eisenhower's splendid job. So far the course of events has nearly always followed the same design: for every step forward in the military conduct of the war there has been a step backward in the domain of political warfare. It was not encouraging that at the very hour when the invasion of Europe began, France was declared non-existent by the most powerful leader of the United Nations. And even the Roosevelt-Churchill proclamation of July 16 offering the Italians an "honorable peace" leaves plenty of room for doubt about the actual intentions of the Allies. With the precedent of North Africa in mind, we cannot assume that the most generous proposals to the Italian people will not end in some new formula of compromise arranged among the Vatican, the House of Savoy, and the American occupation authorities. More reassuring to the Italian people than offers and promises would have been the appearance in Sicily of an Italian Free Legion bearing the flag of anti-fascism. Randolfo Pacciardi, who was chosen by the great congress of Italian democrats in Montevideo to lead such a legion, was ready to go to Sicily. Allied military authorities in North Africa favored the plan. It was turned down in Washington.

Any day the Allied armies may land on the Balkan peninsula, but no one has heard of any serious attempt to enlist the Balkan peoples in a real war for democracy. In 1917 Wilson had something to offer the peoples of the Balkans. Years later it was easy to dismiss the Wilsonian program with cheap sarcasm. But no man who remembers the real sentiment of that time will deny that the Fourteen Points gave a deep hope, a vision of political freedom, to peoples striving to throw off the yoke of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires. Today the Balkans find themselves in the same state of moral confusion that exists in the United Nations. They have no line, no pattern to follow. Their internal divisions have been exploited by shrewd and persistent Axis propaganda. Their governments on the spot are fascist and collaborationist. Their governments in exile, weakened by discord and reactionary ideas, are unable to keep pace with the popular movements at home.

The situation would be dark indeed were it not for the guerrilla armies. As has been true before in the history of nations, the hope of salvation is found in the masses. Recognition of the guerrillas as the soundest support the armies of liberation will receive is the prerequisite of intelligent political war in the Balkans. The United Nations must make allies of the guerrillas from the start, must consider their feelings and claims—not try to extinguish the flames by the back-fire of a reactionary counter-revolution.

I refer particularly to the Yugoslav and Greek guerrillas, who constitute a real fighting force against the Axis in the Balkans. To deal efficiently with the political problems attendant upon their existence one must first examine the political processes and trends in the countries which gave them birth.

The difficulties of Greece are simpler than those of Yugoslavia. Greece exists as a political, religious, and ethnic entity. Its main problem is the form of government to be permanently established. Though Greece is officially a monarchy, the overwhelming desire of the people is for a republic. The underground movement is organized and directed chiefly by republican Venizelists, or democrats, who know what kind of Greece they want after liberation from Italian-German slavery. By their side stand elements still more to the left. The essential character of the Greek guerrillas is expressed in the struggle against fascism. In recent months the guerrillas have become so strong in certain regions—as in Thessaly—that the occupation forces have had to withdraw.

The people of Greece, whose heroism is constantly extolled in editorials, poems, and speeches, but whose political ideas seem not to interest the leaders of the United Nations, did not feel themselves represented by the clique of reactionary and appeasing ministers who until recently constituted the Greek government in exile. At the head of that government was King George, the most unpopular of the ruling monarchs after Victor Emmanuel. His rule has never been accepted by a majority of the Greeks, or even by a large minority. Finally the forces of resistance within Greece would no longer tolerate this misrepresentation abroad. As a result of their pressure, the government in London was obliged to dissolve, and a new one was set up in Egypt, nearer the homeland. In the new Cabinet is the son of Venizelos, Colonel Sofocles Venizelos, who accepted the Ministry of Navy and Aviation.

It was the first political victory of the guerrillas. And the victory was proof that the Greek government in exile realized that when the Greek people are free they must be allowed to choose the kind of government they want. They will probably chose a republic. Their democratic past will help them to create a new democracy, without civil war. If the reactionaries of the United Nations do not interfere, Greece will certainly offer constructive support to a future Balkan confederation.

The other great force in the Balkans is formed by the Yugoslavs, or southern Slavs. It is a powerful force, but it is undermined by internal dissensions. Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes are living through one of the greatest tragedies in their history. The existence of Yugoslavia as a nation is in jeopardy.

The idea of Yugoslavia as a political entity arose in the nineteenth century, in the intellectual circles of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia. It was an intellectual concept, not a product of popular feeling. The masses never accepted it wholeheartedly. At first they looked upon it with indifference. Years of dictatorship made the Yugoslav government hateful to them. It brought to the masses not the freedom their leaders had promised but a regime held together by police and military, with power concentrated in the hands of a few.

One man, at least, saw the future clearly. As early as 1918 Stefan Radich, the great Croat leader, demanded a federalist democracy, including Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Bulgarians, which would grant equal political, social, and economic rights to all. In the election of 1919 Radich obtained 75 per cent of the Croatian votes. His popularity spread through the Balkans, but he was murdered in the Belgrade parliament in 1928. The relations between Serbs and Croats then became still more tense. In this atmosphere of passion Dr. Vlatko Machek courageously pursued the path marked out by Radich. His efforts were partially rewarded by the signing of the Serb-Croat agreement of August, 1939.

It was an important document, and a great historical gesture. By signing the pact the Croats, after an opposition of twenty years, supported Yugoslavia in its hour of peril and rejected the tempting offers of Hitler and Mussolini. Moreover, their action in that crucial hour pointed to the creation of a Balkan and Central European federation after the war.

But for the moment the agreement cannot perform miracles. The war found Yugoslavia politically disunited and morally unprepared. That explains its quick and surprising defeat. Great as was the material and technical superiority of the German armies, the military collapse of Yugoslavia was due as much to the incapacity of its general staff, which had spent its energy in building a military dictatorship over the Yugoslav people instead of preparing against an aggressor.

Once the military defeat of Yugoslavia was achieved, the Nazis proceeded to conquer the country from within, reviving and abetting old political differences among racial groups. In Croatia the majority of the people remained faithful to the leaders of the Croat Peasant Party, to Machek and his ideal of a democratic, federalist peasant state. A small minority, headed by Pavelich, Slavko Kvaternik, and Mile Budak, succeeded, with the help of Germany and Italy, in creating a so-called independent state of Croatia. They offered the crown to the Duke of Spoleto, cousin of the King of Italy, a man so passionately uninterested in Croatian affairs that he has not yet found the courage to visit his kingdom.

When the Germans attacked Russia, Himmler asked Pavelich to initiate a large-scale massacre of all Serbs living in Croatia. According to reliable reports, 300,000 people were killed by the Ustachis, a Croat fascist organization, and by the Italians and Germans. During the butchery Italians and Germans were everywhere with cameras. The photographs were published in both Zagreb and Belgrade and smuggled out of the country with the complicity of the occupation authorities. Serbian bishops wrote to the German authorities asking their intervention in stopping the mass murders. An appeal sent by Bishop Benjamin to General Dönkelmann reached the United States through diplomatic channels and was published by the Serbian extremist newspaper *Srbobran,* in Pittsburgh. Between the Serbs and Croats a bitter controversy arose, which was what the conquerors wanted.

The Ustachis not only killed Serbs but also Jews and nationalist Yugoslavs, and then blamed the Serbs for the killing. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the population is made up of Serbs, Croats, and Moslems, this fratricidal war has become so horrible that it will probably appear in history as one of the darkest pages of the war.

The situation would have become absolutely desperate had it not been for the appearance of the guerrillas. The rise of the guerrillas, known under the various names of "partisans," "green cadres," and "woodsmen," united the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian masses in the same movement of revolt. It started in Serbia, spread through Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia. It surged to the Dalmatian coast through the Dinaric Alps, to the doors of Trieste, and to the Dalmatian island which the Croat poet, Vladimir Nazor, still fighting with the guerrillas at the age of seventy-six, described as "the indestructible rock against which the ships of occupation will smash themselves to pieces."

The guerrillas would have stamped out all the Hitler intrigues and defeated the Axis armies of occupation if violent conflict had not broken out between those led by Mihailovich and the independent groups generally lumped together under the name of partisans. It was most unfortunate that at a moment of hope the government in exile made Mihailovich Minister of War.

Mihailovich accepted the view of the partisans proclaimed by Germans, Italians, Ustachis, and separatist propaganda bureaus—that they were Communists and anarchists, that their leaders, veterans of the Spanish civil war, had returned to the Balkans only to spread Com-

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munist propaganda. Mihailovich's Chetniks in Bosnia-Herzegovina, aided by the Italians, fought against the partisans. Not only did Croat Ustachis kill Serbs in that battle, but Serbian Chetniks killed anti-fascist Serbs and Croats. Mihailovich did not understand the game of his enemies. The propaganda of Hitler and Mussolini, given impetus by Dimitrije Ljotich, ideological leader of Serbian orthodox fascism, succeeded in convincing Mihailovich and his political advisers that in the struggle between fascism and communism Serbia and its people must fight the Communist menace.

It is interesting to note the division of opinion between native fascists and anti-fascists in regard to a united Yugoslavia and the future of the Balkans. All fascists—Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes—are against the creation of a democratic federal state. On the other hand, the guerrillas have resurrected the idea of a united Yugoslavia, giving it a new social content and a more progressive interpretation. Even from the lips of an enemy comes confirmation. In a dispatch to the *Stampa* of Turin, Alfio Russo, its Balkan correspondent, wrote that the Serb-Croat agreement of 1939, which seemed doomed after the fall of Yugoslavia, had been revived everywhere by the guerrillas.

Here in the United States only the military deeds of the guerrillas are reported. Very few people know that, just as in France and other countries where the underground is strong, the forces of resistance are engaged in a vital and continuous discussion of the fundamental questions of the future. A good number of the guerrillas feel that the best solution for the Balkans would be a federation composed of (1) Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, (2) Bulgarians, (3) Greeks, (4) Rumanians, (5) Albanians, and (6), if possible, even Turks. This federation should and could be the point of junction and cooperation between Russia and the Western democracies—Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States. It could be flanked by a Danubian federation composed of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Austria. Together the two federations would form a union of small agricultural and industrialized states, strong enough to stem the tide of the German *Drang nach Osten* and to check a complete Russification of the Balkans—although Russia would always exercise an important influence.

The guerrillas have thought and dreamed of all that. But the Yugoslav government in exile has not heeded the democratic awakening of the people.

The situation of the Yugoslav government in exile, which the conflict between Mihailovich and the partisans had already made critical, became suddenly worse when the Ban of Croatia, Ivan Subasich, sent a letter to the Allies denouncing the anti-Yugoslav policy of some elements in the Yugoslav government. The British understood the danger. They at once got in touch with Mihailovich and asked him to collaborate with the partisans. He refused. The British threatened not to send him any more help, and the Russians demanded from the Yugoslav government a clarification of Mihailovich's attitude toward the partisans. The government did nothing. The Prime Minister, Jovanovich, received the Russian note but did not communicate its contents to his colleagues; he answered directly through his military Cabinet. Some of the governments in exile make good use of the fact that they are disciplined neither by a parliament nor by public opinion.

Things could not go on that way. Before leaving for Washington in the spring, Winston Churchill sent a letter to Jovanovich calling for a real Yugoslav government with a clearly defined policy and, if necessary, for the removal of Mihailovich. Jovanovich kept the letter in his pocket for more than two weeks, but was finally obliged to show it to his colleagues. The crisis brought about the fall of the government, and a new one was installed under the presidency of Milos Trifunovich, the leader of the Radical Party.

This government follows a federalist pattern. It includes all the Serbian parties—except one representing the Serbs in Croatia—and the Croats and Slovenes. For the first time, Slovene liberals, like Professor B. Furlan, are in the Cabinet. But even though its composition is an improvement on the previous government, it is still on the whole reactionary. The best man among the Serbian members is the Foreign Minister, M. Grol. He was against appeasement; he supported the Loyalist cause during the Spanish war; he is for an understanding with Russia. The black sheep of the Cabinet is General Zivkovich, a complete reactionary, the dictator of January 6, 1929, the Primo de Rivera of Serbia.

The King, too young and surrounded by a camarilla of young ultra-nationalist officers, nevertheless made a significant statement on St. Vitus's Day. He promised that Yugoslavia would be "a real popular commonwealth of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," and he went on to say that "the internal organization that this commonwealth will have will be decided by the real representatives of the people in the liberated fatherland." The King expressed his admiration "for all national fighters, regardless of the label under which they are fighting." He also mentioned the resistance of the guerrillas to the Germans and alluded to the partisans.

That was a promising change of tone. But action must follow. The new government has but a short time to carry out its double task: within the country to achieve unity between the partisans and Mihailovich, obliging the latter to discipline himself; and in the realm of foreign affairs to reach an agreement with Russia. Until that is done Yugoslavia will not be politically ripe for an Allied invasion; only confusion and disunity among the anti-Axis forces will meet the Allied armies.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

"I SHARPLY disapprove of the sentimentality of many Germans toward foreigners," said the Gauleiter of Saxony, Herr Mutschmann, a few months ago—to be exact, on March 8. "I disapprove particularly of any sentimentality toward the foreign workers in the Reich. These people have been our enemies." In the same week the other provincial Gauleiters seem to have uttered similar warnings. And ever since then "false sentimentality" or "inappropriate sympathy" for the so-called "foreign workers" has been a constantly recurring topic in German domestic propaganda.

On April 2 the *Essener Nationalzeitung* gave us some concrete information about this reprehensible sentimentality. "No Pity" was the heading of an article which contained the following passage:

> One frequently hears the words "After all, they too are human beings"—for instance, when a food shop or bakery refuses to sell rationed goods to foreign workers, especially those from the east, without coupons. There are actually people who so far forget their duty as to give away some of their own coupons in their desire to seem particularly humane. Surely it is not necessary to emphasize that such "gestures" are punishable. Let there be no false pity.

The warnings and the threats of punishment, however, have apparently made no impression on persons who wish to be "particularly humane." Two months later, on June 20, the *Essener Nationalzeitung* came back to the theme with even greater vehemence.

> Complaints about foreign, especially eastern, workers who attract attention by their persistent begging in food shops have lately increased to a degree necessitating energetic counter-measures. All shopkeepers must be on their guard against this nuisance. Misplaced sympathy and ignorance of actual conditions unfortunately often lead them to comply with the foreigners' ridiculous requests. In addition, short-sighted kindly persons try to influence them to sell the foreigners food without coupons. . . . Anyone giving these foreigners food or food coupons, however, merely aggravates the nuisance, which has become especially annoying in shops run by women. Public begging by foreign workers can be stopped only if a deaf ear is turned to their demands. When necessary, people should telephone the police or the nearest party branch so that vigorous action may be taken.

Incidentally these exhortations afford us a glimpse of the pitiable state of the foreign workers. But the fact that some sympathy and humanity are often shown them —too often, according to the newspaper—is also worthy of mention. Considering the circumstances under which this kindness is shown—the suffering caused in the province by the heavy air raids, the sacrifices involved in gifts of food, the comparative publicity of such acts, the continuing propaganda against them coupled with threats of punishment—it is one of the more encouraging signs.

During the weeks in which the invasion of Sicily was being prepared, the German public had a perfectly clear idea of the general situation. It understood it so well that the propaganda authorities often considered it the best policy to interpret quite frankly the people's mood. A high point in frankness was reached on June 20 by the *Brüsseler Zeitung*, a paper officially founded for Germans in Belgium:

> It would be absurd to deny [it said] that this forty-sixth month of the war has brought heavier burdens than any one of the forty-five months that are past. Let us look the facts in the face and not attempt to sugar-coat the pill. . . . We have had no good news for some months; events and factors which could have made the war take a favorable turn have vanished into thin air. There have been setbacks and lulls. We were deeply moved by the tragic climax of the Tunisian campaign. An old strategic plan of our enemies—to attack the underbelly of the Axis from the south—seems on the verge of being accomplished. The losses which our U-boats have been inflicting on enemy shipping have slowed down. The enemy can boast that production exceeds sinkings. Finally, the enemy air force is dealing violent blows to the cities of the Ruhr, while German attacks on British targets fail to correspond to the retaliation predicted for an unspecified date. . . . Never has the enemy threatened us more seriously, and never has he seemed so well prepared to carry out his threats.
>
> All this has a certain physical and psychological effect on the German people. We have the impression for the first time that the initiative, which during most of this war has seemed to be exclusively ours, is as it were on furlough, and that others are trying on those seven-league boots which so far have been worn only by us. Since we Germans are better fitted by temperament to attack and storm forward than to remain on the defensive, the situation is a novel one for us.

The passage gives us an authentic picture of German thoughts about the war on the eve of Sicily. But one should not imagine that these thoughts are being translated with any energy into feeling, much less into action. They seem rather to induce weariness and paralysis. The current mood was described on June 8 by the German correspondent of the Swedish *Vestmanslands Lanstidning* as follows:

> In Germany there is hardly any discussion of the war or its course. The civilian population goes around completely apathetic; neither good news nor bad, neither joy nor sorrow, makes a deep impression on them any longer.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Third Growth

The little pine grove, trimmed of its ground branches,
Lets the eye through, a thread among those needles
That sew a green cloud fast to fern and rock.
In their own shade the stems, so black and small,
Are pillars of weak steel; yet nerved enough,
And tempered, to attach for soft eternity
Feathers to earth, wind music to the swell
Of soundless, of grim granite; which the drop
Of other needles, browning, will spread over,
As the grove grows, with carpet for fox feet,
With compost for silence. So the trunks,
Increasing, will be columns that hold up
A weightless, waving mountain; and no man
Will speak of stitches then. This is the time
To see it, to send vision dipping through,
And then downhill by meadows to the Hollow's
Bottom where the bone white steeple stands.
This is the century for that. Dead villages
Glisten. And the pine begins again.

MARK VAN DOREN

Anywhere Out of the World

FOUR QUARTETS. By T. S. Eliot. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

ANY work by T. S. Eliot is bound to be interesting in a complicated way. But this new work compels, in me at least, a greater complexity of impression than any other of Eliot's works. I speak thus of my own feeling because I know how differently, and with what unmixed admiration, many other readers have greeted these new poems. Yet at the tenth reading I have the same mixed feeling, and this after having tried to force in myself the delight of those who find these poems just what they should be throughout.

Two extended passages, a sestina made more difficult and extraordinary by rhyme and a miraculous exercise in the idiom and method of "The Divine Comedy," are equal, at least from the standpoint of technique, to any modern poetry. Throughout these poems there is also the invention of new rhythms, of unimagined possibilities in the movement of language, which has always marked Eliot. He is perhaps more original and inventive in rhythm than any other poet in English.

But when this is said, the weakness of other long passages is underscored. These passages are of two kinds. In one, the poet uses conventional forms in an effort to write the kind of lyric which is traditional to English poetry, and here what is to me the inadequacy comes chiefly from the choice of image and phrase: the earth as a hospital "endowed by the ruined millionaire" lacks the permanent surprise, shock, and uniqueness of—to use the used instance, permanently fresh—"April is the cruellest month." Then too the images seem *made,* self-imitative, forced; they have the look of the artificial, and when they are intended as emblematic or established symbols, they look merely decorative.

The other kind of unsuccessful passage is composed of blocks of long lines very close to the rhythm of prose, like much of "The Family Reunion," and deliberately direct, matter of fact, and prosaic. Nothing is more important to modern poetry than such a use of the prosaic for its poetic quality, for nothing else can give the poet the thickness, the particularity, the full actuality of modern experience, which will justify his avowed emotions and beliefs. The prosaic versification here is so much better than the same kind of thing in "The Family Reunion," partly because of a greater use of overflow, that it may mark a stage in the mastery of a new style. But in itself, it remains weak and wrong, not only in the triteness of the phrasing—"we have gone on trying," for example—but in the effort, self-consciousness, and falsity of tone. If one hears a man *trying* to be modest, sincere, or frank, and if one hears the trying, rather than the modesty, sincerity, or frankness as such, one has an analogy for what is wrong with these passages both as language and as emotion:

> So here I am, in the middle way, having had twenty years,
> Twenty years largely wasted, the years of *l'entre deux*
> *guerres*—
> Trying to learn to use words, and every attempt
> Is a wholly new start, and a different kind of failure
> Because one has only learnt to get the better of words
> For the thing one no longer has to say or the way
> One is no longer disposed to say it.

It is not enough, in a poem, to say "I am unhappy" or "I have failed"; and especially in the poetry of direct statement the commonplace or colloquial statement must be lifted up to a new light, by one device or another, so that it is not merely itself, but something penetrated and understood as a symbol. The touchstones for this profound usage are Laforgue, Marianne Moore, William Carlos Williams—and Eliot himself, but not in these poems. And then the choice of instances in these passages, "fruit, periodicals, business letters," "even a very good dinner," marks a like relaxation of the poet's sensibility, one which suggests that he is at such times echoing the idiom he himself discovered. Too much is often made of the sheer texture of the language, when modern poetry is examined; but here it is not merely a matter of texture: the crucial instant of insight is betrayed by the language. Thus, at one important moment one gets such a weak play and shift with the meaning of a phrase as "Not fare well, But fare forward, voyagers," when in "Ash Wednesday," at a like moment, the poem rose to such a phrase as "Teach me to care, and not to care."

However, there can be no doubt about the satisfaction and the success to be found in the modified sestina, the Dantesque interview, and the organized movement of the poems. Especially the encounter with a dead master just before morning in London in war time strikes one with such astonishment and admiration that some grand rhetorical statement seems proper; so that, as Cocteau declared of the motion pictures, "At last the theater has an airplane!" one wishes to say, "At last Dante has been translated into English and into modern life." This is literally true in that Eliot has accomplished the effect of *terza rima* in English by alternating masculine and feminine endings without rhyme, thus evading the comparative poverty of rhyme in English and thus instructing future translators and poets. But the renovation of Dante is more than a matter of versification:

> Over the asphalt where no other sound was
>   Between three districts whence the smoke arose
>   I met one walking, loitering or hurried,
> As if blown towards me like the metal leaves
>   Before the urban dawn wind unresisting.
>   And as I fixed upon the down-turned face
> That pointed scrutiny with which we challenge
>   The first-met stranger in the waning dusk
>   I caught the sudden look of some dead master. . . .

And the organized movement of the four poems makes the title of quartets denote more than the stock analogy of music with poetry. Perhaps late quartets would be still more exact, for as in those of Beethoven, the movement from part to part goes from a passage lyrical, quick, joyous, and exalted; to a passage suddenly slow, turned in upon itself by variation or repetition of the same thought, hovering over divided parts of the same symbol or idea; harsh, flat, discursive, and tortuous; and then once more quickened to certainty, difficult conviction, and the explicit declaration and direct chant of belief.

The belief, made clear by the use of phrases and doctrines in the Bhagavad-Gita, Heraclitus, and St. John of the Cross, is that the only meaningful event in history is the Incarnation, and all else—"the moment in the rose-garden," the place of one's forbears, the practice of poetry, and the whole of one's life—illusory, deceptive, empty, vain, and without meaning except in relation to the Incarnation. Seen in that light, everything still remains false and of little worth, except as a phase to be endured. All that is natural and merely human contradicts itself, love is not love, time is not time, the end of life is the beginning of life, exaltation and despair are the same thing, all desire, effort, and action must be transformed into passages of patient waiting—"waiting without hope"—to be wholly disengaged from everything in this life. Here, as in Eliot's poetry from the start, what declares itself above all is an obsessing desire to be free from "birth, copulation, and death," to be "divested of the love of created things," to be utterly out of the world. This rejection and renunciation are dominant to such an extent that the affirmation of belief seems only lyrical after-thought. The Incarnation is present for the sake of the rejection of this life, not the renunciation because of the Incarnation. And this suggests once more that Buddhism is perhaps a doctrine just as well suited as Christianity to the poet's mind; perhaps better suited, since the doctrine of reincarnation in some form of natural life becomes true and inexhaustible damnation, given Eliot's vision. To say this is to recognize that the poet's hatred and rejection of this life is something beyond any belief whatever. It must have some personal and private source, but it exists for all readers both as a profound criticism of life and as a necessary phase in the life of the spirit. If there is a phase superior to it, as most Christians, at least, must suppose (how different is the Christianity of St. Francis or Aquinas), the rejection and renunciation which Eliot celebrates is prior and not to be evaded, if one is to be in the full sense a human being. To see that this is true, one has only to remember such very different actualities as the moral disillusionment of our time and the present war; and in literature, such wholly different authors as Céline and Rilke, for "The Duino Elegies" have a close resemblance to these poems, and these poems, however different in subject matter from Céline's exhaustion of cynicism and despair, are also a journey to the end of the night, inadequate only when the journey is discussed and commended, and not endured.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Bazaine and Pétain

THE TWO MARSHALS. By Philip Guedalla. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

THE obvious has to be said: let us get it said quickly. The youngish Old Master is still his coruscating self. He can entitle his last three chapters *Vidi, Vici, Vichy.* He has evolved a style halfway between Oscar Wilde's and Lytton Strachey's. There is a Guedallese as there is a Carlylese; and both are acquired tastes. He is a conscientious artist, and takes tremendous pains with his baroque instrument. A superb climax like "the painted army of a painted Emperor" is reached after a patent strain. But he enjoys the effort, and so do we. We like to see a pyramid of acrobats get into place; and when they jump down with a smile, we do not grudge our applause.

Under its Churrigueresco ornamentation, the book is a solid piece of historical work. There is no particular reason why "the two Marshals" should be Bazaine and Pétain. The only link between the two is that, after the defeat of 1870, France picked Bazaine out as a scapegoat; whereas in 1939 Pétain assigned that sacrificial role to Republican France: *lucus a non lucendo.* The natural parallel would have been MacMahon and Pétain. But if the link between the two parts is ever so slender, each is excellent on its own merits.

Bazaine's biography is the fuller, and by far the better. It is a spirited report of a long, varied, and, except at the very last, honorable career. It gives us a good picture of the "African army" between 1830 and 1870, dashing, colorful, far closer to medieval warfare than to the modern strategy of Carnot and Napoleon. Guedalla pays tribute to the rough but efficient work that Bazaine did in Mexico: but for Appomattox and Sadowa, he might have kept the puppet Emperor indefinitely on the throne. Guedalla does not attempt to probe—who could?—the unspoken ambitions the Marshal and his young wife may have entertained. Only a romancing biographer could do that; and, for all his incredible graces, Guedalla is a very sober historian.

When it comes to the surrender of Metz, Guedalla makes it plain that Bazaine was not a "traitor" in the vulgar sense of the term. It took me a quarter of a century to discover

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that plain truth. I accepted Bazaine's treason as an uncontroverted fact, like the existence of William Tell, or the fight to the death of the Vengeur. I was slow to discover that history is a forest of myths and symbols; or perhaps, in the words of Napoleon, a pack of unchallenged lies.

The last third of the book, devoted to Pétain, is not so colorful. Guedalla does not yield to the temptation of rewriting Pétain's earlier career in the baleful light of Vichy. No doubt Pétain was a good soldier—with a constant tendency to defeatism; and a good citizen, for, at heart a reactionary, he loyally kept out of politics until he was seventy-five. Pétain's honor was slowly engulfed by the quicksands—of his own choosing. Because he had toyed with the idea of being a Franco, he is ending as the puppet of Gauleiter Laval. This horrible process is finely studied by Guedalla, without sentimentality, without irony, without gloating. Still, I prefer the treatment of the same tragic theme by Kerillis and by Pertinax.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Samuel Morse

THE AMERICAN LEONARDO: THE LIFE OF SAMUEL F. B. MORSE. By Carleton Mabee. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

IT IS seldom fair to hold an author accountable for the title under which his manuscript is ultimately published. In this case, however, Mr. Mabee, and Allan Nevins, who has contributed a glowing introduction to the biography, has been carried away by Morse's fancy that he was the American equivalent of Italy's Leonardo. As a consequence they have presented a curiously distorted picture of the man who is popularly supposed to have invented the telegraph. Morse was a man of considerable versatility. He was a competent painter of portraits, but when his landscapes failed to get him a commission for decorating the rotunda of the Capitol he sought other means of gaining federal patronage. Though he had less scientific knowledge and less mechanical ability than the four men who were associated with him in obtaining the patent for the first magnetic telegraph line to be strung across the eastern United States, he owned the controlling interest in their invention and received the public plaudits, the testimonial dinners, and the foreign decorations.

Morse's ventures into writing were sporadic activities tied up with his two excursions into politics, neither of which was to his credit. As a leading promoter of the Native American Party—which attracted the same kind of people in the 1830's and '40's as those that America First seduced a century later—he published under a pseudonym a widely read and dangerously inflammatory anti-Catholic pamphlet. During the Civil War he was the leader of the Diffusionists, a group of well-heeled Northerners who soon received the less equivocal designations of "peace men," "Copperheads," and "traitors."

All these facts about his hero Mr. Mabee sets forth in detail, being particularly careful in presenting the controversies about the telegraph. Where he pushes his Leonardo parallel close to absurdity and historical inaccuracy is in assuming that because Morse lived in New York City during the expansive social period with which the diaries of Philip

Hone have made us familiar, this dutiful son of a stern New England Puritan actually acquired the gusto for life that was characteristic of the great men of the Renaissance. Because of his standing as a portrait painter and the sort of semi-professorship which he held at the University of New York, Morse was often invited to the same social functions which Hone and Washington Irving and Fitzgreene Halleck attended, but he never caught their spirit of high good-fellowship. By upbringing and constant association he belonged with a very different group of New Yorkers which was known disparagingly as the "Tappan crowd" and was composed of transplanted New England traders bent on forcing their native virtues and prejudices, first, on the town of their adoption, later on the whole country. Morse stuck with them in their crusades against the theater, wine-bibbing, and what they considered the indecencies and obscenities of New York. But when the national abolition of slavery became the burning issue, he broke away, because, so he declared, by antagonizing the lavish spenders in the South the "fools and fanatics of the North" would "slay the goose that lays the golden egg."

GRACE ADAMS

What of Asia?

PACIFIC CHARTER: OUR DESTINY IN ASIA. By Hallett Abend. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

THE continuing European bias in American thinking on foreign affairs, despite Pearl Harbor, is a remarkable thing. It is nowhere better evidenced than in the fact that out of the scores of books already issued by the prophets and planners of the post-war world only about half a dozen take any note at all of Asia and the Pacific and only two—those by Peffer and Abend—concentrate solely on that area. While this one-eyed outlook persists we must accordingly be grateful for such an effort as Mr. Abend's to depict in simplified outline for the non-expert reader some of the vast issues that will confront us in post-war Asia, even though the picture is still left very blurred with some of the details inexact.

Mr. Abend's proposals for a Far Eastern settlement have a certain family resemblance to those in Mr. Peffer's "Basis for Peace in the Far East." Japan must of course be disarmed. "Her military caste must be utterly discredited, her entire system of education must be remade, and her form of government must be changed, even though the Atlantic Charter incautiously declares for "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." The discrediting of the militarists could best be assured by deposing the imperial house. What parts of the government and educational system are to be changed, by whom, and into what we are not told. Japan will be driven out of Asia and stripped of its colonies but will not be "barred from the world's markets." Manchuria, Formosa, and the Liu Chiu islands—Mr. Abend confuses them with the smaller Pescadores—should be returned to China, and it is implied, though not specifically stated, that British Hongkong and Portuguese Macao should be similarly restored. The abolition of extraterritoriality, concessions, and other special foreign privileges in China is already practically accomplished since the recent signing of the British and American treaties.

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Towards an
ABIDING PEACE

By R. M. MacIVER

Can we make a peace that will last? Yes, says Professor MacIver of Columbia University, and shows explicitly how he believes it can be attained. But we must be willing to pay the price. "He has much to say that will start controversy. . . . Those who are studying Walter Lippmann's 'nuclear' plan will do well to consult Professor MacIver's book."—Harry Hansen in *N. Y. World-Telegram.* $2.50

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THE MACMILLAN CO., NEW YORK

Korea, Mr. Abend believes, must be promised eventual independence, but will not be fit for immediate self-government. It must have a period of political tutelage under an international guardianship. Philippine freedom must also be assured, but "the Filipinos will not be ready for independence politically, strategically, or economically, until at least a few years after the end of this war." Mr. Abend is severe on French rule in Indo-China, "easily the worst example of the white man's imperialism to be found in all of East Asia," and argues for an international authority in which the French and the Chinese might have an important role, despite the misguided pledges of the British and American governments to respect French sovereignty in the empire. He is vaguer about Thailand but feels that it too "will have to undergo a long period of political tutelage and guardianship."

The Indies have already been promised a post-war position of virtual equality with Holland in a wider Netherlands Commonwealth, but it remains doubtful whether this will only mean independence for the Dutch in the Indies and a favored few native leaders or whether it will transfer substantial political power to the Indonesians. Though recognizing this, Mr. Abend feels that there is no justification for booting the Dutch out and that they must be intrusted with the task of making good the promises of the Atlantic Charter. In Malaya "Great Britain will probably be left to restore stability and government as she sees fit." Burma, however, will be another case for international guardianship for a period, with China and the United States, besides Britain, assuming major responsibilities.

One wishes that Mr. Abend had contented himself with East and Southeast Asia and devoted himself to a more penetrating analysis of the heart-breaking internal difficulties of those areas. He continues, however, with muddled and inadequate chapters on India, Australia, and New Zealand, before coming to the problem of the smaller Pacific Islands (which he erroneously populates in the Southwest with "Malays," presumably meaning Melanesians). The Japanese-mandated islands, he feels, should belong to the United States or at least to a strong international authority; the chain of islands stretching south from Hawaii to Australia should also come under some type of international control for purposes of air traffic. He properly criticizes American unwillingness to grant landing rights at Hawaii to Australian air lines.

Having thus disposed of the Pacific and the Far East in 228 pages, Mr. Abend apparently felt obliged to throw in two extraneous anecdotal chapters on Matsuoka and Konoye, both of whom used him to convey impossible political offers to Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-shek. The Matsuoka scheme, transmitted through Abend and the New York *Times* to Washington, was the simple proposal to have Japan and the United States purchase all of eastern Siberia for thirty to fifty billion yen! Mr. Abend thinks President Roosevelt "chose to reply through official channels."

Aside from a number of minor errors of fact, the book suffers from a wholly inadequate attention to the perpetual and desperate problem of Asiatic poverty and economic backwardness. It is ironical that Mr. Abend, who a few years ago was writing luridly of chaos and corruption in a then relatively prosperous and peaceful China, should now fail to give sufficient consideration to the ominous economic breakdown in Free China today. Equally unfortunate is the failure to discuss the international machinery which will be needed for preserving peace and security in this redesigned Asia, or to consider the presumable role of the Soviet Union. These defects greatly weaken a book which, despite its over-simplifications, would otherwise serve as a good popular guide to an understanding of the destinies of that other half of humanity.

W. L. HOLLAND

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Fiction in Review

ANYONE who looks for another "Rebecca" in Daphne du Maurier's "Hungry Hill" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.75) will be sorely disappointed; in her new novel Miss du Maurier attempts something much more ambitious and something at which she is much less successful. Unmistakably set in Ireland though for some reason the locale is never named, "Hungry Hill" is a long, diligent, and boring narrative of a hundred years in the life of an Irish mine-owning family whose chief claim to notice, it seems to me, is its proclivity to die young and drink too much; disappointingly it turns out that the title refers only to the copper mine from which the Brodricks took their fortune. Quite until the Epilogue of the novel I was at a loss to understand what motivated Miss du Maurier to write it, but this last section, dated 1920 and concerning itself in an epiloguish way with the fate of the last Brodrick at the hands of his own rebellious countrymen, indicates that she intended her book to be a historical diagnosis, by means of one family, of what is wrong with the whole of past and present Ireland. And evidently what is wrong with Ireland is twofold but simple: the Irish resent any outside interference—the Epilogue makes much of the "Ourselves Alone" slogan of the rebels—at the same time that they are too indolent and superstitious and unreliable to do anything for themselves. Thus in Miss du Maurier's account the few sturdy souls like Copper John Brodrick who were industrious and enterprising had constantly to battle against their compatriots, and even their own descendants were too weak and indolent to carry on the family burden of responsibility. One wonders whether "Hungry Hill" implies, then, that what Ireland needs today is the ruthlessness of the Brodrick ancestors to force order and prosperity on the Irish people in spite of themselves.

But surely this is not a novel of a quality to provoke one either to agreement or disagreement with its political implications. The only significant thing about "Hungry Hill," in my opinion, is that it has so quickly become one of the country's leading best-sellers. Of course it may be that Miss du Maurier is only disappointing her vast "Rebecca" audience, and yet the equal popularity of another generations novel, Marcia Davenport's "Valley of Decision," which had no such predecessor, suggests that the secret of the large sale of "Hungry Hill" possibly lies in the fact that it covers so much time and kills off one generation after another, reminding one of death and the transitoriness of things—a contemporary substitute for the old tragic catharsis. At any rate, I strongly suspect that at least among women a novel of this sort is read in the utmost seriousness if only because it is sufficiently time-consuming to justify the time wasted on it, and sufficiently dreary to be respectable and support the sad lesson of the American schoolroom—namely, that for a novel to be elevating it must be dull.

If I was mystified to understand why Miss du Maurier wrote "Hungry Hill" and why it is being read, I am still more mystified to understand why in these days of paper rationing a novel as large, foolish, and inept as Carleton Beals's "Dawn over the Amazon" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $3) should be worth publishing. Of course, it is about Latin America, and anything about Latin America is presumed to promote hemispheric solidarity. I may be in a minority in feeling that a trivial adventure-and-intrigue story set in South America in 1950, at the start of a new world war, is scarcely invigorating propaganda in 1943—whatever the inspiring visions of air-conditioned cities in the jungle and whatever the final triumphs of something called the American League for Liberty and Democracy. But I should report, I suppose, that Mr. Beals was thinking of art, not of politics, when he wrote "Dawn over the Amazon": according to an author's note, the political events "have been selected merely as a peg on which to hang my story; they enable me to show human beings caught in the web of tragic happenings which leave no man's life untouched." I should add, however, that if Mr. Beals's Gabrielles and Marcelas are indeed human beings and the events of their lives have anything to do with a web of tragedy, then there is a closer connection than I ever suspected between Grade B spy heroines and Sophocles.

DIANA TRILLING

CONTRIBUTORS

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN writes of Congressional purgers from personal knowledge. The Dies committee in April recommended his dismissal from the Federal Communications Commission, but the Kerr committee threw out the charge of subversion for lack of evidence. Dr. Schuman is Woodrow Wilson professor of government at Williams College, and his books include "Design for Power," "Night Over Europe," "The Nazi Dictatorship," and "American Policy Toward Russia Since 1918."

DELMORE SCHWARTZ has recently published "Genesis," a long narrative in verse and prose. His other books include "Shenandoah," "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities," and "The Imitation of Life."

W. L. HOLLAND is editor of *Pacific Affairs.*

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FILMS

HORSES may send their children to "For Whom the Bell Tolls" without fear. That offensive word "stallion" (not to be confused with *Joseph* Stallion) which appeared in Mr. Hemingway's novel and even in Dudley Nichols's original script has been changed, in the finished production, to read "blazed face."

Human beings should proceed more cautiously; else they are liable to be misinformed. When f-sc-sts are actually mentioned, the one time they are, the context makes it clear that they are just Italians who, in company with German Nazis and those dirty Russian Communists, are bullyragging each other and poor little Spain, which wants only peace and quiet. In the same speech, if you are not careful, you may easily get the impression that Gary Cooper is simply fighting for the Republican Party in a place where the New Deal has got particularly out of hand. The next speech, which suggests that not all Americans have Mr. Cooper's disinterested historical foresight, appears in the Nichols script but not on the screen. There is, on the other hand, General Golz's joke about how full of accents Spain is these days, which I suppose can be regarded as a small triumph by screen workers defeated enough to seek their victories through microscopes. There is a faint hint that Gary Cooper (strictly in character) favors Russian cigarettes; I suppose if it were any more specific the run on Novotnys would be excelled only by the Norway-rat stampede of the millions to fling themselves at Earl Browder's feet. Miss Bergman is allowed to use the International Brigade's *Salud* once when Mr. Cooper says g'by, but when Mr. Cooper is saving a comrade from capture by shooting him through the head, neither of them can bear to say more than *adios,* though the script read differently. A line of Mr. Nichols's invention, "I come from Stalin," as it is excitingly delivered by Konstantin Shayne in the best use of a bit in years, may cheer some excitable sectors; I thought it highly ambiguous and, except as a piece of acting, unimportant. Mr. Nichols's original script is fairly riddled with the word fascist. The release script and the production prefer the word nationalist. I thought I once caught the word phalangist, but it may have been fuh land sakes.

Paramount, in other words, has crashed through. It has covered itself, too, against any pink nigglers who might bring the accusation of dodging political issues. The speech in which Mr. Cooper mentions fascists and the grand old party so misleadingly does at least—and with abominably clumsy hindsight—go on to say that Spain, as the old phrase went, is a proving-ground, a dress rehearsal for a greater war. But even this has no more organic connection with the film as a whole than a Gideon Bible has with a hotel bedroom.

There is, on the other hand, Ingrid Bergman. Miss Bergman not only bears a startling resemblance to an imaginable human being; she really knows how to act, in a blend of poetic grace with quiet realism which almost never appears in American pictures. Hemingway's conception of Maria is partly adolescent I think, and for a while her understanding of the role seems still more so. She seems never to have dreamed that a young girl who has seen death and suffered gang rape cannot in all reason bounce into her role looking like a Palmolive ad. But in many moments of the early love stuff—in flashes of shy candor and in the pleasures of playing *femme esclave*—she does very pretty things, and later on she does some very powerful ones. Her confession of the rape is an exquisitely managed tearjerker. Her final scene of farewell is shattering to watch. Not that it's perfect. But its sources and intention are so right, and so astonishingly out of key with the rest of the production. She seems really to have studied what a young woman might feel and look like in such a situation (not a moving picture)—half-nauseated and nine-tenths insane with grief, forced haste, and utter panic. Semi-achieved though it is, it is devastating and wonderful to see.

A lot of other actors ought to be mentioned if there were space. Katina Paxinou's Pilar is sometimes stagy, but she does have style and grandeur. Akim Tamiroff's Pablo would have been a great performance, I believe, if only it had had the chance. The best of Vladimir Sokoloff's Anselmo has real sweetness, as against the stock-company naive cuteness to which the production reduces his conscience over killing. Frank Puglia's Captain Gomez and Fortunio Bonanova's Fernando are solid and very likable, and a young Cuban named Lilo Yarson gives a gentle, fine performance as Joaquin. Gary Cooper is self-effacing and generally a little faint, like the character he plays, but the faintness has its moments of paying off, and his general support of Miss Bergman is nearly as good as the law will allow.

That is more than can be said of the coarse-grained general tone of the show. Mikhail Rasumny, who might have made a good nature symbol of the amoral gipsy, is reduced to a D. W. Griffith comic with overtones of a fine-arts survey course. Joseph Calleia's El Sordo, by no likely fault of his, is just a blend of Wallace Beery and Tully Marshall; and the famous stand on the hill, which needs mathematical cold-processing, is nearly illegible. Hemingway perhaps crowded in more grand-scale characters than he could handle, but at least they had the benefit of the whole of his great talent and intention; here, though they talk forever, they are just a mush with mica flashing on it, half-developed, nervously tossed aside, incoherent. One single shot of the desperate love and hopeful intuition which prompts Agostino to strike his leader could have given that scene intact terror, even greatness, as a tragic image of appeasement; as it is, it is like a fine dog running on three legs. The suspensive intercutting of the long last night, sedulous as it is in its derivation from "Intolerance," where that was invented, only increases my reverence for the old picture; the new has all the suspense of a clothesline swaybacked with wetwash. The suspense at the bridge as dynamite is laid is boldly protracted to the point of ridicule. I sympathized with the boldness and was had by the suspense but could not help realizing that, properly conceived and cut, it could have been ten times as exciting in half the footage. The rhythm of this film, in fact, is the most defective I have ever seen in a superproduction.

The Technicolor is even unluckier. It is as good as the best experts, at this stage, can make it: which still means the rankest kind of magazine-illustration and postcard art. Color is very nice for costume pieces and musical comedies, and has a great aesthetic future in films, but it still gets fatally in the way of any serious imitation of reality.

Of all the rumbling rumors and denials of political interference on the part of the Franco government, the Catholic church, and the State Department, it has been possible chiefly to find only the clogged-drain smell which the picture bears out. Franco's ambassador tried to get the State Department to suppress it and was refused. The San Francisco consul, Francisco Amat, saw the script and objected to everything you might expect him to, and was reputedly disregarded. Adolph Zukor says, "It is a great picture, without political significance. We are not for or against anybody." Other Paramount executives have delivered lines almost as distinguished. On the question whether the opening was delayed from March to July because Robert Jordan—pardon me, Murphy—had work to do in Spain, the State Department declines comment. There are people in Washington, however, who are not eager to tie their names to it, who say that the whole affair is "too hot to talk about." Why, is any man's guess. And how this production could possibly have offended anyone politically, except a few million powerless characters who retain some vestige of moral nerve, is beyond any guessing.

Mr. Hemingway's sleeping bag, by the way, is so discreetly used that you can never at any moment be sure who is in or out nuendo.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

AT MONTEUX'S second broadcast concert with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Artur Schnabel was the soloist in Schumann's Piano Concerto; and having heard him play one of Schumann's sets of piano pieces superbly a few years ago I went to this concert with anticipation, only to be surprised and disappointed by playing that was heavy and labored much of the time—though there were of course phrases turned out with the marvelous inflection which Schnabel is capable of.

I heard only the first movement of Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony, which was better conceived by Monteux and played with more precision and better tone by the orchestra than the works of the preceding concert. As for this first concert, in justice to Monteux—who, though not a great musician, is a technically expert conductor—I will elaborate my recent statement that with additional rehearsal he might have achieved the beauty of sonority and finish that was lacking. My guest and I had reached this conclusion at the concert; but a few days later he wrote that he had discovered Monteux had had exactly 1¼ hours of rehearsal—this for almost 1½ hours of performance. This led me to write to him asking the source of his information, and to the New York Philharmonic asking how much rehearsal time Monteux had had. The answer from the Philharmonic denied that he had had only 1¼ hours; but it did not tell me how much time he *had* had. What it did was to say that conductors were being given "the usual rehearsal of 2½ hours," and as much as four hours when necessary: for Bruno Walter, merely repeating works he had conducted during the winter, 2½ hours were enough; for a conductor new to the orchestra as much as four hours was allowed. This implied, without actually saying so, that Monteux had had anywhere from 2½ to four hours; and a couple of weeks later my guest answered, naming a person seemingly unimpeachable as a spokesman for Monteux as the one who had told him Monteux had had exactly one rehearsal of exactly 1¼ hours.

Put aside the conflict in statements for the moment; and consider only the Philharmonic's statement. It is true that the length of "the usual rehearsal" is 2½ hours; but the usual number of such rehearsals with which a Philharmonic conductor prepares his Thursday evening program is four—making the rehearsal time ten hours. True, his program is from twenty to thirty minutes longer; but even if you deduct for that you don't get four hours. If Toscanini conducting his own N. B. C. Symphony gets at least six hours of rehearsal for a broadcast of an hour, Monteux should get that much for a program of almost an hour and a half with an orchestra that he is conducting for the first time.

As for the conflict in statements, let it constitute my answer to those who have wondered that I haven't established the right and wrong of controversies like the one between ASCAP and the broadcasting chains, or between Mr. Petrillo and the record companies. If I get conflicting statements on a simple matter like the amount of time Monteux had for rehearsal of a concert, what hope have I—even if I devote my time to nothing else—of getting the mere facts of those tangled controversies out of the people involved in them?

For one thing I would have to get them from people in and about the broadcasting and record companies; and experience has taught me that the broadcasting and record company mind and my own are mutually baffling. Perhaps I should say the business mind; but that wouldn't be correct. The purpose of business being, as I understand fully, to make money, there is the business mind which makes its money by selling a useful and good product like bicarbonate of soda or a new discovery like the sulfa compounds; and I understand that. Then there is the business mind which makes its money by selling something worthless like Prudence Powderfeather's Mystic Elixir; and I understand that. But there is also the business mind which thinks that the fact that it sells hundreds of thousands of bottles of the Mystic Elixir makes the Elixir a good product, its manufacture a noble act of public benefaction, and any attack on it an outrage, contending that an expert who conducts a health and medicine column should write about the Elixir from the point of view of the hundreds of thousands of women who find it helpful, not from the point of view of one expert who finds it to be three parts mud and one part colored water. And that mind I find baffling.

So with records. There is the English record company mind which makes money with products as good as the English recordings of Furtwängler and Beecham and the pre-war English pressings of these recordings; and I understand that. Then there is the mind of one American record company executive—the only one of his kind that I have encountered—who is willing to make money with bad recordings, bad pressings, bad needles if people are willing to buy them; and I understand that. But there is the mind of some other executives of record companies which produce good and bad, and offer both equally as the best—who, when they have sold large quantities of a bad recording or of bad pressings to people without the ears and the machines to know what they were buying, think that this makes the records good, their manufacture an act worthy of praise, and adverse criticism a manifestation of a viciously ignoble nature, contending that an expert who conducts a record column should write about the records from the point of view of the hundreds of thousands of people with defective ears and defective machines who find them satisfactory, not from the point of view of an expert with good ears and a good machine who hears their defects. That mind I find baffling; and Beecham seems to have had trouble understanding it too.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Mr. Lippmann Demurs

Dear Sirs: In his review of my book "U. S. Foreign Policy," Mr. Albert Guérard said that "from the point of view of the realistic historian, the weakness of Lippmann's book is that he ignores Europe west of the Curzon line." I am genuinely puzzled by this statement. For the thesis of my book is that the American nations have always since their settlement been members of a historical community, comprising the peoples who live on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. These nations include—besides the American republics, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Eire—the following states of continental Europe: France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. *All* of these states constitute, I insist, a single system of security in that an aggression against any one of them will of necessity involve all of them. I call this system the Atlantic Community. The members of it in continental Europe are all of them "west of the Curzon line."

My argument is that the alliance of the Atlantic Community with Russia and with China is the necessary nucleus of a stable world order. I argue that a world order cannot be generated on the League of Nations principle of an association of more than fifty states acting by unanimous consent, and that historical experience teaches us that larger societies grow by agglomeration around a nuclear state powerful enough to provide protection and the benefit of wider intercourse. Those who take the League of Nations view frequently argue from the analogy of the American Union, which, they suppose, was formed by the voluntary consent of thirteen sovereign states. I argue in my book that this analogy is historically false in that the authors of our Constitution did not create a new union but, as they said, perfected a union which had in fact existed from the first settlement of North America under their common allegiance to the British crown.

Mr. Guérard is, I judge from his review and from a private letter, a partisan of a European union comprising all the nations west of Russia and including Britain. I am not. I should regard such a union, if it were consummated as a military federation, as wholly undesirable if, fortunately, it were not wholly unrealizable. Such a "Europe" would inevitably be a Pan-German Europe. For there is no state west of the Curzon line large enough to resist German domination. Such a Europe would at once be mortally at odds with Russia. It would alienate Britain from Russia, and it would—if the United Kingdom followed Mr. Guérard's advice and adhered to it—cause the dissolution of the British Commonwealth and the isolation of the Americas.

WALTER LIPPMANN

Washington, D. C., June 29

The Missing Chapter

Dear Sirs: It is true that the states listed by Mr. Lippmann in his letter are all "west of the Curzon line." But they do not constitute "Europe." Mr. Lippmann's scheme fails to provide for Germany, Poland, the Danube Basin, the Balkans, the Mediterranean region. Even the states he mentions would be merely the outposts or satellites of an overwhelming Anglo-American combination. Few of them would be satisfied with such a situation. I have been an American almost as long as Mr. Lippmann; but I was a European before that, and I know how Continental Europeans feel. I am afraid Mr. Lippmann does not. That is what I mean by "ignoring Europe."

Europe is a historical, cultural, economic reality, and we should not attempt to disrupt it. If it were kept divided or Balkanized, torn between the conflicting influences of Russia and Britain, you may be sure that it would be constantly under the menace of Germany, encircled and resentful. The only way of settling the German problem is to absorb Germany into the European Union. All strategic materials, resources, and activities would be under federal control. There would be European citizens of German speech, as there are at present Swiss citizens of German speech. The difference is that in Switzerland the Germans outnumber the rest, three to one; in United Europe they would be outnumbered, three to one.

Mr. Lippmann's letter is a most welcome instalment of the missing eleventh chapter. In his admirable contributions to the *Herald Tribune,* he has gone farther: "Let us not imagine that Europe can be resettled and restored without the full participation of France, and without the influence that France alone can exert." I wager that France's policy will follow the tradition of Aristide Briand, and seek to build a United Europe.

Why I believe that Europe *does* include Great Britain, but not the Soviet world, is too large a question to be discussed in a brief paragraph. I hope I shall have the opportunity of presenting my arguments at greater length.

ALBERT GUERARD

New York, July 3

Those "Broad-gauged Men"

Dear Sirs: In an article entitled The Downfall of Joseph Weiner in a June issue of *The Nation,* your Washington correspondent, I. F. Stone, expressed uncertainty about the meaning of Donald Nelson's phrase "broad-gauged men."

The answer may be found in Chapter XIX of "Babbitt," wherein that worthy is accused by one of his employees, whom he is about to discharge for dishonesty, of being himself dishonest and on a larger scale. Babbitt replies in defense of his actions—using his knowledge of the proposed route of a new street-car line to make huge profits in real estate for himself and the street-car officials—by declaring righteously: "There was nothing dishonest about it. The only way you can get progress is for *the broad-gauged men* to get things done; and they got to be rewarded"—in this instance, it would appear, with Joseph Weiner's scalp.

LT. (J.G.) WM. G. LEARY, U.S.N.R.

Norman, Oklahoma, June 26

FSA Architecture

Dear Sirs: Considering its immediate purpose, your editorial some time ago on the Farm Security Administration was justified in referring only to economic and related achievements. But when the final score comes to be chalked up, let it not be forgotten that the Western office of the FSA is responsible for some of the best architecture which has been done in the United States in recent years—architecture, that is, considered realistically as a social function.

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Oakland, Cal., May 3.

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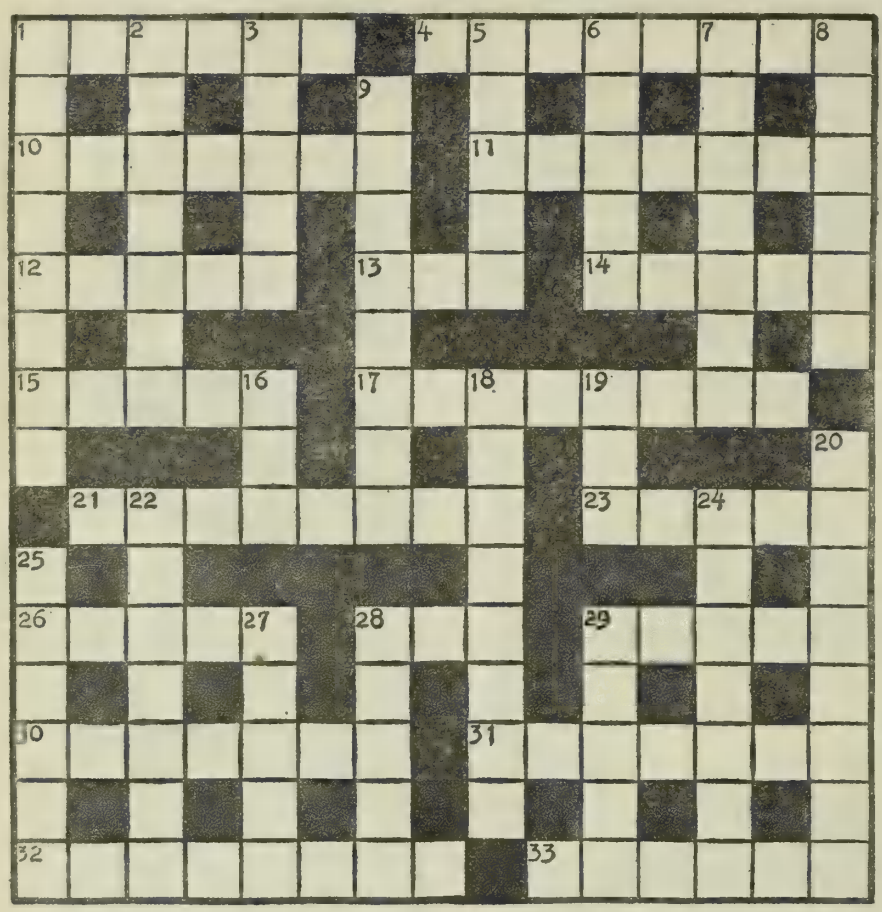
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 22

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 & 4 English version of Cavalleria Rusticana
10 Might we say that this'll please 'em?
11 Troops surrounding "Y" find only a shepherd
12 "Thou wear a lion's hide! doff it for shame, And hang a ----- skin on those recreant limbs" (King John)
13 Party in power
14 All right in the theatre, but not in the home
15 This organ is blown by hand
17 Claques are paid to give it, yet they give it freely
21 A case of the minority having numerical superiority (two words, 5 and 3)
23 Famous London landmark
26 European cavalryman of the last war
28 Half sister
29 Lord Chesterfield wrote that idleness was only the refuge of weak ones
30 It's a bit bigger than another bird
31 Give it a name
32 U. S. bachelor president
33 His mare is again becoming a popular means of progression

DOWN

1 A thin time may be in store for women who go in for it
2 Matches that begin with an undeniable fault
3 Inventor's stock-in-trade
5 Twin brother to Pocus
6 Poison
7 They don't mind being taken in
8 He had fun at a royal court, according to the story
9 Ira pants—for political office, perhaps
16 He surrendered at Appomattox
18 The witticism I dropped is not let off
19 The tail of a cart
20 Have snappy ones gone out of fashion since the introduction of the zip fastener?
22 Skilled in political affairs
24 Being upright he won't sin
25 Bees are responsible for half of the row
27 Rather an uncommon name for a girl
28 Anne's back for tea, but she won't like it!
29 Lucifer

(We are indebted to W. H. W., Montpelier, Vt., for 24)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 21

ACROSS:—1 CAPITAL; 5 LETTERS; 9 SCOTS; 10 NOR; 11 LOGAN; 12 ANGELS; 15 ANGELL; 16 EASIEST; 17 DOOM; 19 FLAT; 21 ALIMONY; 22 ISLE; 23 WAVE; 25 SEASONS; 27 IDEALS; 29 EASIER; 33 IN USE; 34 ILL; 35 DENSE; 36 LOTTERY; 37 ATHIRST.

DOWN:—1 CUSTARD; 2 PRONG; 3 TUSSLE; 4 LINO; 5 LARK; 6 TALENT; 7 EAGRE; 8 SINGLET; 13 SALLIES; 14 FIRMEST; 15 ASININE; 18 OIL; 20 LEA; 22 INITIAL; 24 EARNEST; 25 SLEEVE; 26 SARDAH; 28 EXULT; 30 INNER; 31 AIRY; 32 ELLA.

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SEP 1

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The Shape of Things

MUSSOLINI'S resignation means the end of the Axis. The war in Europe will go on, but it will be Hitler's war. Italy is finished. Not all the bombast about its "sacred soil" or its "given word" can conceal that fact. Italy may go through the motions of continued resistance for a while, but no one can doubt that Mussolini resigned so that the King could lead Italy out of the war.

When Hitler, at his recent meeting with Mussolini, refused to invest more divisions in the Italian campaign, the Fascist dictator could neither carry on the war successfully nor end it. The only hope for a negotiated peace or a surrender which might lead to an "honorable peace" lay in Mussolini's resignation. Whether he quit voluntarily or was forced out, he had no other choice. A dictator facing certain defeat is already a dead duck.

The resignation of Mussolini is a mighty blow to the whole system of terror he inaugurated. Its political results may be more valuable to the Allied cause than its military effect. The important thing is to capitalize on it quickly and by methods which the people will understand. Now, at the moment when the prestige of fascism is at its lowest, is the time to make the distinctions sharp and final. The House of Savoy has supported the Fascist regime for twenty-one years. It is compromised beyond redemption in the eyes of all anti-Fascist Italians. Marshal Badoglio, in spite of his occasional differences with Mussolini, served gladly in the indefensible war against Ethiopia. He is known for his wanton brutality. It was this man, the new Premier of Italy, who hurled captured Ethiopean chieftains out of bombing planes as a warning to their followers. To get rid of Mussolini and treat with *Ersatz* Fascists such as these would be to sacrifice the greatest political opportunity the war has yet offered.

No plea of military expediency would excuse mistakes in Italy such as were made in North Africa. We are dealing with enemies in Italy, not with uncertain allies. We are winning one military success after another. We need appease nobody. We can fix our political terms. We have already announced that under Allied military rule Fascist leaders may not hold office. The President and Mr. Churchill should now state plainly that we will have no dealings with reactionary legatees of the collapsed Fascist power. This is our great chance; we cannot afford to muff it.

THE ANTICS OF THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONgress, outlined by I. F. Stone elsewhere in this issue, have at least had the virtue of jolting American labor out of its long beauty nap. Taking for granted the permanence of New Deal reforms and reveling in relatively high wages, the trade unions allowed the 1940 elections to go by default. They have now had the sluggishness knocked out of them, and there are reassuring signs that they will not again be caught napping. Regional conferences of the C. I. O. at Philadelphia and Chicago have issued a "statement of political action" which calls for a united front with the A. F. of L., the Railway Brotherhoods, and unaffiliated labor organizations in behalf of candidates who have consistently demonstrated their support of the President on major policies, though it does not mention a fourth term. The conferences, presided over by Sidney Hillman, were no doubt realistic in rejecting the idea of a third party, but a flat decision on this point seems to us ill timed. By committing themselves, the powerful labor groups represented at the conferences in effect served notice a year ahead of time that they would support Roosevelt or his choice, come what may. If the rest of the labor movement follows suit, the Administration will find it strategically logical to conciliate the reactionary wing of the party, a process which has already been carried painfully far. The decision, moreover, is a slap at the American Labor Party, which has moved far in the direction of independent political action by labor. Worse still, the blow comes at a moment when the A. L. P. is fighting for its life as a free party against the inroads of the Communists, who threaten to seize control in the primaries of August 10. The party needs the vote of every enrolled member if it is to be saved from these political buccaneers, and we hope that no one will be dissuaded from going to the polls by the stand of the Philadelphia and Chicago conventions.

*

THE COX COMMITTEE HAS NOW REFUSED to receive in evidence twenty letters from other government agencies, including the armed services, testifying to the value of the work done for them by the broadcast intelligence service of the Federal Communications Commission. These official documents outweigh the unofficial complaints made by Rear Admiral Stanford C. Hooper, retired, who was trotted out by the committee to attack the FCC. We are glad that the President has bluntly ordered army and navy officers not to testify before this phony investigating committee, and we note with amusement Cox's threat to charge James F. Fly, chairman of the commission, with contempt. A contempt charge would have to be prosecuted by the Attorney General and if the Attorney General were asked to proceed against Fly it would raise embarrassing questions about Cox. The FCC is still waiting for Biddle to act on evidence given him more than a year ago which showed that Cox had received $2,500 from a radio station whose cause he had pleaded before the commission. If the money was received for services rendered, the Congressman is guilty of a felony. When is the Attorney General going to do something with the evidence in his possession?

*

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY RANK AND FILE seems to be outgrowing the Throttlebottoms who figure as party leaders in Congress and in the G. O. P.'s major city and state organizations. The Eastern regional conference of the unofficial Republican Post-War Policy Association in New York last week opened with an attack on the domestic policies of the New Deal but proceeded to a warning that many Republicans would choose those policies in 1944 in preference to "a snug isolationism." The platform adopted by this group—among them several Governors and members of Congress—is of worldwide importance. It was the Republican Party which scuttled the League of Nations after the last war. Now we find a growing demand within that same party for some new form of world organization "to assume full responsibility in maintaining world peace." The illusion of isolationism is dying in the party once dominated by it. A conference of this kind does, indeed, as the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* suggests, "make the life of an ostrich thoroughly uncomfortable."

*

TWO MILLION JEWS OUT OF EUROPE'S SIX million have already been slaughtered by the Nazis; most of the remainder seem doomed, for the rate of liquidation is being speeded up as German hopes of victory decline. This is the most colossal and atrocious crime in history, and it is a crime to which the democracies are accessories before the fact. Now the Emergency Conference to Save the Jews of Europe meeting in New York is making one more effort to arouse the sympathies of the world. It has a number of concrete proposals to make, including an approach by the United Nations to the Axis satellites. Since the governments of these countries now see the writing on the wall, there is reason to believe that they might prove amenable to pressure. Another proposal is for temporary asylum in neutral countries with an Allied guaranty of evacuation of refugees received there within six months after the end of the war. This brings up the problem of permanent havens. Many Jews could be absorbed in Palestine, but every proposal to open the gates of the (Balfour) Promised Land has met a blank refusal from the British government. It is, of course, true that an increase of Jewish immigration into Palestine might mean trouble with the Arabs. But whatever the risks, they ought not to outweigh the certainty of the loss of tens of thousands of lives which might be saved by letting down the bars. We must note, however, that the United States would be in a stronger moral position to urge this policy if it were a little more open-handed itself.

Backstairs Diplomacy

SELDOM has a reputable journalist done a shoddier day's work than the column by Ernest K. Lindley in *Newsweek* for July 19. The article, entitled Why De Gaulle Is Not Trusted, is noteworthy both as a masterpiece of injustice and as a glittering example of the State Department's new technique of conducting diplomacy through pet journalists.

Mr. Lindley, who has long enjoyed a privileged status with the Administration, casts his column in the form of answers to what he chooses to regard as "the accusations of the De Gaullists and their supporters in Britain and the United States." The first of these "accusations" is that "American policy toward France is formulated by a 'pro-fascist' clique in the State Department." This is a mere burlesque of the charge, never made so far as we know by De Gaullists, that the core of the State Department and Foreign Service is reactionary and generally hostile to forces anywhere in the world that promise social change. It is by now all too clear, however, that Mr. Lindley is right when he attributes our French policy to the President and Secretary Hull rather than to any group of subordinates. So much the worse.

Mr. Lindley's denial of "De Gaullist accusation number two"—that "American policy toward France runs counter to British policy, or at most has been concurred in reluctantly by the British"—contains the admission that the two governments have seen eye to eye only "for some months." That is perfectly true, since Anthony Eden's visit to Washington, to be exact. A bargain was struck on that occasion which marked the end of more than two years of wholehearted support of De Gaulle by the British, during which time our own government did everything in its considerable power to humiliate him. No one denies that Churchill himself is now hostile to De Gaulle. Indeed, Churchill now admits to authorship of a confidential memorandum which was forwarded to the State Department and which is said to charge De Gaulle with dictatorial tendencies and with having left behind him a "trail of Anglophobia." But Churchill, like our own government, appears to find De Gaulle's tremendous appeal to Frenchmen a threat to his hopes for a France which will be pliable at the peace table. Churchill, moreover, is not quite synonymous with Britain, and in fact his present attitude toward the Fighting French is throughout England among the least popular of his policies. Certainly it is going far to say, as Mr. Lindley flatly puts it, that "the British have learned from their own experience that De Gaulle is not a trustworthy ally." As recently as July 19 the London *Times* urged recognition of the French Committee of Liberation and severely criticized the British and American governments for making the political aspect of North African affairs "more complex and embarrassing" than the military.

From this point Mr. Lindley's analysis proceeds from the strained to the fatuous. "The most devastating answer" to the charge that "in checkreining De Gaulle" we are "meddling in the political affairs of France," he writes, "came from Mr. Roosevelt last week: 95 per cent of the French people are still under the German heel." To be sure, Lindley admits that we "are interfering in the maneuvers of a group of French politicians in North Africa," but that is all right since they "have not been chosen by the French people." Does Mr. Lindley imagine that our interference—the kind of leaders we arm, the friends and enemies we make—will have no bearing on the future of France? And does he think that American and British politicians have a greater right to interfere in the affairs of the French empire than Frenchmen have to run them?

The columnist's arrogance reaches its full stature when he examines the charge that our present position will alienate the French people. Their liberation depends on British and American arms, he writes, even though "once liberated, they may not be grateful." Therefore if they are alienated "it will be only because De Gaulle and the men around him incite French opinion against the saviors of France. The British and ourselves surely would be foolish to deliver France into the hands of an opponent, as De Gaulle's recent behavior comes near to establishing him as being." One need only think back to 1940 to recall the figure of De Gaulle fighting desperately at Abbeville, imploring the Reynaud government to carry on from Brittany, then from Africa; of De Gaulle condemned to death as a traitor, standing alone in London, inviting his stricken countrymen to rally to the cry: "Rien n'est perdu. Luttons!" Similarly one can recall our own slick arrangements with the traitors of Vichy, our miserable efforts to sustain Pétain as the "George Washington of France." Yet now it is De Gaulle who is the "opponent" and we who are the "saviors." The Frenchmen who voluntarily bore the full brunt of the assault while we slept are to be grateful to us for fighting now that our life as a nation is at stake.

There are other brassy bits in the Lindley "analysis," but they scarcely rate such extended discussion. Neither would the article in its entirety if it did not so blatantly point up the State Department's growing tendency to by-pass the usual diplomatic procedures in favor of letting its opinions leak out to select correspondents. If Secretary Hull thought it right to publicize Churchill's memorandum on De Gaulle, why didn't he do so openly? If not, how is it that so confidential a paper fell into the hands of Mr. Lindley? How is it, for that matter, that Demaree Bess, of the *Saturday Evening Post,* was given access to files in North Africa which no other correspondent has been privileged to inspect? As part of the same pattern, Harold Callender, Constantine Brown, and a few other Washington correspondents have recently been treating their readers to a spate of stories from "unimpeachable sources" and bits of chatter from "high Washington circles" all blackening De Gaulle's name and none of them carrying the slightest responsibility. Gossip is traditionally a staple of capital cities, but surely the Foreign Office of the greatest power on earth need not clog the backstairs.

End the Inqusition!

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

EVERYBODY knows something about the methods used in checking on federal employees. The story of the Washington Gestapo, printed last week and the week before in *The Nation,* was not a revelation. But it aroused more interest than anything we have published for months. It is as if people everywhere, in and out of government agencies, had been waiting for the facts to be assembled, the moral drawn, and the whole thing presented openly and without reservation. Numerous letters, of which a few are printed in this issue, have been coming into the office. One or two expressed doubt about the accuracy of the story and disapproval of the anonymity of its author. The rest—the overwhelming majority—warmly welcomed the publication of facts too long suppressed or published piecemeal when particular cases created public interest. And several writers recounted experiences of their own with FBI or Civil Service agents which parallel or complement those described by our author.

The fact is, I believe, that the methods used by the federal investigators are profoundly shocking to most Americans. They are associated in most normal minds with the operations of the secret police of European dictatorships. Americans find them hateful and want to know why we have adopted them in this democracy. It is a sense of inner division and confusion of purpose that explains the eager response to the story of the Washington Gestapo.

Before I consider the more general implications of that story, I want to reply to one or two of our correspondents. Those who question the propriety of writing or publishing anonymous articles on a subject like this probably fail to realize the point to which the inquisition has gone. In some degree I have shared that failure. I thought when the articles came in that the author should reveal his identity at least to the editors. He refused, and for a while we considered rejecting them. He said our Washington editor, I. F. Stone, knew him and that was enough. He was afraid that if two people, let alone a whole editorial board, knew who he was the fact might leak out and his job be lost. We decided to use the articles. His fears seemed to us excessive, but they were added evidence of the reign of terror he described. Mr. Stone vouched for his veracity.

In addition, we have all experienced, at first or second hand, the examinations conducted by the federal Gestapo. I have several times recorded the questions of agents who have quizzed me about actual or prospective government employees. To read them over is to discover how closely they duplicate the stories told in Washington Gestapo. On one occasion, when an editor of another liberal weekly was under investigation, I sent the Attorney General a transcript, as nearly verbatim as possible, of the astonishing conversation between myself and the young FBI agent who came to me for information. Unfortunately I kept no copy; but I remember that the agent managed to get the impression that Mr. X was a believer in "collectivism" because I said he had doubtless supported the idea of collective security before the war.

When my friend Otto Mayer protests in a letter printed on page 137 that he knows men in government agencies who "have never heard of FBI investigations in their departments" and that the article is a "damned lie," I can only say that his friends must have led remarkably sheltered lives. Perhaps they worked in the geodetic survey. I have been asked dozens of times by FBI and CS investigators whether a person under inquiry was interested in radical ideas, whether he had been sympathetic with Spain, whether he was pro-Russian. (The deadly sin of communism is seldom mentioned by name.) I have been asked what I knew about a man's private life. A year or so ago a former *Nation* colleague who happens to be a bitter anti-Communist was under examination. The investigator who questioned me about him wanted to know whether he had any Russian friends, whether he had ever left the United States—a matter of State Department record—since he had immigrated, whether he lived well and, if so, how he managed it on the proceeds of his writings.

Another friend of mine, an alien, in this country on a visitor's visa, was actually queried about an American official in one of the more secret war agencies. The investigator asked my friend if he had ever visited this official at his home. He said he had. The agent asked if he knew where the official got his money. My friend did not. The agent asked if he knew whether the official was a Jew. My friend had no idea. The agent pointed out that my friend must have met people at the official's house. "Were any of them Jews?" he asked. I can give my oath that this incident occurred. In all its nasty implications, I believe it equals anything presented by our anonymous author.

Last week I talked the whole situation over with four leading officials in Washington. Like our author they shall remain nameless. But it is not betraying their confidence to say that one was a Cabinet member, one the head of an important federal agency, and the other two of equal eminence. They all agreed that the inquisition was aimed at ridding the government service of as many New Dealers and other progressives as possible. One of the four thought the antagonism to Jews was equally strong. He also believed the situation would get worse; it was part of a general reaction which was increasing. One thought that any official with enough guts to fight for his subordinates could put a stop to the depredations of the investigators. One thought the President would like to step in but couldn't possibly do so before the elections. One pointed out the mitigating fact that many progressives had survived the purge. "The trouble is," he said, "that the atmosphere has become stifling. Men and women of liberal mind hate to work in most of the agencies. Still more refuse government posts in the first place. Slowly, but very perceptibly, this pressure is impoverishing the whole federal service."

But the corroboration of high government officials is hardly necessary to establish facts so generally known. What is important is to realize what they mean. What is more important still is to do something about them.

Jay Allen, lecturing on the government's foreign policy, has referred to our "national schizophrenia." The investigations by federal agents are another symptom of the same disease. We are waging a dangerous, deadly civil war. That it is a political and psychological war rather than a military one merely makes its manifestations less noisy, its casualty lists less obvious. The division in our political life slices through every department, every bureau, every agency. It even runs through individuals, and one of the individuals most profoundly afflicted is the President himself.

We must accept the fact that our federal police and other agencies of investigation are firmly planted on the reactionary side in this internal struggle. They are more afraid of liberals and progressives, of Socialists and near-Socialists, of Communists and fellow-travelers, than they are of pro-Nazis or native fascists. We must accept the fact that the present Congress, by a big majority, supports this position. We must accept the fact that most agency and department heads will continue to make appointments with one eye on the FBI and the other on Martin Dies. They know that their appropriations depend upon the favor with which they are regarded in Congress and that a record of "bad" appointments or defiance of the federal investigators may well mean the death or crippling of their offices. The life-or-death power of Congress over the whole administrative apparatus has turned many a liberal executive into a mouse.

But having set down and digested these unsavory items, we can still insist that a little courage in a few major posts could do much to weaken the regressive elements in our split personality.

Last week, in an article by Frederick L. Schuman, the Attorney General was referred to as a "liberal." The quotation marks were unfair. Mr. Biddle is a liberal, and he has the faults that too often go with the quality of liberalism. He is not a fighter. He compromises when he should be stiff. He is severe when the enemy is weak. But the implication in the second instalment of Washington Gestapo that Dies has had the full support of Biddle is, I believe, unfair. While the FBI has doubtless cooperated with the Dies committee upon occasion, it has also found the committee's noisy methods a hindrance to its own legitimate work. Nor should it be forgotten that the Attorney General gave precise figures to show how few of the federal employees charged by Dies with subversive connections were found guilty by the FBI. Biddle's fault lies in his acquiescence in equally detestable methods employed by the FBI. He has never dared to challenge the operations of the redoubtable Edgar Hoover. Rather than risk a showdown with an agency which has such tremendous prestige in Congress and the country, he allows Hoover to terrorize the people who are Biddle's natural political friends and allies. Putting the matter bluntly, Biddle has far less guts than his reactionary subordinate. And with a few exceptions, like Secretary Ickes, the same must be said of the other liberals in the government. They let the men of will, the ruthless and unscrupulous men, ride over them and their decent convictions. And so our political practices continue to war with our political faith—and democracy is divided and weakened from top to bottom.

What can be done? It is useless merely to ask Biddle to end the inquisition. He will not make a move unless he makes it under pressure. One force which might encourage him to act would be a strong demand from the heads of the various agencies and departments. But that in turn is unlikely unless the administrative personnel itself is willing to fight. A powerful union of federal employees could end the rule of both Dies and Hoover if it wanted to. Pressure from the outside would be useful too. Citizens' organizations such as the Council for Democracy and the Union for Democratic Action should fight for a new policy. Labor unions, realizing that their friends are being driven out of office, should throw their whole strength against the methods of the federal police. Widespread publicity and popular protests should be launched and a Congressional inquiry demanded as soon as Congress reconvenes. Only by action which vigorously combats the fascist tactics of our Washington Gestapo can democracy in the federal service survive. I hope our readers will help to organize such action in every part of the country.

The Cantankerous Congress

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 23

THE Key Issue. The key issue on the home front is the fight against inflation. A genuine roll-back of prices would greatly increase the President's popularity. A reduction in price at the grocery counter is something every housewife could understand, and no Congressman would dare fight. Congress recessed without enacting restrictions on a roll-back of food prices, but Byrnes and Price Administrator Prentiss Brown seem to have given behind-the-scenes pledges that they would make only limited use of their powers on this score. If such pledges were made, they ought not to be allowed to bind the President. A further rise in living costs would involve the possibility of the most dangerous kind of disintegration on the home front: spontaneous strikes, bitter class feeling, more anti-labor legislation, the destruction of morale on the assembly line and in the kitchen.

Now's the Time to Act. A series of roll-back subsidies before Congress reconvenes would change the whole political atmosphere, strengthen the President. Even in the right wing of the Democratic Party there is support for subsidies. Roll-back subsidies are "the only logical and effective way of 'holding the line' on the cost of living." They "will benefit those who cannot pay more, as well as those who can, and the cost will be relatively small." The words quoted are from a radio speech made during the past week by that Texas left-winger Jesse Jones.

Profiteers. Although industry has soaked the army and navy some fancy prices for arms and is doing very well despite excess-profits taxes, it deserves credit for its part in helping to keep down the prices of basic raw materials in this war much better than in the last. The Anti-Trust Division under Thurman Arnold scared a price reduction out of Alcoa. Leon Henderson, by sheer bluff, managed to hold down the price of steel—but the bluff wouldn't have worked if United States Steel, leader of the industry, hadn't been taking a much more cooperative attitude toward the government. Henderson also managed to hold the line against increases in the price of copper and crude oil—offering higher prices for increased production instead of a general price increase. In this respect Brown has followed in his footsteps, though under pressure from Ickes he now seems to be on the verge of surrendering to the oil industry's demand for a higher price "to encourage new production."

By contrast with the farm bloc, industry's record is patriotic and praiseworthy. The only section of industry which has vigorously and successfully fought price controls is that section which processes food. Some of the big processors are themselves growers; others are linked with banks holding farm mortgages. These are the bankers and trusts "in overalls" who supported organizations like the Associated Farmers before the war. Allied with the big farmers and cattlemen and helped by the farmers' natural weakness for inflationary sprees, the canners, packers, millers, and bakers have become a sector of industry most dangerous to the war effort. These elements of big business and the big farmers are the outstanding profiteers of World War II.

The Farm Bloc's Record. In retrospect the story of the session is a series of hairbreadth escapes from the farm bloc. The Pace bill, to include farm labor costs in determining parity, would have added three billion dollars to food costs. It passed the House but was killed in committee in the Senate. The Bankhead bill to exclude benefit payments in determining parity ceilings would have added two billion dollars to the nation's food bill. It passed both Houses but was vetoed by the President, and the veto was sustained. The President's veto message pointed out that farm prices were already 115 per cent of parity as compared with the World War I peak of 107 per cent. The farm bloc did succeed in enacting the Bankhead-Johnson bill to defer essential farm labor from military service. Under Secretary Patterson said that in Connecticut passage of this bill caused a disastrous flow of labor from munitions plants back to the farm.

The Senate passed a resolution to permit the sale of corn at $1.40 a bushel as compared with the hog-corn ratio price of $1.30 and the OPA ceiling of $1.07 a bushel. But the House Agriculture Committee voted to table this on the day before adjournment. The narrowest escape and the most dangerous was on roll-back subsidies, which were opposed both by the Farm Bureau Federation and by the National Cooperative Milk Producers' Federation, long a stooge of the milk trust. The farm bloc succeeded in writing an anti-subsidy provision into the Commodity Credit Corporation bill but not in overriding the President's veto of that measure.

Four days after the President's veto, the Senate by a vote of thirty-six to twenty-eight approved a more stringent restriction against subsidies by Tydings of Maryland. But on the very day of adjournment the Senate voted to eliminate this ban against food roll-backs. The vote was thirty-four to thirty-three, and the Senate's action was then accepted by the House. Thus subsidies were saved by a single vote and still depend on whether the President will override the timidity of Byrnes and Brown. On net balance, the farm bloc's influence was negative rather than positive. Its greatest victory was the abolition of the Farm Security Administration.

The attack on the FSA was opened by the Byrd committee, and one of the most idiotic statements of the session was Senator Byrd's charge that the FSA was "based on the Communist form of government." Actually it seeks to widen the private ownership of property among tenants and farm workers. That, and not communism, is what the farm bloc has against it. As Lambertson of Kansas objected two years ago, the FSA "takes hired hands and makes independent farmers of them." Despite Byrd and the Farm Bureau, the Senate in June had voted sixty-six to twelve to retain the FSA. But in the House the farm bloc succeeded in having the FSA transferred to the War Food Administration, which is dominated by the big farmers and processors.

How Labor Fared. Labor's greatest interest in the session lay in the fight to roll back the price of food. In the matter of strictly labor legislation it succeeded in killing the Hobbs anti-racketeering bill in the Senate after it passed the House. Labor suffered a severe setback in the passage over the President's veto of the Connally-Smith bill and another in the passage of an amendment forbidding the National Labor Relations Board to order an election in plants where a labor contract has been in force for three months without an appeal. Though this had the backing of the A. F. of L., it will hurt all legitimate unions wherever company unions have been successfully launched. The Connally-Smith bill was passed because of the coal strike; the NLRB amendment because of the stupidity of some A. F. of L. leaders.

Social Security. Next to the fight against inflation, labor's greatest domestic concern was in plans for increased social security. In his message to Congress the President asked for security "from the cradle to the grave." On March 10 he sent the monumental report of the National Resources Planning Board to Congress and asked that its proposals for a stable and planned society be given "full consideration during this session." Congress responded by abolishing the National Resources Planning Board. Taft and Tydings led the fight against the NRPB in the Senate, the former calling its proposals "partly socialism and partly the product of a dangerous imagination." The Senate is not opposed to planning per se, though one would think so from most of the speeches. It is only opposed to planning in behalf of the underprivileged. The Senate Finance Committee hired the Brookings Institution to make a study of post-war planning. Brookings has become the leading academic mouthpiece and lobbyist of big business in the capital.

Dies. If the President had taken a hearty wallop at Dies or turned the laugh on him, the Texan's investigating committee might have been stopped this year. The success registered by Secretary Ickes in fighting for Robert Morss Lovett showed what a courageous administrator can do against Dies. There was an incipient revolt in the House that could have defeated Dies with a little Administration support. On February 3 Folger of North Carolina attacked Dies on the floor and said he had spent 90 per cent of his time and effort hunting "reds" rather than Axis agents. On February 5 the House rejected a motion by Hendricks of Florida to halt the salaries of thirty-eight government employees Dies had attacked as "radical bureaucrats." But by February 10 the revolt had died down, and the House voted 302 to 94 to continue the Dies committee for another two years. Dies's announcement after the Detroit riots that he would investigate "the coddling of races by politically minded people" indicates that he may become more dangerous than ever to the war effort. He stirred up un-American doctrines under the guise of investigating them, and he is now out to stimulate race hatred in the same manner. In this connection, it is pleasant to report that the McKellar amendment, requiring Senate confirmation of all government employees earning more than $4,500 a year, was defeated in the House after passing the Senate. Under it there would have been a Dies-style debate in the Senate every time a New Dealer came up for confirmation.

The War Against Roosevelt. When Congress met in January, Speaker Rayburn and Minority Leader Martin suggested that it be called the Victory Congress. The Cantankerous Congress would be a better name for it. It killed the NYA and the Guffey act. It cut the appropriations of OPA and OWI. Its keynote was struck by Cox of Georgia when he said, "Government by bureaucrats must be broken"; and the unfair and dirty attack made by Lambertson of Kansas on the President's sons was typical of the level on which it operated. A House committee with an ex-Coughlinite counsel stirred up anti-Semitism with its below-the-belt attacks on David Ginsburg and other Jewish lawyers in the OPA. The objective of the bi-partisan anti-New Deal coalition which dominated the session seems to have been to create a maximum of confusion. The war it waged was a war against Roosevelt.

The Record of Byrnes. Principal cloakroom politician for the White House is James E. Byrnes. Byrnes was supposed to have great influence in Congress. The New Deal has never taken a worse beating "on the Hill" than in the period since Byrnes stepped down from the Supreme Court to become the President's assistant. Byrnes is devoted and able but seems a man of mediocre mind with little conception of the larger issues on which the country can be aroused in support of the Administration.

Who's to Blame? First, you and I and the organized labor movement for not electing a better Congress in the fall of 1942. Second, the President, who has relied too much on cloakroom politicians instead of taking the complicated problems of the home front to the people and helping them to understand what the uproar's about.

Japanning the Philippines

BY CARL CROW

THE official Tokyo radio station recently broadcast on all Far Eastern beams, in a dozen languages, the report that an increasing number of Filipinos were abandoning the vulgar American custom of shaking hands. When they meet Japanese friends or acquaintances now, they bow, from the waist, just like any well-bred Japanese.

Nipponese radio commentators and editorial writers hailed this bit of news as conclusive evidence that the process of Japanning the Filipinos was well under way. The program is comprehensive and ambitious. The Japanese are not content when subjugated peoples merely accept their rule patiently and obediently. Those who sincerely accept Japanese rule must try to be like their conquerors in language, manners, and thought. Most important of all, the Filipinos must eradicate all trace of American influence.

Tokyo asserts that the Japanese regime is steadily gaining friends and supporters among the Filipinos. The Philippine government in exile says unfortunately this is true. For diametrically opposite reasons it is to the interest of each to emphasize the Japanese progress; the exiles, of course, hope to needle the United States into hurrying a campaign of reconquest.

It is hard to assess the truth. Prominent Filipinos have broadcast their praise of the New Order. The extravagance of their phrases could be interpreted either as irony or enthusiasm. Large numbers of Filipinos are working for the Japanese. If they did not, they would not eat. Only time, and reconquest, will tell how many islanders actually have switched loyalty. The pressures applied have been thorough and relentless, under a program which obviously had been worked out long in advance, down to the last detail.

The Japanese army had thoughtfully brought along its own currency—handsome steel-engraved bank notes, imitations of legitimate Philippine Commonwealth currency. Remarks by Japanese officers led to the belief that the notes had been stored in army vaults for several years. There appeared to be inexhaustible bales of these notes—certainly enough to pay for everything the army wanted. The only defect about the currency was that nowhere was there any indication as to when, how, or by whom it would be redeemed. But since it was backed by Japanese bayonets and since refusal to accept it was regarded as an insult to the Japanese army, the currency soon gained wide circulation.

All property was supposed to belong to enemy aliens, meaning Americans, British, or Chinese, unless proved otherwise, and therefore was subject to confiscation. This made rather a clean sweep. Most of the large concerns, being incorporated under Philippine law, were under the American flag. Some of the oldest trading and shipping companies were British. Chinese owned most of the retail shops. Mitsubishi and other big concerns took over some of the mines, shipping, and sugar refineries. The Japanese army took over the profitable San Miguel brewery, which included the local Coca-Cola bottling agency, and is still running it. Wealthy Filipinos with political influence or with important connections in Spain were not disturbed in possession of their estates—provided they submitted to Japanese-army "guidance."

Banks and insurance companies were seized by the army and "reorganized" before being turned over to Japanese companies. One of the first regulations provided that the insurance companies would pay no death benefits if the insured had lost his life while opposing the benevolent entry of the Japanese army. This saved the insurance companies large sums, as everyone killed was presumed to have been an enemy of Japan.

Texaco and Socony filling-station signs were painted over with the name of the Japanese company which grabbed them. The Japanese carpetbaggers improved on the clumsy methods of our own Civil War. They traveled with, not after, the army. For that matter, many of them were local residents who long before had picked out the property they wanted.

Japanese carpetbaggers who set out to exploit the country were aghast to find that Filipino workers of all classes were paid approximately twice as much as similar workers in Japan. The army solved this problem by a very simple procedure. All salaries and wages were ordered cut in half. The cut applied to all—day laborers, skilled mechanics, white-collar workers, superintendents, and executives. The salaries of high officials of the Commonwealth and of the municipality of Manila suffered still greater reductions, bringing them in line with the poorly paid officials of Japan. That was the Filipinos' first experience with the practical workings of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. They were back again where they were under Spanish rule, the gains of forty years wiped out. Under the reduced wage scale the Filipino standards of living, which were the highest in the Orient, dropped as low as those of Japan itself.

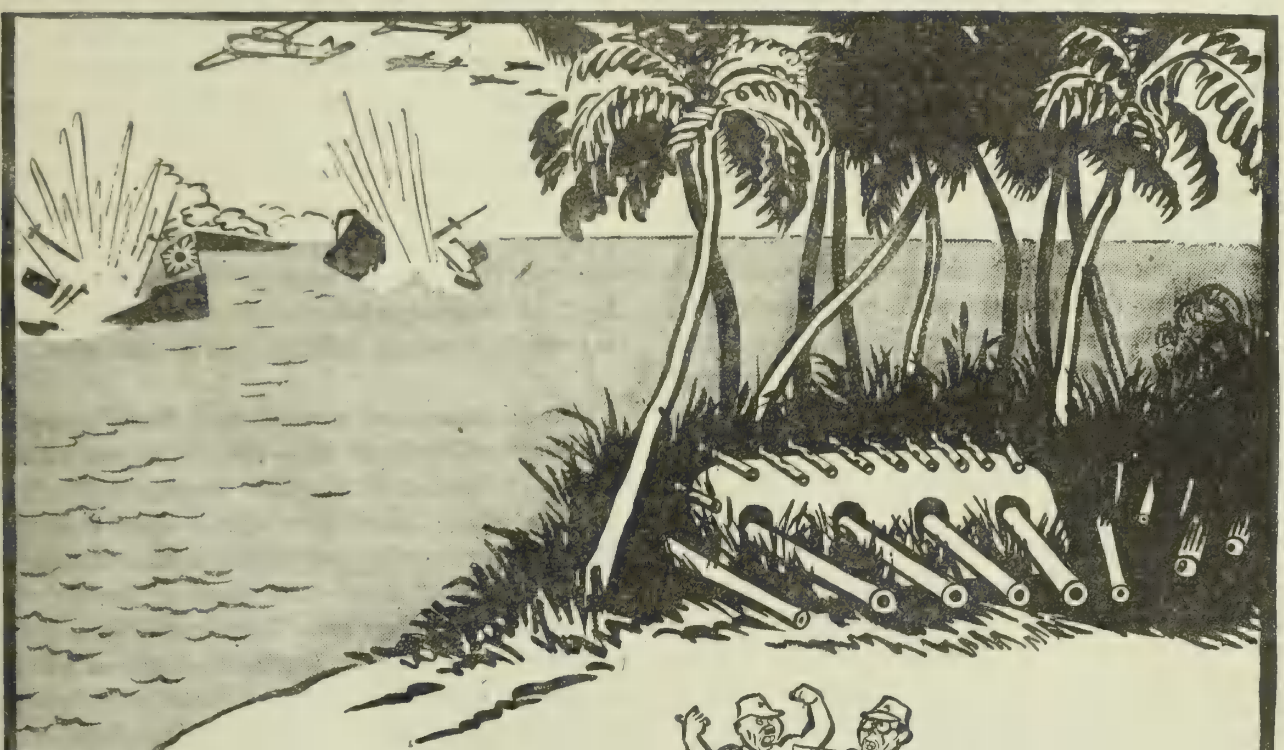
Then came taxes, like a second visitation of locusts. All the old taxes were retained and new ones added.

The most onerous is a sales tax starting with 20 per cent on necessities and rising to 60 per cent on a graduated scale covering different classifications of luxuries. The garrulous Tokyo radio said that the Filipinos had been guilty of extravagant living, indulging themselves in such useless luxuries as ice-cream cones and jazz phonograph records. They were not frugal and austere like the Japanese. The army sent out lecturers to chide the Filipinos about their way of life, and Tagalog newspapers published illustrated articles showing how the Japanese lived. There can be no doubt that the Filipinos have given up luxurious living. They are frugal now to the point of hunger.

In Japan when farmers are told to plant rice they plant rice; when told to raise silk worms they raise silk worms. It was in this way that the army controlled the economy of the country and built up its huge war machine. The army attempted the same regimentation of the farmers of the Philippines. Strict orders were issued that large acreages of cane be plowed up and the land planted to cotton. Several thousand agricultural experts clothed with some police authority were sent from Japan to see that this program was carried out. The fact that not one farmer in ten thousand knew anything about growing cotton did not deter the army economists. They need cotton desperately. Filipinos, like all other farmers, are stubbornly conservative, and did not take kindly to the new program. They were threatened and cajoled, but fewer than fifteen thousand have planted cotton. The most they can grow would keep the mills of Japan busy for only a few hours, would provide uniforms for only a few divisions.

While decreased pay and increased taxes have reduced the Filipinos to poverty and hunger, a third development has brought millions of them to even greater depths. This is the inability of the Japanese to market the export crops, principally sugar and cocoanut oil. The markets of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere cannot absorb these products, which we formerly bought. Even if the markets could absorb them, the Japanese would not be able to spare the ships to carry the cargoes. One Filipino in every four is directly dependent on these crops, which are now valueless.

The Japanese are unable to market Philippine products and are equally unable to bring in the manufactured articles that are desperately needed. They also find


PHASE 2
"Enemy will make attempts to retake islands one by one"
WELCOME YES PLEASE
LOW

"DISHONOURABLE ENEMY AM FIGHTING WRONG WAR"

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY Burlingame, Calif.

great difficulty in providing an adequate supply of rice, a food crop in which the Philippines are deficient. The manufactured goods most needed are those Japan is least able to supply—cotton textiles of all description. There are a few thousand spinning-wheels and looms in the Philippines, but these can do little more than supply clothing for the families which own them. Filipinos have always depended on imported cotton cloth, buying each year more than $10,000,000 worth. There have been no importations since the Japanese occupation, for Japan has not enough cotton goods even for its own people. When the Japanese marched in, the army requisitioned all cotton goods that could be put to military use. Filipinos are in rags.

One of the first orders issued outlawed the use of any language save Tagalog, which some 4,000,000 of the 17,000,000 inhabitants of the islands speak, and Japanese. English, the language spoken by all educated Filipinos and the basis of the whole educational system, was outlawed. Spanish, the second most important language, was also prohibited, but the Spanish Falangists pulled diplomatic strings in Madrid, and that ban was lifted.

The outward appearance of Manila streets changed rapidly. The fine old churches, convents, and monasteries of the walled city remained as evidence that this was once a proud possession of colonial Spain. The modern buildings and wharves and broad thoroughfares testified to the progress that had been made under the American flag. But a rash of blatant official and commercial signs in Japanese characters broke out everywhere. If a shopkeeper was not quick about changing, Japanese hoodlums destroyed the old sign while police looked on. Street names were changed, especially those having any American significance. The new names were Japanese, not Filipino. Filipinos didn't have the faintest idea of what the new signs meant. But it had the effect of making Manila look like a Japanese city, which was what the conquerors desired.

Huge stores of official stationery in offices of the Commonwealth and the municipality of Manila were hastily overprinted, all English text being obliterated. Postage stamps were surcharged with Japanese characters. New motor-car license plates were issued with numbers in Japanese symbols. Traffic signs appeared in the same language, and ignorance of their meaning was no excuse in the eyes of the military police. These busy officials looked with suspicion on anyone who spoke English and often treated him roughly. Since most of the police did not know the difference between German and English, some of their Nazi colleagues got shoved around.

The military police inspected shops to see that all signs and prices were in the official languages. The Japanese carpetbaggers, who rapidly replaced the Chinese in small retail shops, could speak no language but their own, and shoppers had to speak it or they would not be served. This presented no great difficulties. Colloquial Japanese is one of the easiest of languages. Anyone can learn enough of it in a few days to barter with shopkeepers.

If claims made by the Tokyo radio are true, and they probably are, the police speak only Japanese, and no other language is used in shops. It is amusing to note, however, that most of the broadcasts made by the Japanese to the Filipinos are in English, the outlaw tongue. They are compelled to bootleg their own propaganda.

The order outlawing English scrapped the fine educational system that had been built up by the joint efforts of Americans and Filipinos over a period of more than forty years. More than a million textbooks in 12,000 public schools had to be discarded. As there were no Japanese teachers to staff the schools, all were closed. Since then, 600 have been reopened, 5 per cent of the original number. They provide nothing but a two-year course in the Japanese language, though other courses have been promised. Textbooks were imported from Japan—books in a language that not one Filipino in a hundred thousand could read. The Tokyo newspapers said that some of the most popular old texts would be translated into Japanese. Revisions would be made, pointing out the evils of democracy, the cruelty and injustice of American rule in the Philippines, and the righteousness of Japan's cause.

It has become obvious that the Japanese army has scrapped the educational system without providing anything to replace it, that it does not, in fact, want to replace it. The Japanese have deliberately blown out the light, planning a period of darkness and ignorance during which American influence will be obliterated.

The Japanese were very solicitous about "protecting" the Roman Catholic church—from what was not made clear. On the first Sunday after landing in Manila the Japanese soldiers marched to Mass in squad formations, filling all the churches and chapels of that Catholic city. Armed guards of honor were placed outside each door. Filipinos rubbed their eyes. There hadn't been so many people at Mass since the Eucharistic Congress was held in Manila, attracting Catholics from all over the world.

Since only about one Japanese in two thousand is a Catholic, the law of averages would lead one to expect to find fewer than ten Catholics to a division. But in Manila it appeared that almost every other soldier attended Mass and made the sign of the cross at every convenient opportunity. Their behavior was eminently correct—so meticulously correct that it seemed, like their battle tactics, the result of intensive training.

The soldiers were veterans of the war in China. For years they had looted and burned Christian missions and churches, Catholic and Protestant alike. Included in the forces were a few divisions which had taken part in the rape of Nanking. It was, of course, a miracle of grace which changed the character of these bestial soldiers so quickly.

The Tokyo radio gave full credit for this benevolence toward the church to that curious organization the "Religious Department" of the Japanese army. This is a selected group of experts in various religions. Within its ranks are men who could actually impersonate the priests of many religions. The purpose of the department is to exploit all religions; to use them wherever possible as a means of furthering Japan's dream of world empire. Propaganda agencies lost no time in telling Catholics all over the world about the way the Japanese soldiers had filled Manila churches. Photographs were sent to newspapers in Latin America as proof of the very friendly relations existing between the Japanese army and the Catholic church.

The most spectacular stunt arranged by the busy Religious Department was a "pilgrimage" of Catholic priests and nuns from Japan to the Philippines. That was what it was called, though it did not resemble any other pilgrimage the Filipinos had ever seen. The nuns received as much publicity as a group of traveling show girls and were seen everywhere.

While the Religious Department cajoles the Catholic church and experiments with the strategy of infiltration, high officials in Tokyo pull no punches and mince no words when explaining their attitude toward religion. Referring to the Christians and Mohammedans, Premier Tojo said: "We must respect their religions and guide them properly. However, there is one problem. If religion is used to manifest enmity against us, then we must suppress it. Let there be no misunderstanding about that."

As the Japanese have shown on numerous occasions, "guidance" means control. As they have also shown, failure to support them in their plans for conquest is regarded as an expression of enmity. In other words, religion must conform to Japanese ideas.

Deaths at the hands of the Japanese armed forces continued for some time after the fall of Bataan and the surrender of Corregidor. When a civilian failed to bow to a Japanese soldier, the affronted soldier might punish the insult as he pleased. Often he shot to kill. A great many prominent Chinese and Filipinos were murdered for this and other reasons. There were no trials. More than twenty of the most prominent members of the local Chinese community were killed for no reason apparently but that they had supported the Chinese government. Among them was Albino Cy Sip, one of the most highly respected residents of the Islands. A Filipino victim of the Japanese reign of terror was José Abad Santos, a justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines. Some of the victims were humanely killed by shooting. Many Filipinos, however, were strung up by the feet until they died. This barbarity was perpetrated in the most crowded sections of Manila. For some curious reason, no Americans were treated in this way.

There are no bright spots to relieve the dark picture of the life of the Filipinos under the boot heel of Japan. Trade is stagnant, the shelves of the shops are becoming bare. The small steamers and motor launches which formerly brought life to the rivers of the country are gone—requisitioned by the army. Small sailing boats handle the trickle of river trade which persists. Many thousands of farmers have abandoned their homes and taken to the hills to join partisan bands. There are skirmishes with the Japanese almost every day.

Filipinos are glad to give up the custom of shaking hands. It relieves them of the necessity for a false gesture of friendship toward their oppressors. The low bow, in the Japanese style, has no traditional significance. But it has become an ironic symbol of deep and abiding hatred.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE GENTLEMEN who have the "campaign" in charge have been paying rather more attention to Grant during the past week than to his antagonist. . . . Grant, it appears, was accustomed after battle to walk over the field among the corpses thrusting his sword into each dead body.—*August 6, 1868*. . . . Blair [the Democratic candidate] . . . gets gradually drunker and drunker, and according to the last anecdote had to be stretched out full length in a railroad car, we suppose to prevent his legs from falling off.—*August 13, 1868.*

WELL-INFORMED and honorable men, knowing the difficulties of the work of government and fearing the consequences of error, hasten slowly and doubt intelligently at every step. They are, consequently, no match for bold and ready demagogues, unless they have public opinion behind them, like, to use one of the impeachment similes, "a strong wind blowing aft."—*August 13, 1868.*

ALL REASONABLE PRETEXTS for refusing to pay the obligations known as greenbacks have ceased to exist.—*August 13, 1868.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: . . . Collins (W.), "The Moonstone: A Tale" (Harper & Bros.) $1.50. . . . Dickens (C.), "Little Dorrit" (Ticknor & Fields) $1.50.—*August 13, 1868.*

RECENT ELECTIONS in Württemberg show that the unification movement is making progress in South Germany. . . . Prussia has many virtues, but a conciliatory demeanor is not one of them.—*August 20, 1868.*

LONDON, JULY 31, 1868.—Yesterday the greatest improvement that has been made in London within modern times, the Thames Embankment, was partially thrown open. —*August 20, 1868.*

Let's Look at Labor

IV. HOW TO CHOKE UNIONS

BY VICTOR RIESEL

WILLIAM GREEN, president of the American Federation of Labor, who has never been known as a swashbuckler, has ordered the state federations and city bodies in Texas, Arkansas, South Dakota, Idaho, Kansas, and Colorado to challenge the anti-labor laws recently passed by their legislatures and to drag the state officials through all the courts of the country if necessary to disprove the validity of those laws. The usually cautious Mr. Green was moved to action by an extraordinarily dangerous threat to labor organization.

The Christian American Association, some of whose professional promoters have long dealt in anti-Semitism, anti-Negro activity, and the organization of anti-union lobbies, has sponsored anti-labor laws in forty-four states and has succeeded in having them passed in nine. All these laws show signs of common authorship, and the similarity of the lobbying tactics that put them over indicates central direction. On a national scale the C. A. A. was largely responsible for the sentiment back home that permitted many Congressmen to vote for the Smith-Connally act. Indeed, the wording of this act is similar to that of the nine state laws.

The C. A. A. works out of Houston, Texas. Its leaders are said to have set up headquarters there in order to have access to the political apparatus of Senator Pass-the-Biscuits-Pappy O'Daniel. Though it devotes most of its energy to fighting the labor movement, its leaders have wider horizons. On July 2, 1942, Lewis Valentine Ulrey, chairman of the association, wrote to Vance Muse, secretary:

> Personally, I firmly believe that we have come to Armageddon, the great struggle between Christianity and Jewish Marxism. The Talmudists were so successful in Russia, and by 1935 they had such open success with the New Deal in the United States, that they decided to openly restore the Sanhedrin, which they did by selecting, naming, and labeling "120 Outstanding Jews." These are the modern Jewish Sanhedrin members, or Elders of Zion. Rabbi Wise of New York is one; Felix Frankfurter is another. . . .
>
> Our Christian American movement is not anti-Semitic per se. . . . For the present, the Christian American movement fights hardest against radicalism and racketeering in labor organizations—most particularly the C. I. O.

Its efforts have not always succeeded. The legislature of Louisiana was not impressed by the C. A. A. line. It defeated a bill submitted by C. A. A. agents, and adopted a resolution saying that the organization would "set capital against labor, Negro against white, Catholic against Protestant, and Christian against Jew." It charged that representatives of the C. A. A. had "harassed, annoyed, and threatened" members of the state legislature for the promotion of legislation which would "create animosity, antagonism, and unrest among the employers and employees of this state and interfere with the harmonious relations between capital and labor." The Louisiana lawmakers then asked the FBI to investigate the organization. However, last February Muse wrote to the chief clerk of the Arkansas House of Representatives, "I have in my possession a letter from Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, dated July 6, 1942, in which he states that the FBI had no cause or inclination to investigate us." Furthermore, he said, "a representative of the Dies committee was prevailed upon to look over our books and records last summer and we were given a clean bill of health."

In Florida the C. A. A. was more successful. The Florida Act to Regulate the Activities and Affairs of Labor Unions, Their Officers, Agents, Members, Organizers, and Other Representatives combines the virtues of placing unions under strict state control and of prohibiting them from contributing financially to the New Deal's 1944 campaign chest. A few hours after it was passed Eddie Rickenbacker came through with congratulations.

For one thing, the Florida law gives the state the power to decide who shall and who shall not be union officials. Section 4 says:

> No person shall be granted a license or permit to act as a business agent in the state of Florida (1) who has not been a citizen of and has not resided in the United States for a period of more than ten years next prior to making application for such license or permit; (2) who has been convicted of a felony; (3) *who is not a person of good moral character.* [My emphasis.]

Each application is to be held for thirty days before the Secretary of State issues a license. During this time *any* person, union member or not, may file objections to issuance of the license. The application and objections are then considered by a board consisting of the Governor as chairman, the Secretary of State, and the Superintendent of Education. Thus a state political machine may enjoy the right to prevent an elected union official from taking office.

The law also forbids sitdown strikes, calls for submission of regular financial reports, ends secondary picketing, and sharply limits regular picketing. To make assurance doubly sure, the law provides that "an action may be commenced by the Attorney General of the state on complaint of any interested party for the suspension or revocation of the license of any business agent for the violation of this act." In effect, this opens the way to any business man or group to depose an officer of a union.

But the C. A. A.'s greatest success has been in its home state. The Manford law in Texas has sixteen sections crammed with prohibitions which "contravene every elementary right of trade unions [and] defy fairness and justice," according to a special A. F. of L. report on C. A. A. laws made available to me recently. The A. F. of L. points out that the Texas law goes farther than any other in giving the state control over the internal affairs of unions.

It stipulates, for example, that union officers must be elected by a majority vote. The Governor and other state officials can win office by a plurality vote; not so a union manager. In addition, union officers' terms are limited to one year. Labor unions are forbidden to make financial contributions to any political party or to any person running for political office, though no similar restriction is placed on chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, or other employer organizations opposed to unions. As in Florida, labor officials must be licensed. Moreover, the collection of union dues can be made a crime:

> It shall be unlawful for any labor union, its officers, agents, or any member, to make any charge or exaction, or to receive any moneys or initiation fees, dues, fines, assessments, or other pecuniary exactions, which will create a fund in excess of the reasonable requirements of such union.

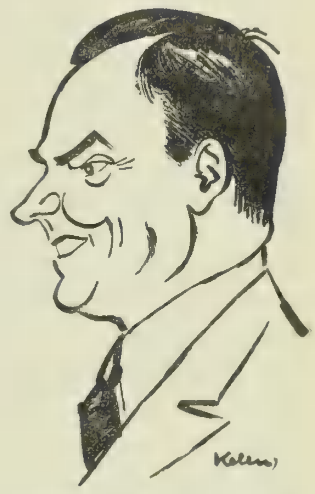
Who shall decide what is reasonable and what excessive? This provision could limit the strength and influence of a union by limiting its treasury.

The Texas law also opens the union's books to the public by providing that "any enforcement officer shall be entitled, upon demand subject to the approval of the Attorney General, at all reasonable times, to inspect such books, records, and accounts of such union." In an area where deputy sheriffs are sworn in casually as occasion arises, it would not be difficult to find an "enforcement officer" who would make the demand.

The A. F. of L. charges that if the state has power to limit the income of a labor union, then by the same principle it has power to limit the income of any religious group, any non-profit educational group, or any fraternal society; it continues:

> Of course, the power on the part of any state agency to limit the income of any person or group is the power to determine the life or death of that person or group. This provision, both by affirmative expression and by necessary implication, is of a distinctly dictatorial type in the tradition of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

The Kansas law, first of the C. A. A. bills to be passed, set the pattern for all in language and content. "Every person desiring to operate as a business agent in the state of Kansas," it says, "shall before doing so obtain a license by filing an application therefor with the Secretary of State." Here too the Attorney General is empowered, on the complaint of any interested party, to begin an action "for suspension or revocation of the license of any business agent for the violation of any provision of the act." And the union's records are open to the public: "The records provided for herein shall be made available by the Secretary of State to all persons for examination and taking of copies."



Senator W. Lee O'Daniel

Similar laws, all sponsored by the C. A. A., have been passed this year in Idaho, South Dakota, Arkansas, Colorado, and Mississippi. Philip Pearl, A. F. of L. publicity agent, recently revealed that new C. A. A. drives are being planned in Iowa, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

The unions are fighting back. In Kansas, where officers of sixty unions with a combined membership of 175,000 have taken out licenses, bitter inter-union rivalry was forgotten when, on June 7, the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and even John L. Lewis's rebel United Mine Workers joined hands to challenge the toughest of these laws in a Topeka court. Arkansas unions have been busy circulating petitions for a popular referendum to repeal the anti-picketing law, which became effective June 10. Colorado unions have brought suit to test the constitutionality of the anti-labor law, and the Texas Federation of Labor, according to the latest reports from Houston, is preparing briefs for legal action.

In the East the United Labor Committee of Philadelphia, with strong support from Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers (C. I. O.), is preparing to fight the recent legislative ban on political contributions by unions. Recently leaders of the United Labor Committee and the American Labor League of New Jersey met with Alex Rose, New York State secretary of the American Labor Party, Charles Zimmerman, Charles Kerrigan, and other leaders of the Trade Union Committee of the American Labor Party to plan joint action against threatened C. A. A. legislation. They represent some 3,000,000 A. F. of L. and C. I. O. workers. This was the first time in years that the labor parties of three Eastern states had met in a joint conference to plan unified action.

However, there is not yet enough labor activity against organized reaction. The joint conference has been the only comprehensive move made to combat it, aside from sporadic attacks such as the A. F. of L.'s offensive against the C. A. A. and the United Automobile Workers' campaign against Ku Klux Klan elements in Detroit. Many of the nation's powerful international unions, either cynical because of their size and financial strength, like Lewis's United Mine Workers, or feeling secure because their own state legislatures have not yet passed C. A. A. bills, spend thousands of dollars to maintain Washington lobbies but nothing to investigate and expose the anti-labor agitators and potential men on horseback in their home territory. All important unions have legislative and educational departments, but not one in the whole country has an "anti-fascist committee." With millions in their treasuries, the unions could cripple proto-fascist anti-labor organizations by planting investigators to get information to be used later in exposing them.

The Christian Americans, America Firsters, and similar groups are winning by default. Their strength is being underestimated, their intentions judged too charitably. A high C. I. O. official, progressive, intelligent, and an excellent organizer, told me in Detroit recently that Gerald L. K. Smith had no influence in the Middle West but was being built up as a horror myth by Eastern publicity. Yet a check of the 1942 Republican Senatorial primaries in Michigan showed that Smith polled more than 100,000 votes. He ran third in a three-cornered race, but a man who persuades 100,000 people to vote for him can hardly be said to have no influence. Observers were surprised that he got so many. In view of the recent race riots in Detroit, it would appear that the type of mind to which he appeals is still very much with us. A Gerald L. K. Smith in the Senate would make the late Huey Long seem restrained.

If the New Deal's defeat at the polls in 1944 deprives labor of its protection, men like Smith will become the vigilantes of a conservative Republican Administration. Then labor will be in for its hardest battle since the heyday of the Pinkertons and the Robber Barons.

[*This is the fourth article of a series of seven on the problems confronting the American labor movement. The fifth will appear in two weeks.*]

In the Wind

A FRIEND OF HAROLD L. ICKES recently tried to telephone him at his office. After calling the proper number, he took part in the following conversation:

"Interior."

"Mr. Ickes's office, please."

"Whose office?"

"Ickes's."

"How do you spell it, please?"

"I-C-K-E-S. Ickes. He's Secretary of the Interior."

"One moment, please. I will connect you with Information."

FOR MOVIE FANS: "Battle of Britain," a film made by Frank Capra for the United States Army, is being shown to enthusiastic audiences in England. The American public has not been allowed to see it. . . . The Legion of Decency, official Catholic movie guide, lists "For Whom the Bell Tolls" as "Objectionable in part. Objection: Suggestive situation; indication of justification of homicide; excessive brutality." . . . *Variety* reports from Hollywood that Warner Brothers is reshooting part of the finale of "This Is the Army" because words of the song "We're Dressed to Kill" "are not symbolic of the humane manner in which the United States has waged war." To spare the sensibility of the movie audience the words will be "We're Out to Win."

MAN-POWER: A Cleveland department store now hands its customers leaflets offering them jobs as clerks. . . . In St. Louis a department store runs an outdoor employment office and hires people off the street. . . . A New Jersey varnish company is considering a plan to give its employees "bounties" of $10 or $15 if they bring in new employees who last three months.

THE NEGRO (REAR) SECTION of a bus in Miami, Florida, was full. The new passenger, a forty-seven-year-old Negro woman, sat in the last seat of the white section. Result, arrest. Charge, disorderly conduct. Sentence, a day in jail.

FESTUNG EUROPA: A newspaper in Norway recently carried this want ad: "Will trade well-used map of Africa for a good map of Italy." . . . The Nazis are confiscating the money and property of Norwegian traitors who have made fortunes out of their building contracts with the occupation forces. Most of these so-called "barracks barons" are now bankrupt or back where they started from. . . . Many Czech manufacturers have been asking payment in advance or substantial deposits on orders from Germany. The Prague radio warns that such manufacturers "are taking the risk of being treated with great severity."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The French Revolution Goes On

BY ANDRE MAROSELLI

MORE than a century and a half has passed since the people of France stormed the prison of the Bastille and by that act lit the torch of a great continuing revolution in the world. The struggle has never ceased between the partisans of the French Revolution and its adversaries. Today in France the enemies of the revolution appear to have the upper hand. But the conflict will not end until the forces of progress have achieved a new order based on political, economic, and international democracy—on liberty, equality, and fraternity.

I am proud to have played a part in this struggle. As a Senator of the Republic and a militant democrat, I was named as a hostage and thrown into prison, there to share the suffering of France's best sons. I was fortunate enough to escape the firing squad, but for long weeks we went to sleep at night sure that the next morning we would be lined up against a wall.

With the aid of our allies I managed to get out of France and to join other parliamentarians of the Republic in London. There I immediately entered the service of General de Gaulle. My past career authorizes me, I think, to speak for those who have remained faithful to the spirit of the French Revolution; the message I bring is of their devotion to the Republic, their support of General de Gaulle, their confidence in our allies.

First of all, I would emphasize the French people's unshaken devotion to the Republic. They have not been influenced by the lies of those who attribute the fall of France to the "corruption" of the Third Republic. Rather the prestige of the Republic and of its elected leaders has been enhanced by the statements of Léon Blum and Edouard Daladier at Riom, the historic letter of Jeanneney and Herriot denouncing the Pétain regime, the assassination of Marx Dormoy, the death of three deputies—Peri, shot by the Germans, and Catelas and Michel, guillotined by Vichy's order—the arrest of many parliamentarians and trade-union leaders, the courage of workers engaged in sabotage, the heroism of the *francs-tireurs.* In the same measure French fascism and the military dictatorship have been forever dishonored by accepting the support of Hitler. A pamphleteer once wrote that the Republic was fair and well loved under the Empire; you may be sure that it has never been fairer or more beloved than under Pétain.

Just as during the French Revolution, the words patriot and republican are synonymous today. By that I do not mean that *only* the republicans or *all* the republicans are participating in the underground fight against Hitlerism; no party, no organization, no committee—not even that of National Liberation—can claim a monopoly of patriotism. But for reasons easy to understand the most militant forces are the workers, the peasants, the *petits bourgeois,* and the anti-fascist intellectuals who combined in 1934 to defend the Republic and who remain united to defend France. For them the struggle against Hitlerism is no novelty; it is a continuation, under singularly difficult conditions, of the battle that began on February 6, 1934, against the enemies of the Republic.

The second point I wish to underline is that French republicans support General de Gaulle. I do not mean to balance one name against another, a general against a marshal, or even a general against other generals. And lest there be any doubt, allow me to hail the arrival in the United States of General Giraud, soldier of two world wars, patriot, commander-in-chief of the French armies, whose courage and dignity have won universal respect. As for the support given to General de Gaulle, the reasons for it are very simple. In the first place, he has become the symbol of resistance to the Nazi invader and his Vichy accomplices. We have no right to forget that in June, 1940, while so many other honest men pondered which road to take, General de Gaulle saved the honor of France. In the second place, more as a result of the course of events than of men's decisions, the Free French committee in London has become a rallying-point against the men and ideas of Vichy. Eight or ten months ago it seemed that the attempt was being made to launch a movement in North Africa which would offset the democratic platform of the National Committee in London. Into the high councils of this movement began to filter men well known for their participation in the fascist agitation before 1940 and in the politics of collaboration after 1940. These men seemed to find it amazingly simple to leave continental France for North Africa, to join a group which included even the Count of Paris. We grew anxious. Before and after the landing of American troops, vigilant republicans, rightly or wrongly, began to fear that financiers, industrialists, and former ministers of the Vichy government were seeking to have the British and American authorities ratify the regime imposed on unhappy France by German arms. Was the plot against the Republic to continue unchecked? Was the so-called "national rev-

BURLINGAME

THE POPE'S PROTEST

Since the tide of war began to beat against the walls of Fortress Europe, the propaganda efforts of the Axis have become less and less effective. Talk about a negotiated peace, attempts to drive a wedge between Russia and the western Allies have small results when the fascist powers are in retreat on the eastern front and in Sicily. But just at this critical hour for the Axis forces the Pope has given them an invaluable weapon against the Allies. No direct Nazi propaganda, however cleverly calculated, could have such widespread and damaging consequences as the protest against the bombing of Rome issued as if in a spirit of pure sorrow by the head of the Catholic church. By putting the Allied and Axis powers on an equal footing ("we called upon the belligerents on both sides, if they wanted to hold the dignity of their countries high and the honor of their arms, to respect . . .") the Pope subtly betrays the moral position of the enemies of the Axis. By dwelling on the destruction wrought by Allied planes despite his earnest pleas, he manages to present the Allies as indifferent to religious feeling and the sacred monuments of Holy Rome. And he concludes with the recommendation that all Catholics pray for an early peace—a recommendation which may easily release a new barrage of propaganda for a negotiated peace from appeasers and pro-Nazi elements everywhere. The effect of the Pope's statement will be to lower the prestige of the Allies in all neutral, especially in Catholic, countries. If it was not deliberately directed to this end, it was an ill-considered, irresponsible utterance. And the Pope is not given to tossing off statements without thought of their effect.

olution"—which is, in fact, an anti-French counter-revolution—to be saved at all costs? Was the work of Marshal Pétain, spokesman for the builders of concentration camps and the teachers of racism, to be preserved? After democracy had been strangled with the aid of Hitler, was it to be kept in its grave by consent of the Allies?

Our preoccupation with these dangers was bound to draw us toward the French committee in London. We knew that General de Gaulle, like us, wanted to drive out the evil *bergers* and with them the evil Bergerets. We knew that De Gaulle's presence in North Africa would cause Pétain's portraits to disappear, end the anti-democratic propaganda which was making forays into our youth and the army, and close the concentration camps whose existence dishonored the name of France.

Today French republicans support the Committee of Liberation as earlier they supported the London National Committee. The Committee of Liberation has made clear that it is not a government; its members were not elected by the French people; its composition does not give a true picture of our resistance since it includes no workers or farmers. But the committee has taken charge of French interests. It is, to use an American legal term, a sort of voluntary "trustee," or to use the more exact French phrase, a *gérant d'affaires*. It will coordinate resistance by supplying arms and means of action to the fighters within France. It will bring France into the war again on the side of the Allies. It will administer the liberated territories under the laws of the Republic. And when France is free again, it will hand over its power to the chosen representatives of the people.

The French people, and they alone, have the right to choose the government France shall have. The duty of all Frenchmen faithful to the tradition of the French Revolution is to recall this cardinal point of republican doctrine, set forth in the immortal Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. According to the law of the Republic, as soon as half of the general councils are liberated they will constitute an assembly charged with the administration of the country, and must within one month call for general elections. If by chance this law should be violated, if, under one of those pretexts so convenient to aspiring dictators, elections should not be called, another provision of the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1793 declares that "insurrection is, for the whole people and for every section of the people, not only a right but an absolute duty."

We can avoid such a situation by following the Committee of Liberation *with our eyes open*. We have confidence in its two presidents and its members. We ask that they discharge their duty by clearing out the fascists in civil and military posts. We demand an immediate end to the anti-Semitism which has been encouraged by the illegal revocation of the Crémieux decree.

The third thing I want to speak of is the confidence that the French republicans place in our allies. This confidence is one of the principal elements in French resistance; anything which weakens it weakens our efforts. It is the duty of us who are outside France to cement and safeguard those friendships on which France depends for its liberation. We shall not fulfil that duty by arrogance or demagogic xenophobia.

Our compatriots in the underground, the real builders of a new Free France, will never forget our country's debt to the people and the governments of Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The immense debt owed by all humanity to the Soviet Union has particular meaning for the French people, who today recognize the need of restoring the traditional alliance of France and Russia. Each day the French republicans learn new lessons from the admirable example of the Russian people. If they have any request to place before the Allied governments, it is that every effort be made to relieve those men and women who until now have borne the full weight of the war.

French republicans are equally loyal to Franco-British friendship. They know that tomorrow this amity will be one of the keystones of international organization. They know the full measure of responsibility that France incurred in the most tragic hour of its history when Marshal Pétain, preferring fascism to democracy, refused to move his government to Algiers and continue the struggle at Britain's side. They will never forget that without Winston Churchill, General de Gaulle would not have been able to issue his first call, to form his committee, or organize his propaganda.

Finally, the French people have confidence in the United States and its President. In their eyes the American people are the champions of democracy. They recall the bonds that linked the French Revolution and the American Revolution, the fraternal ties between the spiritual parents of the declarations of the Rights of Man that were drawn up at nearly the same time by the French and American democrats.

The French people are acquainted with the statements of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill which affirm that their political liberty will be restored. If they accept without discussion the authority of the Committee of Liberation, if they are willing to close their eyes to its faults and mistakes—reserving their full anger for the partisans of collaboration—it is because they believe that the committee, as an agent for the restoration of France's national sovereignty, has the indorsement of President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill.

For the last 150 years the powers of reaction have leagued together on various occasions to stifle reason, truth, and liberty. But each time, as soon as they could, the French people have turned with renewed faith to the Republic. Today as in the past they have taken their stand for the revolutionary concepts on which the Republic was founded.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

PROPAGANDA in Germany appears to be a thing of the past. It no longer has any effect. This is amply shown by the total failure of the attempt to use R. A. F. bombings to stir up a fury of hate against the English.

The propaganda machine did its utmost. For months it surpassed itself in the matter of invectives. It made every effort to convince the public that the English had begun this kind of warfare and that they alone were infamous enough to commit such barbarities. Its success was nil. In recent months thousands of letters from Germany have fallen into the hands of the Allies with the capture of the prisoners to whom they were written. Many were from the bombed regions. In most of them the bombings and their effects were described more or less fully. Not two in a thousand contained a word of hatred for the English. Obviously the Germans realize that the English are justified in making these attacks, that their course of action is perfectly normal.

The ineffectiveness of the authorities' feverish campaign has had this curious result: they are now overwhelming the people with reproaches for feeling so little hate. A front-page article in the *Völkische Beobachter* of July 3 heaps abuse on the non-haters. It is entitled "Moral Shirkers"; and a moral shirker is described as one who appears indifferent to the hate urge. "Who has not met that kind of 'innocent'?" the writer asks. "He reads his paper, listens to broadcasts, talks with friends, and yet there are certain things he simply does not want to know. He does not want to hear that the Cologne cathedral has been bombed by the British. He has his own opinion about it, and he avoids hearing what others think. Such moral shirkers are incomprehensible. They are cowards without realizing it and unworthy of the times we live in."

The Swedish newspaper *Arbetaren* of July 13 printed the following brief dispatch from Germany: A Dortmund workman named Heigehern said publicly that it was time to erect a monument to Field Marshal Göring in the Ruhr. The man was arrested and sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

There are signs that the food problem in Germany is becoming more serious. The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of July 11 devotes an article to the subject beginning with the ominous words: "Complaints are being heard among the people that the food situation is hardly better than in 1918, and that with respect to certain articles it is worse." The newspaper opposed to these complaints a comparison of the 1918 rations with those of today and came to the conclusion that only the ration of marmalade is smaller; the ration of meat is the same, and all other rations are larger.

That may be so. Although the rations as they are fixed on paper are at times not actually available, it has so far been possible to say that people get enough, in quantity, to fill their stomachs. But quantity alone, over an extended period, does not suffice. The German diet is in fact disgustingly monotonous and unappetizing. As a woman wrote sarcastically to her husband at the front, "Yesterday we had toast and potatoes for supper; today we had potatoes and toast." In the fourth year of war the people are beginning to feel that they are just as miserably nourished as in 1918, or even more so.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Brecht: Poetry, Drama, and the People

THE TRIAL OF LUCULLUS: A Verse Play for the Radio by Bertolt Brecht. Translated by H. R. Hays. New Directions. Bound edition $1. Pamphlet edition 50 cents.

IT IS curious to watch the delayed and erratic flow of foreign literature into English translation. Rilke came in a few years ago like a tidal wave; then came Kierkegaard nearly a century late; only yesterday Stefan George arrived; today it is the turn of Bertolt Brecht. This is an important event for all who are interested in present tendencies of poetry and the drama, though it means reopening all those problems of poetry and the left, poetry and propaganda, poetry and the people, which are assumed to have passed away with the red decade. As to the drama, it is not only the leftist brand that has disappeared; there is simply no drama at all these days with any quality or any future in it. That at least is one's general impression of the English-speaking theater, and that is why, not for the first time in theater history, one turns eagerly to translations from the German.

Bertolt Brecht is one of the best living poets and one of the very few living dramatists worth mentioning. Unfortunately, however, his lyric poetry is as unsuccessful in translation as George's, yet for precisely opposite reasons: George uses a kind of poetic diction which in translation is merely precious; Brecht uses a tricky kind of colloquialism which in translation is merely commonplace. The explanation seems to be that the German language and German literature are, in some respects, at an earlier stage than English and that therefore a German poet can still adopt either a traditional poetic diction or a traditional popular style without making a fool of himself. George is indeed the leading modern in the literary tradition of Goethe and Hoelderlin; Brecht, the leading *modern* in a popular tradition that goes back to Luther and Hans Sachs. I emphasize the word modern, for Brecht is not a pure folk poet but also the parodist of folk poetry, a sarcastic mind, superficially anti-literary, fundamentally lyrical, tough, angular, righteously indignant, all that Auden in his satiric days tried to be. But Auden's wit was always that of a clever and rather priggish undergraduate, and since a poet cannot be perpetually precocious, one guessed that he would take to religion. Brecht, on the other hand, has always been an engaging blend of introvert and extrovert, never so tender-minded that the tough exterior looked like affectation. More successfully than almost anyone else he fused the idiom and rhythm of prose with a resilient verse. In his attempt to break down the disastrous modern antithesis of highbrow and lowbrow he created out of the vernacular something we are not often vouchsafed these days—a poetic style, firm, simple, and ironic.

In the course of the past twenty years Brecht has written some six kinds of drama. He began with plays that were at once expressionistic and psychological; second, he wrote the most telling satiric librettos (for Kurt Weill and Hanns Eisler) at least since W. S. Gilbert and probably since John Gay; third, he invented a much-publicized didactic drama in which choruses, chanting to an orchestral accompaniment, purveyed a political gospel; fourth, he has scribbled some propaganda pieces close to the style and the level of current popular drama, such as "Señora Carrar's Rifles" and the script of Fritz Lang's "Hangmen Also Die"; fifth, he has attempted to present a composite picture of the Third Reich in his most ambitious project, in verse and prose, "Misery and Fear," one scene of which is shortly to be published in *The Nation;* sixth, he has attempted several historical plays whose meaning is entirely contemporary. "The Trial of Lucullus" is one of these.

"The Trial of Lucullus" tells how a great Roman conqueror appears after his death before a judge and jury who are to decide whether he should go to Hades or to the Elysian Fields. The jury, consisting of a farmer, a teacher, a fishwife, a baker, and a courtesan, allows Lucullus to summon as witnesses the people portrayed on a frieze representing his triumphal procession. All the evidence is against Lucullus except that he brought back from the East a cherry tree, that he wept over the destruction of books, and that he encouraged good cooking. The story ends thus:

> And from the high bench they rise up
> The ancestors of the world-to-be,
> The world with many hands to take
> With many mouths to eat,
> The hard to deceive, the firmly united,
> The joyous world-to-be.
> The tribunal withdraws to consider the verdict.

"The Trial of Lucullus" is neither a lengthy nor a major work. It is a short "radio play in verse," a play in which the military-heroic ideal of conquest is poignantly denounced by the common man and in which psychological distance is achieved by austerity of style and remoteness of period. There is nothing very complex about this, but since when we hear nowadays of a "radio play in verse" by an author with propagandist intentions we forthwith prepare for the worst, a few words of explanation are in order. What are we afraid of? In the first place we fear the politics, because we associate political drama with our own abortive proletarian literature of the now despised thirties. But Brecht's political emphasis is neither a phase nor a fad; he was political before the thirties and remains political after. "The Trial of Lucullus" is not of the Mike Gold mint. One must simply admi that from the artistic point of view political emotion is jus as good a basis for a poet as any other and an excellent poin of contact, at least now that the war is on, with his audience

Our second fear is fear of poetry in drama. It is true tha T. S. Eliot straightened out the theory of it for us when h observed that dramatic poetry was a specific type of poetry not an arbitrary union of two modes, the dramatic and th poetic, and when in his own dramatic verse he provided th recipe—a racy, modern speech on top, a tremendous emotional pressure underneath. But the fact remains that neithe

Eliot nor Auden nor any of the others achieved more than an effective dialogue; the incomplete state of the brilliant "Sweeney Agonistes" bears eloquent witness to this. No more than Tennyson and Swinburne, therefore, have the moderns created a verse drama. So we are skeptical. Does Bertolt Brecht remove our doubts? Not altogether, in so slight a work as this, but at least we feel in reading "The Trial of Lucullus" the *possibility* of a modern verse drama—giving full and equal weight to both words.

Our third fear is our fear of the radio, for here too we have been disappointed. Like the cinema, the radio has been regarded as a possible means to a renewal of good popular art, but in fact both radio and cinema have become more and more commercialized, and most directors who were experimenters twenty years ago are complacent hacks today. Serious writers were slow to find the peculiar potentialities of the new mediums and continued to bring stage plays before the microphone and the camera. When the poetic radio play did arrive, it was bound to be merely the affair of special "workshops," and anyway, if MacLeish's efforts are typical, it was more bombastic and pretentious than popular. Does Brecht have a remedy for all this? Of course not. But his play is wholly conceived in terms of radio, that is, it is simply an aural time-sequence with visual imagery instead of spectacle, with a carefully planned rhythm and a musical symmetry, with a poetry that consists of the best spoken words in the best order, with a bias or emotional prejudice which listeners share, with a tang and a hardheadedness which they can enjoy. Nevertheless, I cannot imagine the play being a commercial success. It is simple, but simplicity is itself a style, and a style very different from that of the show business.

"The Trial of Lucullus," then, shares the fate of most proletarian literature in that it is published by a minority press and is noticed only by the literary journals. This is not the fault of Bertolt Brecht. His difficulty is that in our time the good in art can only be popular by an accident, and even when the masses enjoy Brecht they enjoy him only for what he has in common with Stefan Heym and other third-raters who write thrillers about the Nazis. The prerequisite of a great popular art, as Whitman and other realistic democrats have allowed, is a great populace and not a people drugged by opiates every bit as strong as religion. Until this condition is fulfilled, Bertolt Brecht will be important only to the intelligentsia; *after* it is fulfilled, paradoxically enough, propaganda will be gratuitous. ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

Prelude in Sicily

COMBINED OPERATIONS: THE OFFICIAL STORY OF THE COMMANDOS. The Macmillan Company. $2.

ON JULY 10 an Anglo-American army began to harvest on the Sicilian beaches a crop sown in Britain just three years and one month earlier. It was then—a week after the evacuation from Dunkirk—that Britain began to prepare to hit back. The situation was truly desperate, for both trained troops and weapons were lacking even for defense of the island. Yet at that hour Winston Churchill and the Imperial General Staff approved a plan for training a special force designed to harass the enemy along his vast newly won coast line.

So the Commandos were born, and within two weeks they had made their first reconnaissance raid across the Channel. This book tells their subsequent story down to the landings in North Africa in November, 1942—the greatest combined operation of all times until the invasion of Sicily. As a result of the experiences of the Commandos new methods of training for amphibious warfare were evolved and later applied to large numbers of British, American, and Dominion troops. Soldiers, sailors, and airmen were taught how to work together in perfecting the arts of a three-dimensional offensive. How well the lessons were learned we can now appreciate.

Men who volunteer for commando service go through a course which is both rigorous and unconventional. Great emphasis is placed on the individual, and everything is done to develop self-confidence and self-reliance. There is a story —not in this book—of an officer detached for commando training who was ordered to report at the other end of the country within forty-eight hours but was given no railroad pass. He arrived a few hours late and was severely reprimanded by a superior, who waved aside his explanation of the difficulties involved with the question: "Don't you know how to steal a car?" This yarn may be apocryphal, but it illustrates the fact that commandos are encouraged to forget the usual rules of military etiquette just as they are taught to become expert in those forms of mayhem which British magistrates have been wont to condemn as peculiarly un-British—knifing, sandbagging, and garroting.

The Commandos have conducted a wide variety of operations in many different lands. The party which one dark night neatly gathered up the six guards of a Nazi-held lighthouse comprised only a handful of men; other raids have been made by comparatively large numbers. The geographical range of their adventures has been immense. The Commandos' farthest north has been Spitzbergen, where a radio station and coal mines operating for German benefit were destroyed; their farthest south, Madagascar, where they were in the van when that Vichy-held island was invaded.

The two most important enterprises described in this book are the attacks on St. Nazaire and Dieppe. The first of these was an expensive but highly successful raid which caused great damage to an important U-boat base and inflicted heavy personnel losses on the Germans. The second is given a great deal of space here, but many of the details necessary for a final judgment on the operation are withheld. We are not told, for instance, what was the real objective of the raid and how far it was achieved. It is described as a "reconnaissance in force" intended to test out the strength of the enemy defenses, and the author asserts that the lessons gained have proved immensely valuable. Maybe so, but they were certainly extremely costly. This was partly due to bad luck, which prevented surprise being achieved by the eastern flanking party, but the heaviest losses were suffered in the course of the frontal attack on the town of Dieppe itself. There on a narrow strip of beach, shut in by two beetling cliffs bristling with artillery, the Canadians and the Commandos strove mightily but in vain to establish a foothold. It is difficult to understand why so much effort was expended at the center after it must have become clear that the main flanking parties had not succeeded in reaching their objectives. The one group that was able to report "mission completed" was Lord Lovat's, which at a comparatively low cost destroyed the heavy battery some six miles west of the town.

Although this book has no author's name on its title-page, it is the most open of secrets that it was written by Hilary St. George Saunders—one-half of the well-known mystery writing team of Francis Beeding. One cannot praise the book more highly than by saying that it fully maintains the standards of the series of books, prepared by Mr. Saunders and others, in which the British government has reported the course of the war to the people. The pictures and maps are excellent. KEITH HUTCHISON

American Beginnings

WESTERN STAR. By Stephen Vincent Benét. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.

AFTER the success of "John Brown's Body," Stephen Vincent Benét began work on a much longer poem which was to have dealt with the beginnings of America and the long filling-in process, the drive to the West. "Western Star" was to have been the first book of the long poem.

As published now, "Western Star" is an incomplete and unfinished work and should, in justice to Mr. Benét, be judged as such. While long episodes appear to be complete, there are passages here and there, some of them, in fact, in prose, which could be nothing more than notes for work which the poet intended to finish later. One also finds a few ideas expressed which, while interesting enough in themselves, are not quite proper in the sense that they don't fit the subject and method of the poem. Surely they would have been elided had Mr. Benét lived long enough to complete what easily could have been his major work.

Taken as it is in its unpolished and unedited stage, "Western Star" remains a moving and entertaining work and, I think, a timely one. There is a sometimes rollicking and sometimes starry-eyed prelude, the most finished part of the book, and then in episodic fashion Benét tells the story of the people who settled Jamestown and Massachusetts, examines their reasons for doing so, describes the ordeal of their voyages and the frequently painful and bloody task of getting their roots down in the soil of an almost virgin land.

This is the story of the men who propagandized the little people of England into believing there was gold and plenty of it in the New World and who ended up by believing it themselves, the story of the true adventurers like Raleigh, of the administrators like Delaware, but mostly it is the story of Dickon Heron, the apprentice who became a free landowner in Virginia, the first Englishman to plant tobacco, the true gold, and who lost his life to the Indians; and it is the story of Matthew Lanyard, the good Puritan.

Mr. Benét was one of the few poets who succeeded in writing poetry at sustained length and on a relatively popular level without at the same time being cheap and false. "Western Star" is easy to read; it moves along, whether in the quick short steps of those portions dealing with Dickon or the more sedate passages devoted to Matthew and the Puritans, with a definite propulsion which only rarely fails. No matter how impressed we may be with the poet's intentions, or what we consider them to be, "Western Star" is in toto not a great work. It will in all likelihood be a popular one, and this is a good thing. Poetry has tended to move too far away from the stream of life in appeal if not in subject, and I for one am glad that Mr. Benét has increased its area of communication. CHARLES ALLDREDGE

The Old Technique

THE BATTLE FOR BUENOS AIRES. By Sax Bradford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

IT IS not really an accident that a book with such a title as this was published on the very day of the coup d' état in Buenos Aires. Everyone who had been watching Argentine affairs since Pearl Harbor knew that something had to happen there. The book is a description of that explosive period of inaction which marked Argentina's first attitude toward the World War. People who do not understand what is occurring now in the Argentine might look here for their answer.

The author sets out quietly and seriously to tell about Nazi penetration. His material is not sensational in being new; it is just the old, incredible story. It has been pointed out by our own State Department, by the newspapers of the whole hemisphere, and even by detailed reports of a special investigating committee of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies. We all know that the ambassador, von Thermann, tried to send a radio transmitter into Peru as diplomatic baggage, and that Berlin provides Argentine papers with the Transocean news service free of charge. What we have been slow to realize, however, is that this campaign of the Nazis is no different from their penetration—and presumably their purpose—in any of the occupied countries of Europe. In the Argentine every factor of a pre-blitz situation is present—the frightened autocrats, the Communist bugaboo, the political-minded church, the morbid minorities (in this case European refugee groups, such as the Ukrainians), the mistrust of neighboring countries (so unsuitable to the Western Hemisphere), and finally the interruption of democratic procedures. The Germans supplied organization, funds, zealous Nazi party men, and pressure on their normally friendly compatriots. And now they have revolution.

The revolution in the Argentine is in a sense more serious than the invasion; that is, the attempt to destroy democratic government is more dangerous when it comes from within a country than from the hands of a foreign enemy. The Germans are certainly there, but they did not create the situation which gives them scope. The rich landowners, the autocratic army, the myopic clergy, the statesmen who failed to educate the great back country and to incorporate it in the national life—such groups as these are responsible for the state of their nation. The author, although he is justified in skirting the complexities of Argentine internal politics, is quite aware of this. I think he clouds the issue by his opinion that Buenos Aires is not really American but a spiritual extension of Europe, and for this reason reacts as the European countries did to a Nazi campaign. Uruguay and Brazil are equally European in their cultural alignment, but they rose in healthy indignation against the German methods. The simple fact is that the Argentine was susceptible to Nazi activities because it was afraid of democracy—a fact which cannot be too strongly or too often repeated.

Now the oligarchy, who had been afraid they would have to live in a world dominated by a victorious Germany, are beginning to fear that they will have to face a victorious Brazil and Chile instead. This is a good omen for a victory of the United Nations, but it means nothing for the cause of democracy in the Argentine. That has still to be fought out; that is the real battle of Buenos Aires. Our impression that the Argentine people are sound and will in the end prevail is an indication of the author's faith, in a book largely given over to sensational disclosures. Consider that Damonte Taborda's committee brought out accurate, detailed reports of the Nazi activities in the face of opposition from almost every government official, and of the most disheartening inaction. The two newspapers of Buenos Aires consistently and courageously criticized the inaction and connivance of their government. The pressure of public opinion actually did drive von Thermann home—though the government declined to rebuke him. There is a rapidly maturing middle class in Buenos Aires—with a majority of the essentially liberty-loving North Italians—and one cannot believe that these people will be held down forever by any clique.

The author also makes it clear that we North Americans have no ground for condescension. Passing over such items as the Condor-Lati line's rushing propaganda from Rome to the Argentine on gas provided by a North American company, or the self-interest of the cattlemen's lobby in Washington, he dissects the faults of the tourist, the business man, and the foreign official of the United States. We have done nothing to lend even moral support to the forces of democracy in the other Americas. It is a good thing for us to read this book, which brings together more fully and more clearly than before the story of Germany's power in our hemisphere. We had better realize that it *has* happened here—and face our responsibility.

ELIZABETH WILDER

"This Terrible Mystery"

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. By Lewis Sowden. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

IT IS Mr. Sowden's thesis that "these last three years have brought South Africa to the threshold of a new era in its history, an era which must bring decisive departure from the outlook and policy of the past and development along new lines and in accordance with new concepts." There can be no doubt that South Africa needs some such change of outlook and policy, but the evidence Mr. Sowden marshals to support his thesis that the change is impending is not exactly overwhelming. In fact, when he outlines the problems of the Union, suggests their genesis, and states the views entertained by the conflicting political groups, he provides the data to refute the optimism which he cultivates. Fortunately or unfortunately he is temperamentally unable to concede that the evil policies he holds up to scorn may be victorious in the

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NOTICE TO NATION READERS

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BURLINGAME

future as they have been in the past. To him his own case seems so sound, so inevitably right, that he cannot convince himself that it may be decisively rejected. He quotes admirable sentiments in his support from Prime Minister Jan Smuts, but he fails to recall that Smuts has also said, "Look how old Africa is, how strangely made, how unaltered. What is there in it that baffles us? Brilliant men come here to solve its problems and go away defeated. But that is why it holds us, it has this terrible mystery."

For the Union of South Africa is a nation that no one would think of inventing if it did not already exist. It is a seething mass of terrifying problems, fateful difficulties, awe-inspiring troubles. Every other British dominion, even Eire, is a placid land by comparison. Every economic problem to which modern society is heir is in the Union exasperated by being expressed in a context of racial and cultural conflict. Britain versus Boer, white versus black, Occidental versus Oriental—these issues are acute and enduring. Mr. Sowden candidly outlines them for the general reader, no one better. He sometimes pursues them into rather tiresome detail, as in his discussion of the Boer language. But perhaps even that is to the good, for it makes clear that in South Africa even linguistics is a political issue. He shows how the whites have jockeyed themselves into the position of disadvantaging themselves to disadvantage the blacks, and spent incredible energy to insure that they shall not be rescued from their situation. He shows how the introduction of Indians as a labor force about eighty years ago has injected into the already overburdened Union a race conflict so intense that it has already produced a leader of the oppressed famous the world around, Mahatma Gandhi. It is perhaps fortunate that many Americans will get their first introduction to these difficulties from Mr. Sowden, whose calmness and balance of mind approach flaccidity, rather than from a man with more iron in his personality and pen who might make them as exasperating as they really are.

And these racial conflicts go on within an economy which Mr. Sowden, following expert testimony of many writers, correctly describes as precariously balanced, if balanced at all. It is founded on gold. But since this foundation is an uncertain quantity, the struggle to find an alternative has necessarily been undertaken, thus far with little success. Probably no more impressive object lesson in the futility of subsidized production in agriculture can be had than the case of South Africa. Mr. Sowden minces no words in demonstrating the shaky nature of the Union's economy.

Yet with this lurid backdrop in plain sight of the audience, Mr. Sowden insists on sketching a drama of rehabilitation that, to my mind, is so compounded of the miraculous as to be quite unbelievable. He would have it that the present war is rapidly purging away the Union's past, that its citizens are being shorn of their inherited prejudices, and that the next step is toward a Utopia which by contrast sharply reveals the shocking character of present-day reality. Only those powerfully supplied with the will-to-believe will follow Mr. Sowden. His undiscussed premise is a mass conversion for which there is no historical precedent. He lacks a tragic sense of life and destiny, without which no one should write about the Union of South Africa.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Give It B-Minus

FRIDAY, THANK GOD! By Fern Rives. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

THE spiritual hazards, the occupational disorders, of the teaching profession have seldom been the subject of serious and sympathetic treatment in literature; what we more often get is either scathing satirical caricature or squashy sentimentality, Ichabod Crane or Mr. Chips, or their female counterparts. Fern Rives's catchily entitled novel is an attempt in the right direction, with chapters and passages that dispose the reader to think, How good this is, for a change! But the treatment as a whole is not quite serious—I do not mean solemn—enough: the intention strays into frivolity, and both events and characters seem not so much observed, or even imagined, as supposed, or contrived, with an eye, perhaps, on Hollywood. The extension of the novel's commodity value being what it is, is there a novelist, however austere, who does not cast so much as one single sidelong ogle in the direction of Paramount or Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer?

In devising a structure for her narrative and establishing a unity of time, the author has confined the events of the story to the period of a single week, Friday to Friday, inclusive. This convention imposes considerable strain on the reader's capacity for suspension of disbelief; for even in the most hectic pedagogical lives, it is hardly credible that the time chart should include an attempt at murder, an attempt at adultery, an attempt at political seduction, and an attempt to discharge an incompetent teacher for incompetence. Truer to life, perhaps, is the fact that none of these events comes off quite as scheduled, and in the end we find the characters putting brave and happy faces on what would seem to be, in each instance, the second choice.

One may likewise demur a little at some of the characters. It is gratifying that Miss Rives has not repeated the stock types, nor been too insistent on symbolic figures; and it is also gratifying to find her heroine plausible, if superior, and comprehensible, if perplexed. But such glamorous female gym teachers as Virginia Kelly seem unduly atypical; and such a star of the morning as Jeff Ward must be the exception rather than the rule among principals, even the go-getters with political ambitions. Moreover, the young, as presented in these pages, seem just a shade too starry-eyed; there is only one mean type and none of the specters that haunt our lassitude, those sex-hipped little wenches and callow "jerks" who neither can, nor want to, learn anything, and are tolerable only by comparison with their parents, who are the same stuff, only older and uglier.

With a little more passion, a little more perception, a little more patience, a little less delusion, a little better prose style, Miss Rives might effect a great improvement if she were willing to try again. A colleague of mine suggests that if she is minded to produce a sequel the title is ready to hand. Call it, "Oh, hell, Monday!"

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

In Early Issues of *The Nation*

"E. M. Forster." By Lionel Trilling
Reviewed by Morton Dauwen Zabel

Aeneas and Augustine
An Essay by Robert Fitzgerald

IN BRIEF

THE ARABS: A SHORT HISTORY. By Philip K. Hitti. Princeton University Press. $2.

This is an abridgment of the author's unparalleled master work, "History of the Arabs," by Byron Dexter in collaboration with the author. As the book is marked on its cover "for Americans," it is probably intended for readers whose relatives are just now stationed in Arab lands. It should be read, however, by everybody who is interested in the origins of our Western civilization. Few people know that medieval scholars found their way to Plato and Aristotle through Arab scholars. Hunavn-ibn-Ishaq translated Plato and Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates in an age when Charlemagne and his lords "dabbled in learning to write their names." Arabic civilization was at bottom Hellenized Aramaic and Iranian knowledge, but it was exactly the influx of these ideas after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs which brought the beginning of the end of the so-called Dark Ages. From the sixteenth century on the Arab East was in a state of eclipse. During the Ottoman domination Damascus and Bagdad receded into the background. An Arab national movement started in the eighteen seventies, and since it feeds not only on the glory of the past, when "warriors of Allah" built an empire vaster than the Roman, but on the fact that fifty million people speak the Arabic language, this movement, like all nationalist activities of the East, will offer a serious post-war problem. Hitti's brilliant little book facilitates its understanding and furnishes evidence of the old truth that history is not necessarily a dull science. Historians are sometimes bores, but Hitti is certainly not.

ALASKA DIARY: 1926-1931. By Ales Hrdlicka. The Jaques Cattell Press. $5.

Although the purpose of Dr. Hrdlicka's four expeditions to central and western Alaska was to obtain scientific confirmation, by means of the collection and examination of craniums and skeletons in old burials, of the migration of the primitive inhabitants of America from Asia, this chronicle of his journeys along the Yukon, Kuskokwim, and Nushagak rivers is primarily an informal account of his experiences with the country and its people. The daily notes of which the book is composed, although confessedly without "pretense to any literary value, nor to any other virtue aside from reality," are none the less too meager, as their observations are rather too attenuated, to give more than a hint of the larger perceptions which to the exploring imagination constitute the meaning, if not the virtue, of reality. For the casual layman this qualification may limit the interest of the book, but it is well worth reading for descriptions of places seldom visited, for stories of hardships endured and hospitalities enjoyed, for Dr. Hrdlicka's abundant sympathies, and, most important, for its rare accuracy.

THIS AGE OF CONFLICT. A Contemporary World History, 1914-1943. By Frank P. Chambers, Christina Phelps Grant, and Charles C. Bayley. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.50.

This long survey of international events from the First World War to the present concerns itself chiefly with political trends and treaties, military campaigns, and men of destiny. It contains a number of suggestive analyses: of the postwar temper, fascism in Italy, the forces which made for Nazism, and the philosophy of appeasement. These sections are all too brief. The authors would have done well to treat with similar concern other matters bearing on the world situation—for example, the labor movements and left-wing political parties in the various countries. The Russian Revolution, certainly, warrants a more thoughtful evaluation than they have accorded it. "Public" reactions to governmental policies are insufficiently qualified. Mr. Chambers's skilled pen raises the volume considerably above the level of a textbook, however, and his collaborators have helped make it one of the most comprehensive reviews of the past quarter-century at present available.

WE CAN WIN THIS WAR. By Colonel W. F. Kernan. Little, Brown and Company. $1.50.

Even those who were impressed by "Defense Will Not Win the War" will probably agree that, so far, Colonel Kernan is a one-book man. In this rather platitudinous afterthought, apparently written in order to cash in on the success of the first, the author chiefly repeats his previous doctrines. There are a few interesting asides, such as a defense of the Pearl Harbor commanders, Short and Kimmel, and a condemnation of the Guadalcanal venture. Feeling that modern armies need an idea, an intellectual faith, Colonel Kernan provides one. Victory must see a return to Christian democracy, and his last paragraph advises us thus: "As we advance the colors against the new paganism, let us repeat the creed of the ancient Christendom [a period of democracy]: "Credo in unum Deum, Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum. . . ." Alas, not all of our troops understand Latin.

COAL DUST ON THE FIDDLE. By George Korson. University of Pennsylvania Press. $3.50.

A collection of the ballads and stories of the soft-coal miner interspersed with a great deal of highly valuable material on the history of the industry. Mr. Korson knows his camps and mines; he visited scores of them from Nova Scotia, where the workers follow veins five miles out under the Atlantic, to Harlan, Coal Creek, and Ludlow. The songs themselves are not so interesting as the account Mr. Korson gives us of the daily life of the miner, his play and courtship, his folklore, his superstitions (when a woman visits a mine, disaster follows), his diseases, hazards, and tragedies. On these subjects he writes feelingly and with authority. Too few of the ballads are scored, but the book is otherwise carefully documented.

RECORDS

HAVING mentioned the idea of record company executives that record criticism should be written from the viewpoint of the large number of people with poor ears and poor machines, not from the viewpoint of the expert with good ears and a good machine, I should go on to say that a similar idea has grown up more generally in recent years about all writing on music. In the old days it was thought that an editor or publisher should publish the writing of a man who could give his readers the benefit of insight, judgment, and taste greater than theirs, making them aware of what they could not perceive themselves. But recently there has grown up the idea that the right man to talk about music to the ordinary person is the one with no more insight, judgment, or taste than the person he is writing for. That is the way some of the men who have begun to write music reviews and books recently have justified their writing, and I have noted that their judgment and taste were as undistinguished as they claimed, but that this did not make the writing profitable.

As for Beecham's difficulty in understanding the American record company mind, I have learned that only a very few artists have the clause in their contract that gives them the right to veto a recording they consider defective—the few being of course those who can compel the companies to give it to them. And I have been told that it was because Beecham did not have this clause in his contract that he got into his difficulty with Columbia and in the end had to give up his law-suit. It may be that he didn't have the clause in his contract with English Columbia either; if so it was probably because he didn't need it —because a company which produced those beautiful English recordings of his performances of Mozart and Delius and Tchaikovsky would not have wanted to issue a recording which he considered defective. After this he must have found it difficult to understand and deal with a company which, having produced a bad recording of Sibelius's Seventh, insisted on issuing it when he objected to it, and which continued to sell it and feature it in its advertising even after he had repudiated it publicly—to say nothing of the statement that he didn't know anything about recording.

From this we can see that it isn't only Beecham who is baffled by the American record company mind; the American record company executives are no less baffled and exasperated by attitudes like Beecham's. Years ago I accounted for the enormous superiority, at the time, of British broadcasting of music over American by the fact that in England broadcasting was run by men who because music meant a great deal to them could therefore understand and believe that it meant a great deal to others, whereas here broadcasting was run by business, advertising, and publicity men to whom music meant nothing and who therefore could not understand or believe that it meant anything to anyone else. So with recording: the men who run the business of recording in this country are utterly unable to understand what music means to someone like Beecham or Toscanini, how it sounds in his mind, how it must sound to his ear; and they are baffled when they produce a recording that will sell, and he objects to it or, if it is Toscanini, refuses to permit its sale, merely because the reproduced sound is muddy or badly balanced or mixed with noises from bad processing. That is why so few recordings of Toscanini's performances have come out recently; and though we have the means of preserving the performances of one of the most extraordinary musicians of all time, we may in the end be left with only a handful of recordings, and even some of these defective.

But if the record company mind is baffled and angered by these attitudes in a celebrated musician like Beecham or Toscanini, how can it understand similar attitudes in a mere music critic, who should be grateful for the expensive records he is sent gratis, and who instead complains that the reproduced sound is muddy or badly balanced or mixed with noises from bad processing?

I have recently received the latest of the letters that have arrived from time to time inquiring when Columbia was going to issue the new Beecham-London Philharmonic recording of Mozart's Symphony K. 338, about which there have been rumors for more than a year. But I would like to know myself; and I would like to know also what it is that causes both Victor and Columbia, when there is such a shortage of materials and labor, to waste them on some of the things they have been issuing instead of using them for some of the things they have not issued—what it is, for example, that has led Columbia to use them not for Beecham's recording of the Mozart Symphony but for Henry Cowell's "Tales of Our Countryside" (Set X-225, $2.50), about which nobody has written me inquiries. The music is not worth anyone's attention; it seems to be performed adequately, as far as I can judge, by Cowell with the All-American Orchestra under Stokowski; the recorded sound of the orchestra is unclear and unclean; the surfaces of my copy are noisy and defective.

Columbia's other July offering is Schumann's song-cycle "Frauenliebe und Leben" (Set 539, $3.50). The music is for the most part rather poor; but this is concealed by Lehmann's superb singing of it. On the other hand Bruno Walter, in his piano accompaniments, carries his sentimentalizing to the point where rhythm and phraseological contour are destroyed; and as it happens his postlude on the last side is made even worse on my copy by a terrific wavering in pitch. The recorded sound of Lehmann's voice is good; the surfaces of my copy are extremely noisy and defective.

The Eulenburg miniature scores are now being printed in England, and are being imported by the Edward B. Marks Music Corporation. The catalogue includes thus far the standard symphonies Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Schubert, and Brahms, some of their concertos and chamber music, the Brandenburg Concertos of Bach, and a few unusual items like Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 453 and Violin Concerto K. 216, Wolf's Italian Serenade, Sibelius's Violin Concerto. Since they are printed in England I wondered about the paper, which is white and substantial; and I asked a musician who had had some experience with them how they stood up. He answered that the paper of his scores had got yellow and begun to disintegrate; but he reminded me that the Eulenburg scores had been printed on cheap paper even in Germany. It seems to me that the opportunity to get to know Mozart's Piano Concerto K.453 as one can by following the score while one listens to the records is worth the price of the score even if it begins to disintegrate after a couple of years.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

CARL CROW is an American advertising man who has maintained close contact with the Philippines for thirty years. During twenty-six years in Shanghai he made frequent trips to Manila. He is acquainted with Filipino exiles in this country, and since the war has listened regularly to the Tokyo radio. Beyond these, his sources of information cannot be revealed. His books include "America and the Philippines," "Japan and America," "400,000,000 Customers," and "The Chinese Are Like That."

VICTOR RIESEL is labor editor of the New York *Post.*

ANDRE MAROSELLI, senator for the Haute-Saône under the Republic, was in France until five months ago, when he escaped to England. He is now in this country on a mission for the French Committee of National Liberation.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY teaches at Black Mountain College in North Carolina.

ELIZABETH WILDER is on the staff of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN is the author of "Introducing Australia," "The Deadly Parallel," "Why We Fought," and "The Three Jameses."

Letters to the Editors

Vashington Gestapo

ear Sirs: Perhaps you would like to cord, as a footnote to Washington estapo by XXX in *The Nation* of ly 17, an experience of a friend of ine with a Civil Service investigator.

The investigator was interrogating y friend with reference to the "char- ter" of a Mr. Smith when he hap- ened to notice a framed copy of the ill of Rights on the wall over my iend's desk.

There was an awkward pause in the nversation while old Hawkshaw udied the offending instrument. Then, ith a sweep of his pencil toward it nd a suspicious glare in his eye, he rned to my friend.

"Who," he demanded, "is putting at stuff out?"

For reasons as valid in my case as in at of Mr. XXX, I trust it will suffice sign this— YYY

lexandria, Va., July 19

s It True?

ear Sirs: I have sent the following tter to the Honorable Harry B. itchell of the Civil Service Commis- on and a similar communication to Edgar Hoover. I thought you might interested. EMANUEL CELLER

ew York, July 20

y dear Mr. Mitchell: I have before e and read with interest an article ntitled Washington Gestapo written by XX. The editors of *The Nation* state their issue of July 17 that the author s deemed it necessary to guard his onymity with especial care. These litors vouchsafe the statements of the onymous writer.

I am asking you for your reaction to is article. The article outlines a series questions which, if actually presented that fashion, present a serious situa- on which warrants investigation. I, of urse, know nothing of the authenticity these charges.

To quote a few of these questions: How often does he read *PM?*" "Has ever criticized the Dies committee?" s it true that he reads *The Nation* and e *New Republic?*" "Does he talk a lot ainst the poll tax?" I personally uld be placed in any of these cate- ories. It is also charged that another question is, "Why do you suppose he has hired so many Jews?"

It is stated that the source book was "The Red Network" by Elizabeth Dilling, now under federal indictment on the charge of sedition.

I was most vigorous in my denunciation of the activities of the Dies committee and the Kerr committee with reference to the ouster of Watson, Lovett, etc. Unquestionably, there was a violation of the Constitution, as the bar sinister placed upon these men involves lynch law and bill of attainder. As I understand it, the only real charge in these cases was regarded as "subversive by association." . . .

Because one may be a friend of a friend who in turn is a friend of one who is actually subversive is no reason for placing a stigma on the first individual in the chain. This is a new method of indictment and punishment devised by reactionary groups.

Mind you, I do not accuse any of your investigators of these practices. I do not know the facts.

I ask you that you read this article and let me have your reaction as soon as your convenience may be served.

I mean to follow this matter up most closely.

Write to Your Senator

Dear Sirs: I have just written to Senator Wagner calling his attention to Washington Gestapo and have asked him to investigate the conditions.

JULIAN LOEBENSTEIN

New York, July 19

It's a Lie

Dear Sirs: The article Washington Gestapo must be regarded by unprejudiced readers with a little suspicion. Civil Service and FBI investigators may be fascists, as your writer alleges, but they cannot be complete morons.

In America today an investigator does not say, "Does his face light up when the Red Army is mentioned?" "How often does he read *PM?*" "Is he always criticizing Vichy France?" "Did you ever hear him whistle the Communist Internationale?" People in America, in government service or out, simply do not speak like that. If your writer has met such an investigator he is a unique exception to be used as humorous relief in fiction and not in a serious article.

I do not believe that '"no government employee is safe from such an obscene attack on the elemental decencies." *In fact, I can tell you that this is a damned lie;* men returning from two and three years' service in Washington have never heard of FBI investigations in their departments. OTTO S. MAYER

New York, July 17

. . . Last Refuge of a Scoundrel

Dear Sirs: Washington Gestapo confirms from a much larger experience than mine what has impressed me about investigators who have called on me for character references for men entering the armed services. This is a small community, with an unusual proportion of men who have sought commissions. I have been frankly amazed at the nature of the questions asked, both by the FBI directly and by credit-company men to whom they have turned over some names.

"Have you any reason to doubt his loyalty or patriotism?" begins the list. Any "radical" association is looked into. Any possible leaning toward "advanced ideas" is questioned. Some of the men, of the gentlest manners and address, have left me with the impression that they must have trained in a brokerage firm, and that the man they were willing to approve must be one of many generations of rock-ribbed Republicans of the New England variety. There is a hiatus between their questions, if not their thinking, and the fact that we are associated with the U. S. S. R. in a military way, in an effort to undermine the fascism in other countries, and this hiatus is reflected in their inquiries about candidates for commissions.

My mystification was made complete when this demand for a "character reference" about one man elicited from me the unasked-for information that while his patriotism was undoubted, he was irresponsible in two important regards, which I specified. "We are not interested in that so much, Doctor," was the reply. "We want to know only about his patriotism." So if the man is a scoundrel, is it all right? And what is the use of references?

MERRILL F. CLARKE

New Canaan, Conn., July 20

Who Killed Carlo Tresca?

Dear Sirs: Six months have passed since Carlo Tresca was murdered.

If the humblest of Tresca's thousands of comrades and fellow-workers for the advancement of human welfare as he saw it had been murdered in like manner, his murderers would long since have been apprehended and convicted through Tresca's efforts, because Tresca had the knowledge, the tireless energy, and the single devotion which we, his friends, woefully lack. The war, the general confusion and moral breakdown, his own multiplicity of interests would not have been permitted to interfere with his pursuit of the murderers. He would have pushed his way through closed doors, and cut his way through official barriers.

Many of his friends feel that the manner of his death was such as he himself not only expected but would have preferred. But he would wish that it be made immediately and surely a symbol and a banner for the carrying on of the fight as he saw it. Instead, the banner is muddied, bedraggled by uncertainty, confusion, and inertia. This is the great tragedy. Sacco, Vanzetti, Matteoti, even the Roselli brothers and Berneri—at least their murderers are known, if not officially acknowledged. Carlo Tresca's death will prove, I believe, to have had even greater significance in relation to the present world crisis than these others, and if the instigators of the murder could be revealed now, immediately, there might be some hope that the ensuing scandal would necessitate the cleaning up of some of the messier aspects of our European policy.

Let us hope that Tresca's friends and admirers may get together, organize a pressure group, hold mass-meetings, hammer at official doors, rouse the apathetic before it is too late—and a courageous, glowing, extraordinarily alive person doomed to die a double death.

MARGARET DESILVER

Wellfleet, Mass., July 18

Objection

Dear Sirs: I made a solemn resolve long ago that I would not write to the editor criticizing any review of my book, "Economic Freedom." But I cannot resist quoting the following sentence from the review by Abba P. Lerner which appeared in your issue of July 3:

> A related confusion appears when private enterprise is simultaneously accused of (a) too little investment out of tenderness for the capital values, belonging to the same corporation, that would be destroyed by the new investment, and (b) too much investment because of lack of concern for the capital values of other corporations, in the preservation of which capital values, it is wrongly claimed, society has a vested interest.

—and the following sentences from page 87 of the book:

> Society as a whole has a vested interest in every existing plant at least to the extent of the labor and materials which have gone into it, and there is no sense building a new plant unless it is so much better than the one it replaces that the ultimate saving justifies scrapping what has already been built. A paradox of the present situation is that while old plants and processes are too often allowed to outlive their economic usefulness, valuable machines and skills are frequently forced into the discard by changes which have no real economic justification.

I don't get it. Who's confused?

The reviewer also says, "Perhaps it was a little unfair to give this book to an economist to review." In the preface I wrote, "I have therefore written this book as an attempt to face economic problems in terms of political reality."

The review does not even mention the political problems to which the book was almost solely directed.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Washington, D. C., July 1

The Same Line

Dear Sirs: Shortly before the Nazi invasion of Denmark and Norway an avalanche of propaganda descended on Scandinavia. The Nazis told the Nordic nations that England wanted to involve them in the war and that the neutrality and independence of Northern Europe were threatened. At that very time the Nazi prison ship Altmark lay in Norwegian waters, and the invasion boats were ready to start.

After the invasion of Denmark and Norway, and after the Nazi divisions had established themselves permanently in Finland, Quisling's own newspaper, *Fritt Folk* (*Free People*), declared that England was now threatening Sweden and trying to drag it into the war. The same tune is still being played in the *Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen*, the newspaper of the German occupation forces. This is Goebbels's and Ribbentrop's official propaganda line; the free Norwegians and the Free Danes are only too familiar with it.

To my vast astonishment I recentl discovered this same line in an American newspaper. It was not written b Quisling, not published in a Germa newspaper; it originated in our ver midst. I quote:

> SWEDEN'S NEUTRALITY
>
> The British are attempting to dislodge Sweden from her position of neutrality. Bu Sweden hesitates. *Every nation that has aide Britain has been precipitated into the war.* Take a lesson from the Irish. They've remained neutral and are at peace with the world. They're neither pro-German nor pro-British. They're pro-Irish. They have an "Irish First" policy.

This appeared in the May issue of an ostensibly religious newspaper, *Bibl News Flashes,* published in Minneapolis.

Nazi propaganda is daily hammerin away at Sweden that "England want to get you into the war." Nazi propaganda supported the isolationist Irelan First and America First policies. *Bibl News Flashes* is edited by the Reverend W. D. Herrstrom, a Swedish-American.

In the same issue Herrstrom wrot of the Jewish problem:

> Rabbi Wise wants to bring 2,000,00 Jews from Central Europe to the Unite States. Why not send them right next doo into Soviet Russia. All the Jews I know i this country (except a few genuinely converted Christian Jews) are in favor of th Communist regime. In fact, too many o them seem to think it is superior to ou American system of free enterprise an Christian liberty. Asiatics usually fit into a Asiatic or Eurasian regime much better tha they fit into our American system. After all it's next to impossible to ever make Americans adopt Asiatic ideas or Asiatic busine methods.

It seems to me that I have heard thi tone before—in every issue of Juliu Streicher's *Der Stürmer.*

Reverend Herrstrom grieved fo Father Coughlin and lamented the indictment of thirty-three pro-fascists i Washington.

KURT SINGER

New York, June 14

Good News

Dear Sirs: In a review of Dr. Sturmthal's "Tragedy of European Labor" said that the Communist Party had opposed President Roosevelt's desire t limit salaries to $25,000. Mr. Ea Browder informs me that I am mistaken I make this correction with considerabl relief.

RALPH BATES

New York, July 21

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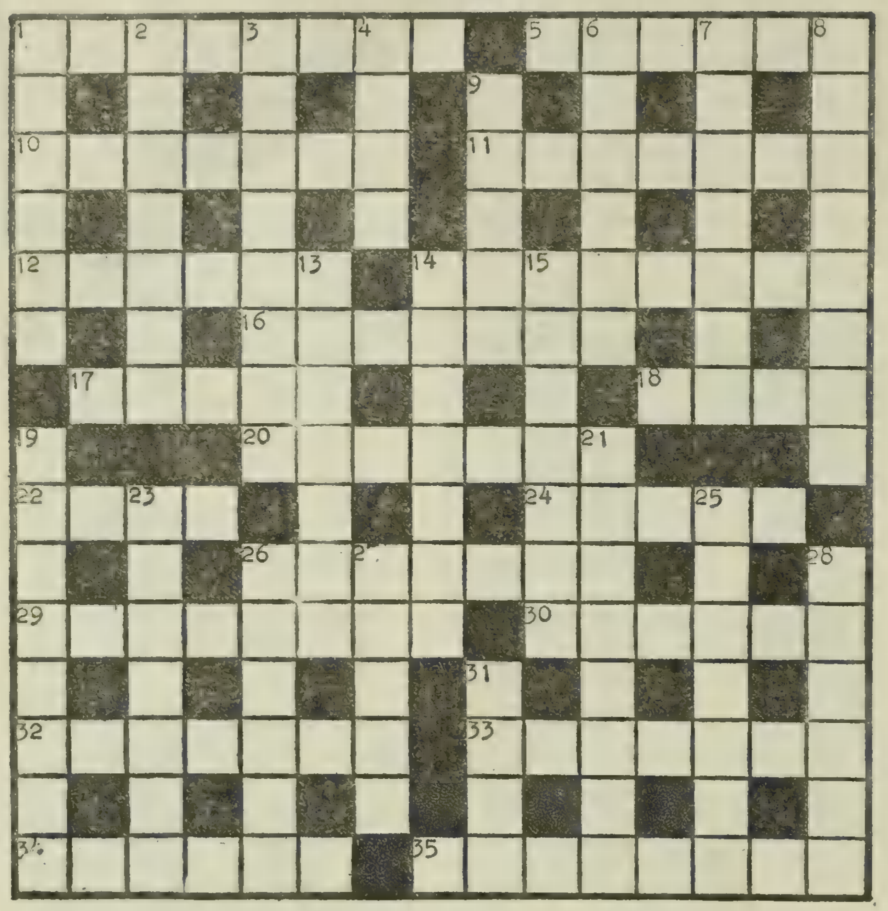
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 23

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Nebuchadnezzar's attitude in respect of vegetarianism (two words, 3 and 5)
5 You must be very cold if frozen to it
10 Many on trial in a match
11 Shorten the way across
12 The last place from which one would expect to get bleats!
14 Taken in
16 Would any parent think of giving a boy this name?
17 They head chapters
18 Back yard
20 Easily led
22 Bound to be wanting in a beheaded coon
24 Nigel is put in the corner
26 Always in the red, apparently, but venerated on the whole
29 The bullfighter delivers an unfinished statement
30 Dark suit, more suggestive of evening than mourning
32 Country to which the world owes so much
33 Qualified, with or without the headgear
34 Don't race over this course!
35 Undisguised

DOWN

1 Entry
2 Those who boast of it really had very little say in it
3 No sea route
4 Piratical maid-of-all work in the operetta
6 Corresponds without writing
7 Russian Army organ (two words, 3 and 4)
8 Monday through Saturday (two words, 4 and 4)
9 Native who looks like either mother or myself
13 This is certain in the end
14 No heart can produce a second one
15 Comes back with some bantering remarks
19 Not a contest between awful duffers (two words, 4 and 4)
21 Book page which is never read
23 A dog mutilated isn't the sort of thing a poor swimmer wants to contend with
25 Female insect?
26 It could be vainer
27 A politician is nothing if not this
28 Rise, as a perfume
31 Unbleached linen

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 22

ACROSS:—1 RUSTIC; 4 CHIVALRY; 10 DONKEYS; 11 CORYDON; 12 CALF'S; 13 INS; 14 SCENE; 15 NASAL; 17 APPLAUSE; 21 UPPER TEN; 23 TOWER; 26 UHLAN; 28 SIS; 29 MINDS; 30 BITTERN; 31 ENTITLE; 32 BUCHANAN; 33 SHANKS'.

DOWN:——1 REDUCING; 2 SINGLES; 3 IDEAS; 5 HOCUS; 6 VIRUS; 7 LODGERS; 8 YANKEE; 9 ASPIRANT; 16 LEE; 18 PUNISHED; 19 ART; 20 DRESSERS; 22 POLITIC; 24 WINSTON; 25 HUBBUB; 27 NEELA; 28 SENNA; 29 MATCH

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The Shape of Things

ON THREE FRONTS THE AIR IS PREGNANT with decisions that will determine the length of the war and go far toward setting the pattern of the peace. Rome, Orel, and Algiers are the key spots. By the time this issue reaches you the Badoglio government may have surrendered to General Eisenhower—in which case we shall know how far the United Nations are prepared to support postwar reactionary regimes with Allied bayonets—or all Italy may already be in the throes of full-fledged social revolution. The Italian crisis is discussed fully elsewhere in these pages. At Orel the German army braces itself for a last-ditch defense with a grimness that testifies to the desperate importance of stemming the Russian offensive. Let the Red forces smash through at Orel, driving between the central and southern Nazi armies, and the Germans will face a military disaster that will put Stalingrad in the shade. What this would do to a German morale already rocking under the blows of Mussolini's collapse, the inevitable loss of the Sicilian campaign, and the harrowing destruction of Hamburg, is not hard to imagine. Even the Franco press in Spain is already talking about "the 1918 phase of the war."

*

IN ALGIERS, TO COMPLETE THE PICTURE, Generals De Gaulle and Giraud have finally worked out the long-awaited compromise by which the armed forces of the two leaders are at last to be united. The solution of this thorny problem distinctly favors De Gaulle, who not only will act as chief executive in all civilian and political matters but who is slated to head the newly created Committee of National Defense. General Giraud, Commander in Chief of all French forces, will be ultimately responsible to this committee, though he will retain his co-chairmanship of the over-all Committee of National Liberation. Having surmounted its severest crisis, this last-named agency again confronts the United Nations with the demand that it be recognized as the official "trustee" of the French nation. No longer is it possible to point to the De Gaulle-Giraud division as a pretext for denying such recognition. On a quick decision to yield gracefully hangs the future effectiveness of our political warfare.

BURLINGAME

THE LONDON *TIMES* PROBABLY EXPRESSED the concern of the British Foreign Office when it criticized the Russian government for launching a "Free German Committee" without consulting its allies. Certainly such action is unfortunate. The future of Europe should not be determined in Moscow any more than in London or Washington. But what the move reveals is something much more serious than recalcitrance on the part of Russia. It reveals, and dramatizes, the disastrous lack of a common political strategy for the war and a common political program for post-war Europe. Russia's interests demand an early end to the struggle and the creation of a stable democratic set-up in Central Europe. These aims exactly coincide with the proclaimed desires of Britain and America. But the western allies have so far shown no practical interest in democratic set-ups anywhere in Europe. They have found strategic reasons for supporting Franco in Spain, Pétain in France, and the reactionary relicts of Vichy in North Africa. They seem to be following a similarly equivocal course in Italy. If Moscow has been kept informed of British-American moves in Sicily, as the *Times* asserts, it was certainly not consulted on French policy, which it has openly disapproved. Stalin may have to swallow reaction in Western Europe. He will not permit it in the countries along Russia's endless frontier. Developments in the west undoubtedly precipitated his move in the east. Lacking any common policy, the creation of the German committee is a logical effort to stimulate revolt now and lay the foundations for a friendly Germany after the war. Only an honest application of the democratic pledges of the Allied leaders will prevent the sort of unilateral action the *Times* so earnestly deplores.

*

WHATEVER THE TERMS OF HIRE, IT IS PRETTY clear that the deal by which the Axis obtained the broadcasting services of eight Americans was a bad bargain for both sides. Indictments handed up in Washington last week confront the octet with the choice of putting bullets through their respective heads now or running the risk of eventually hanging for treason. On the other hand, the Berlin propaganda office certainly saddled itself with as mediocre a collection of misfits as it would be possible to find in the country's subversive circles: a broken-down bit actor, a would-be correspondent who never achieved a higher rating than "string man," a stock broker wiped out in the 1929 crash, two German-American school teachers whose German-Americanism at no time differed from that of Fritz Kuhn's Bund, a woman whose journalistic career culminated on the WPA Writers' Project and who frankly needed cash, and a professional Mata Hari whose life was spared by the Spanish Loyalists only through the intervention of the American State Department. As short-wave propagandists for Dr. Goebbels, all were failures, and most of them have been off the air for some time. Few Americans ever heard them, and those who did must have been impressed with the frenzied and irrational quality of their product, as well as the ponderous Teutonic touch of their programs. In Ezra Pound the Italians drew the only American of consequence in the collection. But even here the propaganda value was low. A violent anti-democrat and by choice an exile from his hated country, Pound has no following here. For all their ineffectiveness, however, these eight warped individuals clearly did their best to aid the enemy. If they failed, so did the eight saboteurs to whom we gave short shrift last summer.

*

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT IS, AMONG other things, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of a nation engaged in a world war. But to Harrison Spangler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, these jobs are subsidiary in Roosevelt's view to his position as head of the Democratic Party and important to him only in so far as he can use them to advance his candidacy for a fourth term. Mr. Spangler, with the courage of his obsession, has therefore asked Secretary Stimson, Secretary Knox, and Robert Sherwood, of the OWI, to transmit to American armed forces all over the world the Republican charge that the President's speech—it is discussed on another page—and particularly his post-war program for returning soldiers, was *primarily* a bid for a fourth term. Otherwise, Mr. Spangler sees our free institutions imperiled and "our boys and girls" reduced to "political serfs." A Washington comment suggests that what really makes Mr. Spangler and his friends angry is that the President "grabbed a political issue from under their noses." The stay-at-home Republicans, as opposed to those like Wendell Willkie who have seen the world, are willing to let Roosevelt run the "international" war if they can count on running the domestic post-war. It's an old Republican game; no wonder the Spanglers and the Landons are annoyed when Roosevelt refuses to observe the rules. Still it seems hardly worth while cluttering army newspapers and ship's bulletins with their attack on the President for his mild pledge of post-war security. Everyone, armed and unarmed, knows by now that if Roosevelt so much as pats the head of his dog Fala he is, in the opinion of the Spangler Republicans, aiming at the nomination in 1944.

*

VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE MAY BECOME THE stepchild of the Roosevelt Administration, but for millions of workers and small farmers his Detroit speech was still the authentic voice of the New Deal. Judging from reactions to that speech, one of Wallace's best, he is to serve a dual role politically. On the one hand, he is to help keep labor lined up for Roosevelt. On the other, he is to be a kind of lightning rod to draw off right-wing criticism from the President himself. For labor, the renomination of Wallace in 1944 becomes a prime consideration, a test of labor's strength and some guaranty that the Administration will not go all the way on the path of appeasement. That Senator Guffey, who rarely makes important pronouncements without White House approval, should have gone on record for Wallace as Vice-Presidential nominee in 1944 may be significant. It may indicate, as did the President's praise of the speech, that Wallace can have his place on the ticket if he can stir up enough political support by the time of the convention. The slurs of the conservative press attest the fact that the Detroit speech drew blood. What we liked most about it was that in Detroit, scene of the recent anti-Negro outbreaks, the Vice-President pulled no punches on the race issue. "We cannot fight to crush Nazi brutality abroad," Mr. Wallace declared, "and condone race riots at home."

*

THE FAULTS ATTRIBUTED TO OPA RENT regulation by the special House committee investigating executive agencies are probably responsible for the success with which that same committee credits the OPA. The committee praises the OPA for doing an effective job but criticizes it for adopting rules which conflict with state law, interfering with contracts and leases signed before the Federal Rent Control Law went into effect, and setting aside state and local eviction laws. It is hard to see how the OPA could possibly have done a good job of rent regulation without overriding a tangled mass of state and local legislation enacted for normal times. The committee which made the investigation was headed by Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia, and it was expected to discredit New Deal agencies. That it had no harsher criticism to offer of the OPA is an unexpected and impressive compliment to the OPA's success in an area where regulation is extremely difficult.

*

THE PRESIDENT'S REORGANIZED COMMITTEE on Fair Employment Practices seems to be getting off to a good start under its chairman, Monsignor Francis J. Haas of Catholic University. It has ordered the reinstatement of 300 Negro workers in West Coast shipyards discharged under a closed-shop agreement when they refused to pay dues to a separate "auxiliary" union set up for them by the American Federation of Labor boilermakers' union .The committee must decide whether establishment of a separate union based on color, race, or creed constitutes discrimination. We ceratinly think it does, and the committee cannot hold otherwise without losing public confidence. The new committee has also voted to enforce the old FEPC order to the Capital Transit Company in Washington. Capital Transit still refuses to hire Negro help, although many transit companies in Southern cities do so. Nothing has caused more bitterness among Negroes in the capital than this refusal to permit them, in the midst of a great man-power shortage, to enjoy the privilege—for such it seems to be considered—of driving a bus.

How to Use a Revolution

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE current flows with formidable speed. Hardly twenty-four hours after the downfall of Mussolini, the very elements which had eliminated him from the political scene were themselves on the edge of disaster. The first cries of joy which greeted Victor Emmanuel were not so much a "Long Live the King" as "Death to Mussolini," and as soon as Mussolini was out of the way popular conscience turned against those who had shared his rule and the responsibility for his crimes. The demand for a new political order blended with the cries of the Italian crowds for peace.

Those crowds had been waiting, much more alive than some people thought or desired. For those who have believed in the existence of the people of Europe and who have given more importance to their reactions than to the intrigues of appeasers in London and Washington, the strength which the Italian crowds, supported in some places by the army, have manifested in Milan and other cities has not been a surprise. Our anti-Fascist Italian friends have been right all along in insisting that the people of Italy were not only against the war but also, and primarily, against the regime. Nor was their antagonism just a vague emotion. They have succeeded in organizing, despite Fascist terror and Gestapo vigilance. The underground has existed even though the people who conduct the war for the United Nations have evidenced not the slightest inclination to aid in its development. Without the presence of an illegal movement many of the political events we are witnessing in Italy would never have occurred.

Once more, sharper and clearer than ever before, a line is drawn between those who consider this war a war against fascism and those who consider it a war to destroy the group of powers responsible for aggression. Even in the speeches of Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt the happenings in Italy were treated with more concern for military than political considerations. If, in the last year, Churchill had felt the same hatred against fascism as a system of terror as he felt against the German desire for world domination, his speech would have been different. His incomparable eloquence would have given him words to mark forever the downfall of the first pillar of Fascist power. But he has never felt both things with equal force. Even in the midst of the war he limited the political problem of Italy to the elimination of "one man."

No one forgets that we are at war. No one denies that our first problem is to win the war. But it is quite possible to harmonize the demands of military strategy with the principles for which we are officially fighting. Indeed, according to our concept, to handle intelligently this major political defeat of the Axis is to help win the war. To take full advantage of the collapse of Italian fascism, to galvanize the peoples of Europe into action on our side is even from the military point of view a move of first importance. Ordinary Europeans, suffering under a combination of war and tyranny, must think sometimes that in the higher spheres of the United Nations are men who don't know what they want. Constantly the people are asked by Allied leaders to rebel against their Nazi and Fascist oppressors. But when the hour for revolt strikes, they find those same leaders busy offering terms to the men they have learned to hate and distrust, while they, the people, are urged to keep order at all costs.

When Mr. Churchill complains in his speech that the totalitarian system has left the broad masses "without any influence upon their country's destinies and without any independent figures apart from the official classes," he is profoundly unfair to the anti-Fascist elements, especially outside Italy, who have kept the confidence of the Italian people. In his statement to the New York *Times* of July 30 Count Sforza, proposing an immediate drive led by "pure Italians" who have never compromised with fascism, attacks the problem at its root. He does not limit himself to proposals that Italy be taken out of the present world struggle and left as a lost island in the midst of the gigantic ideological conflict. He asserts that if a government "morally respected by all were to put the rich accomplices of fascism on trial immediately, seriously promise generous agrarian reforms, and impose complete tranquillity on the country, it would obtain public support for a proclamation of war against Nazism." This conception is absolutely correct. Furthermore, he warns, "Allied public opinion could make no worse mistake than showing itself afraid of the so-called danger of revolution. This fear was the best ally of Hitler and Mussolini during the many years of Chamberlain blindness. It might be fatal to repeat it now."

Sforza and his militant anti-Fascist supporters, in and out of Italy, have a policy that would have made it unnecessary to improvise political solutions during these recent days. It is not true that the only immediate alternatives to Mussolini are the King and Badoglio, and that therefore, for the sake of expediency, the United Nations are obliged to deal with them. What is true is that the United Nations were not politically prepared for any democratic action in Italy. In spite of official denials, it is hard to imagine that with the Germans in the country and the Fascist Party still in power, the King and Badoglio, on Sunday, July 25, would have had the courage to oust Mussolini if there had not been certain conversations between them and the Allied governments. Negotiations had undoubtedly been going on, but the people who were not approached and whose efforts were not utilized were the real democratic elements of Italy.

It is late, but there is still time for action. Count Sforza asks for action by "pure Italians." His demand should be met immediately. If it is not, the Italian case will furnish definite proof that the only policy of the western allies in regard to Europe is Darlanism, military expediency, even to the point of betraying democracy.

History Unrecognized

ON THIS side of the Atlantic interest in the collapse of *fascismo* has centered strangely on an inept broadcast which was quickly and officially damned for the wrong reasons. In a perfectly understandable zeal to head off another Darlan episode, the Office of War Information rushed to the microphone to tell the world that the overthrow of Mussolini "changes nothing," that "while the news of Mussolini's resignation is welcome to Americans, it is not regarded here as an event of great importance."

Here was a misreading of history in the grand manner. It should have been possible for the OWI to belittle the anti-Fascist pretensions of King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio without at the same time belittling the greatest political event of the war to date. How else are we to describe a development which in one week brought in its train the liquidation of the Fascist Party with all its trappings, the flight, arrest, suicide, or assassination of many of its leaders, the joyous emergence of Italy's underground into the streets of its cities, panicky consultations in every satellite capital, and gloomy foreboding in the Third Reich? Clearly the OWI let slip an occasion for swamping the enemy with a propaganda barrage of heroic proportions.

But if the OWI missed the bus, what are we to say of the President's rebuke? The OWI was taken to task not for its failure to herald to the conquered peoples the beginning of the end of fascism, but because it called Victor Emmanuel "the moronic little king" and Badoglio "a high-ranking Fascist." Since when have epithets directed at our enemies called for Presidential censure? Or has the disappearance of Mussolini by some subtle chemistry already converted the House of Savoy from enemy to friend? Looking toward the day when we invite the unconditional surrender of Japan, are we to grow month by month more respectful of Hirohito?

These are questions which the President's speech left disappointingly unanswered. We were delighted to hear him repeat the pledge that "we will have no truck with fascism in any way, in any shape or manner," but if the men who invited fascism to take power are not to be regarded as Fascists, nor those who shored it up, led its wars, utilized its techniques, and accepted its rewards, what does the President mean when he promises that "we will permit no vestige of fascism to remain"?

Of course the public spanking suffered by the OWI was grist to the mill of the State Department's doughty champions in the correspondents' corps. Most brazen performance of the week was Arthur Krock's "straight" news story in the New York *Times* which cited "the high official view" that the New York short-wave department of the OWI "deliberately and constantly borrows" from "journalistic sources—otherwise undistinguished—which have opposed the President's Vichy and North African policies," and that it does so in order "to discredit the authorized foreign policy of the United States government, or to reshape it according to the personal and ideological preference of Communists and their fellow-travelers in this country." All of which merely shows that Mr. Krock's layer of unctuousness has worn thin; he can be crude as well as misleading.

Like the OWI, the President too seems to have lost his sense of history. The downfall of Mussolini was the occasion for a great speech, a speech that would put before the world the picture of fascism as the futile crime it is, as a movement which in twenty-two years so far failed to impress its charms on the public mind that with the slightest lifting of the lid the country seethes and Fascist leaders who can't scurry fast enough are hanged in the public square.

The President didn't go into these matters, and in consequence his message to the people seemed curiously flat for the occasion. His failure to clarify the government's attitude toward the King and Badoglio, his rebuke of the OWI, and General Eisenhower's tribute to the House of Savoy have already provoked the beginning of what Mr. Krock fearfully calls "a repetition of the American backfire on Darlan and Giraud." This time, thanks to the warning afforded by the North African experience, the backfire may be loud enough and timely enough to forestall a tragic blunder.

F. D. R. on the Defensive

ON DOMESTIC issues as on foreign policy the President's radio broadcast was uninspired and uninspiring. It reflected a defensive and compromising spirit, and we take what comfort we can from the fact that the President does not seem his usual self when forced into these attitudes. We enjoy the President most, and he seems to like himself best, when he can take the offensive on social issues and chart a bold course. In this present mood he has succeeded in charming the conservative press, but we doubt whether he will thrill common men in or out of the armed services as he has in the past.

The President's explanation of the need for rationing comes several months too late. We wish he had made it earlier. He has a great capacity for leadership, and there would be a good deal less confusion on the home front if he could take time to explain more of these complicated issues to the people. No one else can do it with the same authority. Unfortunately even here he was on the defensive, calling for sacrifice while announcing the end of coffee rationing. There was little indication that the President is prepared to take the offensive on the inflation front and roll back the price of foodstuffs on a wide scale. Nothing could make him more popular, but if he doesn't act soon Congress will be back in session and it may be too late.

We note with interest the President's new program of aid to soldiers in demobilization, and we approve the measures he outlines. He offers mustering-out pay, unemployment insurance if no job can be found, an opportunity for further education at public expense, credit to all members of the armed services for social-security payments during the period in uniform, better hospitalization, rehabilitation, and medical care, and "sufficient pensions." This is no more than justice demands, and it is good political medicine for the New Deal.

"I have assured our men in the armed forces," the President said, "that the American people would not let them down when the war is won." That is an important pledge. But we hope the President will not succumb, in a period of reaction and retreat, to the view that mustering-out pay and other palliatives amply fulfil that pledge. The real promise on which the men in the services and the folks at home depend is full employment for everyone. That way alone lies protection for the Four Freedoms.

The President says he has plans ready for the new Congress. We hope those plans look toward the implementation of that broader promise. But it will take more willingness to fight reaction within and without the Democratic Party than the President has shown in recent months. Perhaps the key question here is what will be done with the vastly expanding production facilities now owned by the government. If these are turned to peacetime use, whether under public or private ownership, the resultant fall in prices and production costs, the enlarged employment opportunities, and the additional real wealth will be sufficient to insure against a new depression. But if the President permits Jesse Jones to dispose of them to monopoly for dismantling, as seems likely at the moment, we shall return to a regime of scarcity. Full employment will become another blasted hope on which post-war fascist demagogues will thrive.

How Washington Reacted

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 29

WASHINGTON'S reaction to the fall of Mussolini was curiously apathetic. Secretary Hull appeared nervous lest he say the wrong thing at Monday's press conference, and afterward the press attachés even asked me—and I am not the most popular of correspondents at the State Department—how I liked the conference. There was an unusually large turnout to hear what the Secretary of State of the world's foremost democratic power would have to say of the fall of the world's first Fascist dictator. Perhaps the most significant observation that can be made on the conference is that Hull seemed ill at ease.

Kingsbury Smith, the Hearst I. N. S. correspondent, who looks like an Italian count but is said to hail from Missouri, took his accustomed place in the front row and opened with the prescribed question: Did the Secretary of State care to make any comments on developments in Italy? Secretary Hull replied that he had long been convinced that fascism carries within it the seeds of its own destruction. The very timely and appropriate ending of Mussolini, he thought—direct quotation is permitted only by special permission and on special occasions—was the first major step in the early and complete destruction and eradication of every vestige of fascism, both nationally and internationally.

If any unusual activity is going on in the State Department as a result of the fall of Mussolini, it is being kept well hidden from the press. There is a Mr. Jones in charge of the Italian "desk" who reports to a new acting chief of the European division whose name I have mislaid. This new chief in turn is subordinate to James Clement Dunn, the department's political adviser for Western Europe and leader of the pro-Franco faction during the Spanish war and since. Over Dunn is Assistant Secretary Breckinridge Long, once our ambassador to Rome and an admirer of Mussolini. Attempts to talk with these officials were courteously discouraged.

In its feuds with newer agencies of the government the State Department insists that it should determine all questions of foreign policy. But when questions of foreign policy are put to it, correspondents are referred to the White House or the War Department or told to keep their minds on the war. Monday's press conference was typical. Secretary Hull was asked whether the government considers the House of Savoy a faction or a former faction of the Fascist authorities. This question—not asked by this correspondent—seemed to all of us a political question and one properly asked of the Secretary of State. Hull's answer was that he didn't know the attitude of the military and naval branches of the government on that question. Naturally, the Secretary continued, the war being still in progress in Italy, so far as the State Department is concerned, it simply had not come to that question. I report that reply as exactly as the rule against quotation marks permits. Is the State Department marking time until the war is over?

This same question seems to have bothered others. Harold Callender of the New York *Times* asked whether there was a danger that victory might come before we were prepared in a diplomatic and political sense. Hull's answer to this was, "Sufficient unto the day. . . ." He looked pleased with himself, as he did at his answer to the next question. Mr. Secretary, he was asked, what is our government doing, if anything, as a result of the developments in Rome yesterday? The answer was—permission to quote directly was later granted—"They are fighting like the devil." Keep your mind on that, Hull added, and we will win the war sooner.

Hull held on to the chair in front of him, blinked his eyes as though the light was too strong for them, occasionally lifted them to look at whatever correspondent asked a question, and spoke in a low, monotonous voice those present found it difficult to hear. (I checked all this with the transcript afterward.) He has a slight speech defect, almost a lisp. Unlike some old men, there is no youth in his eyes, and the fall of Mussolini does not seem to have affected his blood pressure. He said that there was no truth in reports that we had made contact with Badoglio, and that he had heard of no contact with the Vatican in connection with the change in the Italian government. When asked whether unconditional surrender applied also to other Axis allies—Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria—he referred the question to the War Department but ventured that the question would certainly be raised against any and all countries that have declared war at any time against the United States. When asked whether that applied to Finland, Hull said Finland was a marginal case. How the State Department loves little Finland!

Correspondents had to keep reminding themselves that the fall of Mussolini was an event. The President at his press conference Tuesday was casual, and when asked his reaction to the resignation of Il Duce, said he never had any reactions and that he was too old to have them. Since Mr. Roosevelt is one of those men who never really grow up—I mean this as a compliment—it seemed odd that the fall of fascism should leave him in so senescent a mood. He showed emotion only in denouncing the Sunday-night short-wave broadcast in which the OWI called Badoglio a "high-ranking Fascist" and quoted Samuel Grafton's characterization of Victor Emmanuel as "the moronic little king." I think it cause for disquiet that the warmest Administration reaction to the fall of Mussolini was an attack by the President on a distinguished anti-fascist columnist for the pro-New Deal New York *Post*.

The Administration is making some strange friends these days. Last Monday Cissie Patterson's editor, Frank Waldrop, took this correspondent to task for criticizing the President so severely last week. The Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press and Arthur Krock warmed up to the attack on the OWI and Grafton. Krock accused Grafton of following an "'ideology' that conforms much more closely to the Moscow than to the Washington-London line," although, as Victor Bernstein pointed out in *PM*, the *Times* the day before had editorially taken much the same line as Grafton toward the Badoglio government, calling it a "military dictatorship" trying by martial law "to protect the Fascist gangsters."

The whole affair has pleased the State Department greatly, for it has put the President in the position of fighting those who have been consistently critical of State Department policy. I am inclined to believe that we have been wrong to characterize it as State Department policy. "Off the record" information I am not privileged to reveal at this time leads me to conclude that the whole North African and French policies are the President's as much as the State Department's, if not more so. While there is a strong faction in the State Department which favors recognition of the French National Committee, as does the British government, the President is said to be strongly opposed. Incredible though it sounds, informed people whom I trust say that one reason for this is that the President still thinks another deal with Pétain may yet be possible and is prepared even to make a deal with Laval, if anything can be obtained from him.

French policy is made more, not less, important by Italian developments. For our military strategy would seem to call but for the encirclement of Italy. The idea would be to strike across southern Italy and northward into the Balkans with one arm of the offensive, while the other moves up through Sardinia and Corsica to Marseilles and up the Rhone Valley to Alsace. Since these are the obvious avenues of assault, I am revealing geography, not military secrets. The French underground should play an important part in that program, but from all indications the Administration seems unwilling to collaborate with popular forces. The ultra-conservative New York *Sun* in an editorial yesterday bluntly expressed what many officials here would be afraid to say publicly but are none the less acting on privately. The *Sun* said that what American and England were concerned with at the moment was "the prevention of anarchy in Italy," which I take to be a synonym for social revolution. The *Sun* found it "unpleasant to reflect" that the French National Committee "may have given undue weight to the unfortunate phrase that we are fighting to liberate the occupied countries."

Franklin D. Roosevelt is heading straight for a situation which may some day make the Four Freedoms seem as much a mockery to the common people of the world as the Fourteen Points. At home the State Department has obtained greater control of both economic warfare and the Lehman relief organization. Both can be used to give support to a Badoglio government, if it lasts long enough for that. The significance of the Grafton incident is that the President's attitude is giving the State Department the control it has long sought over the OWI's foreign broadcasts. Incidentally, Mayor LaGuardia should also be rebuked by the President, for he too warned the Italian people Sunday night not to be deceived by the substitution of Badoglio for Mussolini.

The situation abroad parallels the situation at home. The London *New Statesman and Nation* last week protested against the appointment of Lord Rennell of Rodd as chief civilian aide to General Sir Harold Alexander in charge of Amgot. Lord Rennell was criticized as a financier, a member of the Oxford group, and a former friend of Volpi. He was general manager, so I am informed, of the Bank of International Settlements—that stratospheric refuge of high finance above the clamor of an anti-fascist struggle—and was a partner in Morgan, Grenfell, the London affiliate of J. P. Morgan and Company. Morgan loans and the Vatican blessing were two of the principal supports of the Fascist regime. Given Lord Rennell at the top and the use of Fascist officials at the bottom, Amgot would seem an ideal vehicle for restoring exactly the kind of Italy which bred fascism.

Amgot's sway, according to present plans here, is to be extended over all of occupied Europe. The Nazi radio in France is already making use of this to dispirit the underground. I am beginning to feel that while we are ready to make deals with any of the crooks at the top except the full-fledged, fully labeled Nazis and Fascists, we are out to demand "unconditional surrender" of the peoples of Europe to what must begin to seem to them Anglo-American imperialism. The Europe that Amgot would restore is not a Europe in which the Four Freedoms could be achieved. The most dangerous development of all is that while Amgot was launched without consulting Moscow, Moscow has since launched a National Committee for a Free Germany without consulting London and Washington. If the present drift is allowed to continue, and without strong public pressure it will, Moscow will be supporting democratic regimes while we sponsor a revival of monarchy and reaction. That way, plain for all to see, lies World War III.

BURLINGAME

Lend-Lease Works Both Ways

BY ALAN BARTH

THE American Expeditionary Force is an expensive house guest. For over a year the British have been entertaining a substantial and steadily growing contingent. So have the Australians and the New Zealanders. If United States troops abroad had to be fed and equipped entirely from their home bases, our shipping problem would be genuinely insuperable. Fortunately, in large part they live off the land where they are stationed. Much of their subsistence and many of their weapons are provided gratis by their hosts. This is an aspect of the lend-lease program which is never mentioned by American politicians when they attack the Administration for so lavishly distributing the nation's treasure.

In the last war we supplied our overseas army by purchasing its requirements from our allies for cash. In this war the procedure is simply to state that a need exists; our allies meet it as best they can by lend-leasing supplies to us. "The principle of mutual aid," this was termed at a recent Congressional hearing by the Lend-Lease Administrator, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. "In all parts of the world," observed Mr. Stettinius, "—the United Kingdom, Russia, Australia, China, New Zealand, New Caledonia, Fiji, Iceland, India, the Belgian Congo, North Africa, British East and South Africa, Iran, Iraq, Syria, the Caribbean—American military and naval forces and our merchant marine have received every type of available commodity or service which could satisfy their needs. While the flow of lend-lease goods going abroad has steadily increased, reciprocal benefits from our allies, also granted without payment, have grown steadily."

A catalogue of these reciprocal benefits would be instructive. It would afford a view of the complexity of the task of provisioning an expeditionary force. Our air forces in England, for example, have received from the British meteorological equipment, hangars, defrosting and de-icing devices, parachutes, tires, and protective armor—not to speak of 675 planes and numerous landing fields. On the eve of the invasion of North Africa in November it was discovered almost at the last minute that the radio equipment on our planes, which worked well enough in England, was not suited to African conditions. The R. A. F. at once stripped its own ships of radio transmitting and receiving sets and installed them in American fighters and bombers. This meant, for a time at least, that many British pilots were flying the Channel without benefit of radio. The ruling consideration was strategic need. Since weapons have been largely internationalized, the same consideration has influenced allotments on every front. The principle of mutual aid has been welding the heterogeneous forces of the United Nations into a genuine global army.

Our engineer corps in England has been furnished aerodrome construction materials, locomotives, rails, road-building and repair equipment, and most of the tools and supplies needed in its work—asphalt, lumber, pile drivers, wire, cement, coal. Our Quartermaster Corps has received clothing and blankets, bakeries and laundries, desks and office space, warehouses, furniture, recreational equipment. The Transportation Corps has been given various types of harbor, assault, and combat boats. The Signal Corps has been supplied with telephones, batteries, cable, radios, transformers, and photographic materials.

But these items, plucked more or less at random from lend-lease files, constitute only a portion of the aid given American forces abroad. From 12,000 to 25,000 British civilians, paid by the British government, serve our army directly. The British have turned over to us and are maintaining thirteen completely equipped hotels, with their staffs, as residences for our officers. In the Middle East the British have supplied American forces with local currency with which to purchase material and labor; they did this not because of any specific commitment but simply because when our troops went into the area, the British were better able to obtain the currency than we. Our initial landing force in North Africa received from the British more than 3,800 tons of ammunition, enough artillery for an entire division, some 80,000 tons of coal, 2,000 tons of British rations, medical maintenance units for hundreds of thousands of men, and about 30,000 tons of engineering equipment. Consider what this meant to our greatly overtaxed shipping facilities.

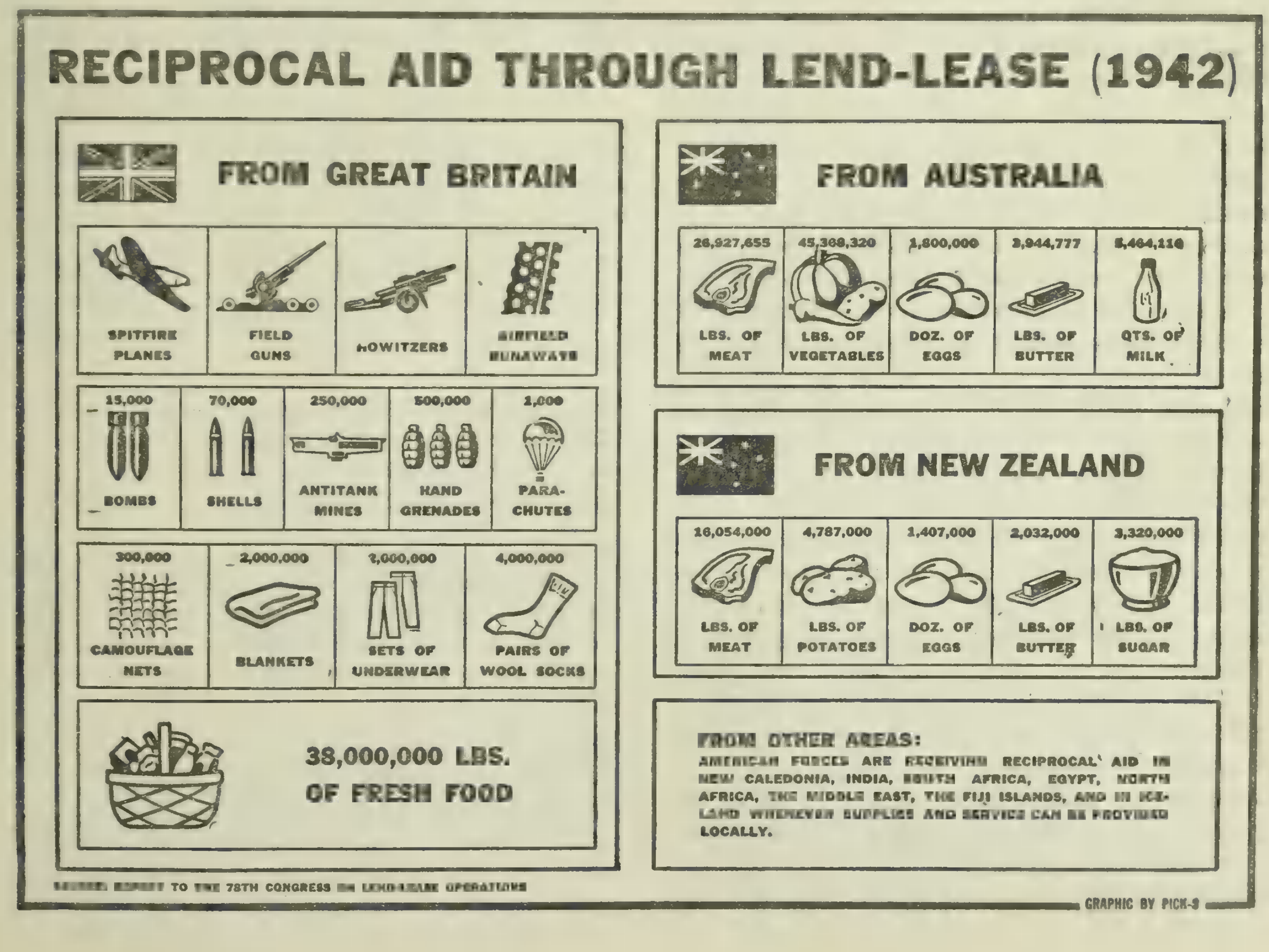
Other countries which are recipients of American lend-lease aid have displayed equal readiness to reciprocate. During 1942 Australia supplied American forces in the South and Southwest Pacific with the bulk of the foodstuffs they required on a ration scale comparable to the basic allowance of the American army. This meant that for a number of months civilians in the continent down under went without potatoes, citrus fruits, pork products, and other staples of their diet. New Zealand, a land of fewer than 2,000,000 people, contributed to our forces quartered there all kinds of foodstuffs and sizable quantities of clothing. Even the Fiji Islanders have done their part, providing our men with more than $5,500 worth of ice cream.

The Lend-Lease Administration keeps a master set of books on the goods given to and received from our allies. But values are not reckoned entirely in dollars for the simple reason that this would be an impossible accounting job. The Army Engineer Corps once estimated that if we attempted to keep running accounts in dollars for everything received by the American forces in England, half a division of men would be required for the purpose. And of course many of the dollar valuations would be arbitrary and virtually meaningless. Indeed, any attempt to evaluate lend-lease on a strictly monetary basis is to miss its significance altogether. For what counts in war is use value, not money value.

On what basis, for example, could we calculate the value of British airfields, barracks, and other facilities constructed for the use of American forces? These have cost the British government more than $600,000,000, not counting the value of the land. But no one knows how long we shall use them. We can, if we like, enter ordinary gasoline on the books at the current market price. But who can tell the worth of high-octane gas? It has no market save for war purposes.

Even the dollar valuation of our own lend-lease shipments is largely fictional. In his last report on the subject the President declared that up to April 30, 1943, the value of our lend-lease aid to our allies totaled $11,102,000,000. But the figure represents merely a cost price in a controlled market. It may be conjectured, indeed, that the dollar valuation is made public precisely because it is meaningless and can therefore give no information to the enemy. When, in a time of desperate urgency, we transferred fifty destroyers to Great Britain, we reckoned their price not in dollars but in terms of leases of certain air and naval bases in the Atlantic.

By taking the budgetary appropriations for lend-lease purposes, it is possible to estimate roughly the per capita costs of lend-lease to some of the United Nations—a far more equitable basis for comparison than overall figures on expenditures. But in view of the wide differences that exist in costs of production, the figures should be regarded as only crude approximations of the actual contributions to the lend-lease pool. American lend-lease expenditures for the year 1942, excluding "services," were $35.49 per capita, or at the rate of about $2.96 a month. In January of this year they were $3.80 per capita and by March had gone up to $5.41. Australia's budget estimate for aid to us works out to $24.80 per capita for the year ending June, 1943—$2.07 a month. In January expenditures were $2.43 per capita. Canada is making a per capita contribution of $79.69 yearly, or



FROM OTHER AREAS: AMERICAN FORCES ARE RECEIVING RECIPROCAL AID IN NEW CALEDONIA, INDIA, SOUTH AFRICA, EGYPT, NORTH AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, THE FIJI ISLANDS, AND IN ICELAND WHENEVER SUPPLIES AND SERVICE CAN BE PROVIDED LOCALLY.

SOURCE: REPORT TO THE 78TH CONGRESS ON LEND-LEASE OPERATIONS

GRAPHIC BY PICK-S

$6.64 monthly. New Zealand's share amounts to approximately $3.30 per capita a month. So large a portion of British aid to Russia and to the United States is in the form of incalculable benefits and services that no dollar evaluation can be attempted.

It is important to remember that a nation's ability to contribute to mutual aid depends on two factors: (1) the degree of its industrial development and its wealth in natural resources; (2) the extent to which it is actually fighting the enemy. The contributions of Russia and China do not loom large on the books of lend-lease; their share in the United Nations effort is written in blood. The United States, on the other hand, with its enormous industrial capacity and its comparative immunity from the ravages of war, will have an outstanding, though by no means unrivaled, claim to the title "arsenal of democracy." Each of the United Nations will have given in accordance with its ability.

When the time comes for balancing the books, it would seem elementary common sense to rule out of consideration all the goods consumed in warfare. It does not much matter whether the bombs and bullets turned out by American factories were in Russian, British, Chinese, or American hands so long as they were used effectively. If we gave our allies more of these than we received from them, it may indicate merely that they were on the firing line longer and in greater numbers. Only the durable goods left when the fighting ends can reasonably be taken into account. The disposition made of them must conform to the spirit of the master lend-lease agreements which have been negotiated with some of our allies. These provide that the terms and conditions of lend-lease settlement "shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of worldwide economic relations." If machine tools which we have shipped abroad are needed for the reconstruction of countries which have borne the brunt of the war, it would be folly for us to demand that they be returned to us at once or paid for in cash. It is essential that no part of lend-lease should at any time be considered a debt. But it will be possible, in the international settlements and adjustments which must follow the war, to take into account, reasonably and generously, the peace-time value of the permanent installations which we and other nations have put into the common pool as contributions toward victory.

The spirit that has animated lend-lease on our part and on the part of our allies is a hopeful augury. There has been nothing like it before in the history of mankind. The peoples of many nations have joined hands and contributed their possessions unstintingly for the attainment of a common goal. Men capable of viewing self-interest with this degree of enlightenment are not incapable of building a genuinely free world.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IT HAS LONG BEEN our contention that metropolitan journalism has tended more and more to put itself upon a mercenary basis, pure and simple. For believing and saying this . . . we have been accused of ill-natured jealousy and many other unpleasant qualities. . . Now, no one will suspect Mr. J. W. Keller of the *Recorder* . . . of having his vision blurred by prejudice or fantastic ideals, and it is he who declares in the *Forum* that "the fundamental principle of metropolitan journalism today is to buy white paper at three cents a pound and sell it at ten cents a pound." He adds with equal truth: "In some quarters it does not matter how much the virgin whiteness of the paper is defiled, so long as the defilement sells the paper."—*August 3, 1893.*

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES of the University of Alabama have resolved that "young women of not less than eighteen years of age, of good character and antecedents, who are able to stand the necessary examinations, be admitted to the sophomore class or any higher class of the university, provided that suitable homes and protection have been provided for them, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the president in consultation with the faculty." This action has met with such unqualified general approval that the faculty is not expected to make any invidious distinction on account of sex.—*August 3, 1893.*

THE COMPLETE CANVASS of the vote cast in the recent elections of Germany leaves the Social Democrats in the lead with about 1,700,000 votes, a gain of some 300,000. . . . The Center Party come next, casting in round numbers 1,200,000 votes. Then come the Conservatives with 980,000, . . . and the National Liberals with 960,000. . . . The anti-Semitic vote took on enormous proportions, amounting to 340,000, a gain of 300,000.—*August 10, 1893.*

THERE IS a Whistler "cult" in Paris at the present time, and it is the fashion to accept all that he paints or has painted as the last word in what is worth doing in art.—*August 10, 1893.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: Remsburgh, J. B., "Was Lincoln a Christian?" Truth Seeker Co., 50 cents.—*August 10, 1893.* . . . James, Henry, "The Private Life, and Other Stories," Harpers, $1.—*August 24, 1893.*

THE ACTION of the Republican state convention in Iowa last week assures the repeal of the Prohibitory Law by the legislature which is to be chosen in November. It is now about a dozen years since the Republicans in that state took up prohibition as an issue, and they have had enough of it. —*August 24, 1893.*

THE RESULT of the French elections was a foregone conclusion. . . . The royalist faction appears to have been nearly extinguished and the question as to the form of government definitely answered. Henceforth the problem to be solved is not whether there shall be a republic, but what kind of a republic there shall be.—*August 24, 1893.*

Denmark Next?

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

THE Second Battle for Scandinavia seems about to begin. Swedish newspapers, which keep their ears close to the ground and have often accurately forecast events affecting Northern Europe, have commented with some excitement on Secretary of War Stimson's trip to Iceland prior to his arrival in Britain. The *Svenska Dagbladet* expressed doubts that the Secretary's inspection of American troops in Iceland was made for *defensive* purposes. The *Social-Demokraten,* a government paper, said in an editorial on July 13: "The inspection of American troops in Iceland may indicate that their long period of idleness will soon be ended. There is slight probability that they will be used in a distant theater of operations. The considerably increased preparedness in our country is evidence that Swedish political and military authorities are prepared for the storm likely to break round the corner—'before the leaves fall.' " Another paper, whose policy is on the whole pro-German, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda,* was even more specific: ". . . Sweden's situation is now perhaps more dangerous than at any time since the invasion of Scandinavia. Allied attacks through Norway and through Denmark are far from improbable. It is obvious what dangers and difficulties this would bring to us."*

Similar worried hints were rife in the Swedish press a few weeks before Hitler attacked Russia in June, 1941. Although they were largely discounted abroad as German propaganda plants, or as sensationalism, they were subsequently borne out by events. The Swedish intelligence service, although it has never been played up like similar institutions in other countries, works smoothly and efficiently among all belligerent nations.

Not only the Swedish press fears an early resumption of hostilities in Northern Europe; the Swedish government itself is feverishly preparing for such a contingency—at a moment when outwardly everything is quieter in that part of the world than it has been for a long time. Swedish reservists have been called up uninterruptedly since late spring. It has been officially announced that military maneuvers, which are usually discontinued in the summer months, will go on this year on the same large scale as in the past winter and spring. Traditional sports events have been canceled "for military reasons." More than two million copies of an outspoken booklet, "If War Comes," issued by the Board of Information and telling the population exactly what to do in any given emergency, are being distributed. Several recent press dispatches from Stockholm have strongly hinted at a coming change in Swedish foreign policy.

This preparedness on Sweden's part is matched by frantic German preparations along the Atlantic coast of Scandinavia and even in the Baltic. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Germany's precautions is the fact that their center is slowly but steadily shifting from Norway to Denmark. An Allied invasion of Norway has long been anticipated on all sides, but hitherto speculation on coming war moves has usually overlooked Denmark. Actually, according to the most recent information from Swedish sources, the Germans now maintain a larger army of occupation—estimated at 200,000—in Denmark than in Norway, where, though the country is much bigger, only ten divisions, or a maximum of 150,000 men, are said to be stationed.

Germany's present preoccupation with Denmark indicates either that the Nazi high command has already written off Norway as untenable against a combined onslaught of Allied armies from the west and the east and is preparing a withdrawal to Denmark as an integral part of the "inner fortress" of Europe, or that it fears the Allies may by-pass Norway and, landing on Danish shores, make straight for the heart of Germany—a strategy which Winston Churchill is said to have favored even in the last war. Whatever the motive, German defensive preparations in Denmark have been recently stepped up and extended. Jutland today is a military camp from which all Danish armed forces have been evacuated and which civilians may enter only on special permits. The shallow coast bristles with barbed-wire fences, gun emplacements, and mine fields; whole "military towns" have been built at strategic points, and "anti-invasion centers" have been organized.

North of Esbjerg, the only important harbor on Denmark's west coast, a broad belt of five connecting land-mine fields has been laid out along the coast, the mines so arranged that they can be exploded simultaneously. This led recently to a grave accident, caused perhaps by sabotage, in which 122 people were killed, half of them Danish slave laborers.

Except for the fact that it is protected by three dangerous reefs, the Danish west coast is well suited for amphibious landing operations such as were carried out in southern Sicily. Other parts of the country are equally vulnerable, and the Germans are apparently taking no chances. According to latest reports, the island of Zealand, where the capital is situated, is also being heavily fortified, even along the east coast facing Sweden.

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* The quoted passages are cited in *News from Sweden* of July 14.

Other occurrences in Denmark betray the conquerors' anxiety. The Rigsdag recently passed a law authorizing the government to confiscate land for defense purposes; the unavowed object of this measure was to give the Germans a free hand in converting the "Danish Riviera"—the coastal strip from Copenhagen northward to Elsinore—into a fortified zone. The Danish Minister of Justice, Thune Jacobsen, has issued new and drastic regulations authorizing the police force to fire without warning on any person suspected of sabotage. And the Danish police have been equipped for their new duties with rifles, machine-guns, and tear-gas pistols. In connection with this order a Rigsdag member, Robert Staermose, publicly protested on June 25 against the use of the Danish police to relieve the occupying power of such purely military tasks as guarding the coast and the railways. Incidentally, since the occupation the Danish police force has been increased from 3,205 to 8,021 men.

The possibility of an Allied counter-invasion that would turn Denmark into a battlefield lies heavy on Danish minds. Even the press manages occasionally, in spite of the tight censorship, to express its apprehensions. Thus the leading Conservative daily, the *Berlingske Tidende,* said recently: "Denmark, because of its location and traffic connections, could be used as a springboard to the Baltic coast of Germany, the most vulnerable point in Central Europe. . . . Its possession may be vital to an assault on Central Europe. We know that the Allied powers are making great preparations for an attack on the Continent. It can be launched through the Mediterranean or across the Channel, but *Denmark is a third possibility*" (my italics). The Copenhagen *Socialdemokraten* of May 25 said that preparations were being made to evacuate 150,000 people from the capital in an emergency. And the Chief of Civilian Defense at Aalborg has warned the population that they may soon have to spend several days in their cellars. The unprecedented bombing of Hamburg in the last few days also points to activity in the north. Hamburg is the hub of all communication lines into Denmark.

From these and many other signs a great blow appears imminent somewhere in Northern Europe. Whether it will be an all-out blow at Germany proper through the Danish bulwark or a strategic offensive in Norway for limited purposes, time alone can tell. Perhaps the Allies can even muster enough strength in the northern theater of operations to strike at both these Nazi-held countries at the same time. In any event Sweden is likely to experience a severe test of its neutrality. If it continues to grant Germany transit facilities to meet an Allied invasion of Norway, it may find itself at war with the Allies; if it stops this traffic, it may have to fight Germany.

Latest reports suggest that Sweden at last has found itself. The "change of foreign policy" hinted at in the press can only mean a shift toward the Allies. Probably the transit concession granted Germany three years ago will be withdrawn. There is a rumor that Foreign Minister Christian Günther and his pro-German colleague, Minister of Justice Karl Gustav Westman, will soon be dropped from the Cabinet. If this happens, we can be fairly sure that Sweden will not become an enemy.

The Chemical Revolution

BY FRANCIS WESTBROOK, JR.

MUCH has been written about the industrial wonders achieved in war-time America and the benefits they will bestow upon society after the peace. It does not detract from the accomplishments to point out that some of them will also cause severe dislocations here and abroad. Though one group or country may gain immeasurably, another may be the loser.

Our huge synthetic-rubber capacity promises to cause trouble. William M. Jeffers predicts that in 1944 we shall produce 850,000 long tons, almost three-fourths as much as the entire natural-rubber production of the world in 1939. Before the war rubber was our chief import, costing about $151,000,000 annually. Next year the picture will be reversed. We shall be supplying the major rubber needs of all our allies.

From a national point of view this is a remarkable achievement, and it holds great promise for the post-war years. It is still debatable how much of this industry will survive the restoration of world trade, but there are good reasons for believing that most of it will continue to produce. While synthetic rubber as we know it today is probably not so good as natural rubber in some respects, it is better in others. It resists oil, chemicals, and other agents destructive of the natural product. Since synthetic rubber is of several types, it can be "tailored" to specific purposes. And there is good reason to believe that chemists can correct certain weaknesses in the synthetic material.

The total investment in synthetic-rubber factories and auxiliary units probably will be close to one billion dollars by the end of the war. Although about three-fourths of this will represent government money, some of the largest corporations in the country have a stake in synthetic rubber and will wish to see the industry remain active. Labor, too, will be interested in this source of employment, though one of the startling aspects of the industry is that some 10,000 men in American factories can produce as much as 300,000 natives on Far Eastern plantations. However, opportunities for employment should develop as increasing amounts of raw material are supplied to the rubber mills.

The dark side of the picture appears when one begins to wonder what will happen to the rubber-growing countries of the East, especially British Malaya and the Netherland Indies, if their chief markets are seriously curtailed or permanently lost. The seriousness of this threat will be apparent to anyone remembering the plight of Chile's nitrate industries after synthetic nitrates were developed during the last war. Except for its tin mining and a little agriculture, British Malaya depends entirely on rubber production. The Netherlands Indies have other important industries, but there too the destruction of the rubber business would be a calamity. Siam, Ceylon, and French Indo-China would also suffer, as well as some regions in Africa and South America.

The threat is so real that it has been seriously proposed in some quarters in this country that in the interest of international trade we should scrap our rubber factories after the war. What the outcome will be no one knows. The course taken will depend on many factors, such as prices, post-war buying by rubber-consuming countries that have not established synthetic industries, the artificial barriers that may be raised, and the stimulants that may be applied. It is not yet known how cheaply we can manufacture synthetic rubber on a mass-production basis. Many believe that eventually we shall be able to produce it cheaply enough to compete with natural rubber at pre-war prices. This raises the question of how cheaply plantation growers will be able to sell.

Some countries will continue to consume natural rubber. Only the United States and Germany, and perhaps a few other European countries, are likely to be in an independent position. The demand, therefore, will not be wiped out at once, though it will be drastically cut. When the nations meet to make peace for the Far East, rubber will be a major subject of discussion. And the natural product will find an eager champion in Great Britain, for the economic welfare of at least one of its important colonies will be at stake.

Silk, too, will cause headaches at the Far Eastern peace table. The use of large amounts of silk by Western textile mills is a thing of the past. A few years ago silk was one of our most valuable imports. In the early thirties rayon drove it from the dress field. Its last stronghold was in hosiery, but after the peace women's stockings will be made of nylon or rayon. In European countries the manufacture of synthetic fibers is, if anything, more advanced than here. Japan has lost the market for its second most important export. China too will suffer.

This problem, however, has domestic as well as foreign ramifications, for rayon and nylon and the other synthetic fibers that have displaced silk also threaten to cut deep into the demand for cotton and wool. Rayon is being used more and more instead of cotton in automobile tires, which before the war took 10 per cent of all cotton consumed in this country. The new types of rayon developed for war uses will meet most requirements expected of sheets, shirts, work clothes, and many other items; they will be as comfortable and will wash as easily as cotton and in many cases will be stronger. There are indications that rayon will undersell cotton. Nylon, one of the important inventions of recent years, also has a brilliant future, not only for hosiery and clothing but for such diverse articles as rustless window screens, brushes, tennis racquets, and medical sutures.

Many persons believe that wool is more seriously threatened than cotton. Wool is an expensive fiber. And it has certain drawbacks, such as vulnerability to moths and a tendency to shrink in washing. Rayon and other synthetic fibers are free of these handicaps and possess other advantages—great strength, durability, and low cost—which will go a long way to offset wool's real and supposed merits.

Textile fibers today are made of casein, glass, peanuts, soy beans, asbestos, coal, air, and water, and plastics. And whereas formerly we had to take them pretty much as nature made them, today we design fibers specially for fireproof fabrics, carpets, hosiery, and an infinite variety of other materials; we give them tensile strength, resilience, softness, or hardness, as we require.

The resultant displacement of natural fibers may reach serious proportions. Thirteen million people live off cotton in this country alone. Another half-million gain their livelihood from the production of wool. Many of these people must adapt themselves to changed conditions. The wool-grower may have to raise sheep for meat rather than for wool and find other uses for some of his grazing land. The cotton farmer may find it advisable to emphasize the oil and food properties of his crop. Or he can produce cotton for the cellulose content of its lint, which he will sell to rayon and plastics factories instead of to cotton-textile mills.

Another group of developments may cause temporary dislocations in other industries, though in the long run they will stimulate business and bring social and economic gains. Striking advances, for instance, have been made in the fields of light metals, plastics, wood, paper, glass, and steel. By the end of the war we shall be producing seven times as much aluminum as in 1939. The production of magnesium, the lightest of all structural metals, will have increased a hundred-fold. Most of the magnesium is obtained from sea water, by means of huge pumps which force millions of gallons daily through an intricate chemical process. Since sea water contains traces of every element found on land, this new "mining" technique opens prospects of untold wonders. Huge quantities of aluminum and magnesium will be available at low cost for the manufacture of railway coaches, aircraft, automobiles, houses, boats, and other things requiring lightweight materials.

Resin-impregnated paper board is now manufactured to replace aluminum in airplane wing tips. This board is as strong as aluminum and has the advantage that it can be molded more easily. Paper barrels are displacing steel drums in the shipment of certain chemicals. Strong structural papers are expected to play an important role in low-cost post-war housing, where they can be used for partitions, ceilings, and perhaps walls. Plywood made by a union of plastics and wood has found wide use in airplanes, small boats, and buildings, in some cases as a substitute for structural steel. These developments facilitate the prefabrication of houses.

Plastics are now omnipresent in modern industry. Aircraft made of plastics are an accomplished fact. Some experts believe automobiles will be constructed of them after the war. They will become an important building material. For example, the transparent plastic now used to give free vision coupled with protection to gunners on war planes can be used for non-breakable windows in homes and greenhouses. The variety of plastic materials is endless. And like synthetic rubber and the new synthetic fibers, they can be "tailored" for the job.

Glass manufacturers, too, proclaim that they will provide post-war homes with non-breakable windows. The new strong glass in its various forms is also suitable for walls and partitions, furniture, and bathroom fixtures. Fireproof cloth is woven of glass fibers. Another type of glass is said to be so strong and elastic that it can be used to make springs for watches and clocks.

Meanwhile steel manufacturers are producing alloys so strong and light that they will compete with light metals, plastics, and wood where lightness and strength are important. New alloys with tremendous heat resistance will make possible smaller automobiles and aircraft engines, which will burn less fuel.

These developments will mean great changes in industrial and building practices. The new products will undoubtedly displace many conventional materials, but in the long run both manufacturer and consumer should benefit. Competition will hold prices to a minimum. We shall have a vast new array of materials for the manufacture of articles ranging from airplanes to ice boxes. Because the materials will be plentiful and cheap, consumption should greatly increase. While there will be less wood or glass or steel in any given house or car, so many more houses and cars will be produced that all materials will find larger markets.

In the Wind

A RESTAURANT IN SEATTLE has solved its manpower problem by permitting its customers to wait on themselves, add up their own checks, and ring up their sales on the cash register. The management feels satisfied that there has been no cheating thus far.

THE FALL-WINTER CATALOGUE of Montgomery Ward and Company displays on its cover a beaver fur coat, $550, and hat to match, $75. Three years ago the highest-priced fur coat in the catalogue was $99.50.

IN VIEW of the scarcity of chicle, says *Tide,* chewing gum manufacturers in the United States are welcoming competition by Mexican brands, just to keep the gum-chewing habit alive.

GO JUMP IN THE RIVER. Luise Rainer, packing for a trip from New York to Hollywood, described her mode of travel for the press: "I will jump in every river and eat sausages out of my hand and see the sun come up every morning. Really, that is my ideal of life."

IT SEEMS there is no hope for democracy in Europe after all. The Connecticut Economic Council has thrown in the sponge on that issue. "Many visionary minds," says its bulletin, "are at work upon the problem of extending, after the war is over, our democratic way of life to cover many countries. . . . It is quite impossible that we should attempt to impose our democratic constitution upon Germany, Italy, and the Balkan states. . . . We also recognize the impossibility of our joining in any world federation."

THE KITCHEN OF THE FUTURE, says *Printer's Ink,* will be so arranged that the housewife can be seated most of the time. "It is the defense-work influence."

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD was tripped up by bad timing in one of his recent syndicated newspaper columns. Defending the record of the present Congress, he sneered at "the Roosevelt-adoring *Nation.*" That was the week *The Nation* carried an article denouncing Roosevelt's betrayal of Wallace and an editorial paragraph saying that "political appeasement is the President's own guiding directive."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazi pastors and bishops of Norway have written to Vidkun Quisling requesting him to make Norwegians attend church. "Most of us preach Sunday after Sunday to very few listeners, maybe only to a couple or none at all." . . . The *Kölnische Zeitung* reports that rationing in Slovakia is much more severe than in Germany but that textiles are not rationed, "since the population does not possess the purchasing power to create a shortage in these commodities."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with sources and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Freezing Fascism In

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

ON JUNE 29 the New York *Herald Tribune* warned us in a leading article that "it would be painfully easy for an occupying force, in the interest of 'order,' to freeze Italy's Fascist organization in authority. It is less likely that the Allies would permit the opposite to occur—namely, the riotous competition of anti-Fascist groups for power—during the critical period of occupation."

A plan aiming to "freeze Italy's Fascist organization in authority had been published by the New York *Times* of May 19 as "elaborated in a special message from Pius XII to Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York." The *Times* has always faithfully reflected Vatican policies, and therefore the authenticity of its information cannot be doubted.

According to the Vatican plan, the Fascist Party would be "immediately disbanded," but the "present prefects" would not be considered to have been "active party supporters." They would be left in their posts as heads of civil administration under the orders of an Allied Commission sitting in Rome.

Even before Mussolini came to power in Italy, provincial prefects were not elected by the people, as American governors are. They were appointed by the Home Secretary. Mussolini chose his ninety-four prefects from among the most "active" members of his party. They are the cornerstones of the Fascist system. To "disband" the Fascist Party and leave the "present" prefects as heads of civil administration would be to leave the apparatus of the Fascist regime intact.

With these facts in mind, we can guess what, according to the Vatican plan, the occupying authorities would be expected to do when they occupied a town, say, in Sicily. They would dismiss the secretary and the directors of the local Fascist branch—if they had not already run away—and close the party headquarters. Should the Fascist militia also be disbanded? Since the prefect of the province would not be regarded as an "active" supporter of the Fascist Party, the officers of the militia, who are neither better nor worse than the prefects, might logically enjoy the same privilege. However, this would be so ridiculous that we can dismiss it altogether.

There is a mayor, or *podestà,* in the town. Under the Fascist regime mayors were not elected but were chosen by Mussolini on nominations made by the prefects in agreement with the local Fascist chiefs. According to the Vatican plan, the "present" mayor, like the "present" prefect of the province, would presumably be considered not to have been an "active party supporter."

The population of an Italian town is organized into associations of employers and professional men, and unions of clerks and laborers. These organizations are run by secretaries who have been appointed by the directors of the Fascist Party in agreement with the prefect, and who, accountable not to the membership but to the directors of the party, wield a despotic power over the membership. These men also would be considered not to have been active party supporters, and little time or effort would be needed to persuade them to carry on.

When the capital city of the province has been occupied, the local and provincial headquarters of the Fascist Party and the Fascist militia will be closed. But together with the "present" prefect, the mayor of the city and the secretaries of the local associations and unions will be left undisturbed. In the capital city there are also the "present" chief of police (*questore*), the chief justice (*primo presidente della Corte d'Appello*), and the attorney general (*procuratore generale*). They are as important as the prefect. The chief justice and the attorney general are even more hateful than the prefect and the chief of police, since they have prostituted justice for the benefit of the Fascist gangsters. But according to the Vatican plan they would doubtless also be regarded as "inactive" supporters of the Fascist Party.

If the chiefs of the occupying armies were not instructed to "freeze" Fascist authorities in power, what would they do? Let us take the instance of Palermo, a city of more than 400,000 inhabitants:

The correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune,* who was on the spot, told us on July 28 that two days before the Allies occupied the city, the military and civil authorities abandoned it, without a word of warning to the population. The prefect, the mayor, and the secretary of the Fascist Party in the province made off by airplane. They took away all the money they could lay their hands on, including the salaries of workmen and clerks. Thus there were in Palermo none of those "leaders" with whom the wise men of the British Foreign Office and the American State Department were ready to negotiate. Yet Palermo did not fall into that condition of "chaos and anarchy" of which Mr. Churchill warned the Commons on July 27.

People who for twenty years have swallowed Fascist misinformation wondered how a whole population could

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be transformed overnight from Fascist to anti-Fascist. The fact is that the overwhelming majority of the citizens of Palermo, and of all Italy, have always been anti-Fascist. The United States and Britain should not delude themselves. The Palermo demonstrations were anti-Fascist demonstrations which took the shape of "pro-Ally" demonstrations. The forces of occupation were welcomed and expected to act as "liberators." On the day they realized that the Americans and the British came there to "freeze" Fascist authorities in power, their enthusiasm would change to dangerous disappointment.

To be sure, nobody expects the forces of occupation to promote revolutions. They are there to win the war. When the war has been won, their duty is to enforce public peace. But it is one thing to enforce public peace, and it is quite another to keep Fascist authorities in power. Let us assume that the prefect, the mayor, and the secretary of the party in Palermo had not fled. They should then have been instantly removed from their posts, made prisoners of war, and sent to North Africa. The chief of police, the chief justice, the attorney general, the officers of the Fascist militia, and the local secretaries of the party, trade associations, and unions should have been dismissed from their posts. This would give everybody the immediate certainty that there would be no connivance between the Fascist authorities and the chiefs of the occupying armies.

When the Fascist "leaders" have run away, or been sent to Africa, their posts must be filled in a few days. The minor officials cannot carry on for long without directors. Here is the most difficult task for the chiefs of the armies of occupation.

A commissioner for civil administration should be appointed for each city and town. But he will not be acquainted with local conditions or persons. If our War Office has had enough vision, it has already singled out, from among the four and a half million residents and citizens of Italian origin in this country, two suitable advisers for each town or group of neighboring towns. They should be men of good education and unblemished record who are acquainted with the ways of living and thinking of the local population, and with the trustworthy men in each locality. I am afraid that nothing has been done along these lines. Let us therefore see what a commissioner could do without such help.

As I have already said, the Italian population is not an inert mass. It is organized into associations of employers and professional men and unions of clerks and laborers, and the Fascist secretaries of these local bodies should be instantly dismissed and confined as prisoners of war. But it would be a mistake to leave the trade organizations leaderless and inactive. They should be the cornerstones of the new regime. The membership of each organization should, as soon as possible, be summoned by the commissioner and empowered to choose a secretary in whom it has confidence. The members know each other. They know who, during the past twenty years, did not become an auxiliary of the Fascist evildoers. When the members of the trade organizations have elected their new secretaries, the latter would be allowed to designate the provisional mayor for the city or town, the prefect, and the other provincial high officials. Thus the first nucleus of a new free local government would be set up. The commissioner, of course, would retain the right to veto reckless decisions and to oust unreliable men.

This transition would not be so easy as retaining local Fascist officials in authority, just as persuading a man is not so easy as breaking his skull. Hosts of bandwagonists and fifth columnists will foist themselves on the commissioner, pleading their long-suppressed loyalty to democracy. Not even the wisest and shrewdest man could avoid blunders. But the worst of all blunders would be the "freezing" of Fascists in power. And blunders which cannot be avoided should be made by the citizens themselves, not by the commissioner.

Then after, let us say, six months or, at the most, a year of this provisional regime, the electorate would be summoned to choose, by universal suffrage, their permanent municipal and provincial administrators.

When one has comprehended the implications of the Vatican plan and those of a possible anti-Fascist—though not revolutionary—plan, one is in a position to understand the aims of Amgot. Some principles which deserve to be greeted with unqualified approval: the Fascist Party is to be abolished; "Fascist ringleaders are to be removed from office"; the "Fascist militia and the so-called Fascist youth organizations are to be abolished"; "anti-Semitic measures are to be annulled"; "within the limits of military necessity a free press and free speech is to be promulgated"; Amgot's mission is "to liberate the Italian people from Fascism, and when this is done, to restore Italy as a free nation"; "all governmental powers and jurisdiction in occupied territories are to be vested in the military governor and in Amgot"; "exercise of the power of the Crown of Italy is to be suspended"; "Amgot will attempt to govern the people of occupied provinces and cities through their own officials"; "measures are to be taken for the prompt release of political prisoners."

Particular approval must be accorded the principle that "there will be no negotiations with exiles or refugees." Exiles and refugees are private citizens who have no right to "negotiate" with anybody about anything. It is the Italians in Italy who, when they have set up their own local and central governments, will have to "negotiate" through their lawful representatives with the occupying authorities.

Uneasiness sets in when we are told that the new civil government "will be established without any communication between the anti-Fascist exiles and the people of

Italy." If these words mean anything, they mean that men like Toscanini, Don Sturzo, Sforza, or Pacciardi will be held in the United States, as if America had become a concentration camp for them. To be sure they would commit moral suicide if they returned to Italy as Anglo-Saxon Quislings. But as soon as transportation becomes possible, they are entitled to return as private citizens and at their own risk. (The present writer is not one of the exiles who plan to go back to Italy. From the moment he made his declaration of intention, he ceased to regard himself as a refugee.)

Uneasiness grows when the Italians are warned that "no political activity of any kind will be allowed." How can free speech and a free press exist if no political activity *of any kind* is allowed? To forbid political activity is to reestablish one of the worst realities of Fascism.

Things go from bad to worse when we are informed that while the officials through which Amgot will try to govern "must not be active members of the Fascist Party," "some local officials who may have been active Fascists before the Allied landings will be retained in office." Here is the kernel of the matter, and on this point the Amgot plan and the Vatican plan are as alike as two rotten eggs. Amgot has borrowed from the Vatican plan even the distinction between "active" and "inactive" Fascists, but it goes one step farther to admit into the American-British fold even those Fascists who have been "active" right up to the moment of defeat.

A bad plan may prove good in good hands, and a good plan may become bad in bad hands. The head of Amgot will be Major Lord Rennell of Rodd. This name is a symbol. His father was ambassador to Rome from 1908 to 1919. Even when he was no longer ambassador, he was connected with Italian affairs and he and his son were enthusiastic admirers of Mussolini and fascism. A bad plan has been intrusted to the worst possible hands.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

WE GET an idea of the goods scarcity in Germany from a new edict issued by Minister of Education Rust, the text of which was printed in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on July 13. Herr Rust decreed that hereafter children should go to school barefoot provided the weather was good. If the parents protest, they will have to be taught that going barefoot is very healthful for children. An exception can be made only in the large cities. There the children may wear "light shoes." But if they do, they must be watched to see that they do not wear stockings also. Stockings, Herr Rust said, are superfluous in all cases.

Group Leader Jürgensen is one of the heads of the NSKK, or National Socialist Motor Corps. This is a large quasi-military organization to which the members give a few hours a day outside their regular work. Group Leader Jürgensen is not satisfied with the spirit in his corps. The Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* on July 20 was able to quote from a severe order he had recently issued to his troop. In it he criticized sharply a highly interesting development, namely, a growing tendency among members to conceal their affiliation with the NSKK and even with the Nazi Party. Many wear their uniform as little as possible; others pin their party badge, oh, so discreetly on the under side of their lapel. Such an attitude, the order said, is demoralizing. The public draws the conclusion that "the Nazis are no longer very sure of their cause."

When Bismarck in 1871 brought into existence the union of German states, the antagonisms between them did not vanish with its creation. On the contrary. The South German kingdom of Bavaria in particular emphasized its difference from the North German kingdom of Prussia. While Berlin followed a militaristic, feudal course, Munich steered one that was much more liberal, democratic, and civilized. This tradition continued until the end of the *Kaiserreich*, and it was thus the more astonishing that in the republican era Bavaria and Munich took on a very different character. Their transformation into a Mecca of the most rabid Teutonism and militarism, into the domain of Ludendorff and Hitler, seemed inexplicable. Some Bavarian psychologists, however, believed very definitely that this also was simply the result of opposition to Prussia. In Berlin after 1918 a democratic trend had become powerful; in consequence, said the Bavarian psychologists, Munich out of pure contrariness was bound to go Nazi. And they added, "If ever the Nazis make a triumphant entry into Berlin, you will see Bavaria become again rabidly anti-Nazis."

Whether this was good psychology or not, it is a fact that recently the decline of Nazism has been especially marked in Bavaria and Munich. One has only to recall the occurrences at the University of Munich a few months ago. Now the Swiss cousin of this journal, the Zurich *Nation*, in its issue of July 8, reports:

> It is interesting to note that Munich has recently become the center of strong oppositional tendencies which not only are directed against National Socialism but seek to lessen the unity of the German state and thus to make it possible for Bavaria to revert to its former autonomy.
>
> Although the active opposition is not great and is confined mainly to isolated individuals and small groups, passive resistance among large sections of the population has assumed such proportions that Munich, birthplace of the Nazi movement, has come to be called Nazi Germany's problem child.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A Forster Revival

E. M. FORSTER. By Lionel Trilling. New Directions: Makers of Modern Literature Series. $1.50.

THE least expected literary event of the season is one of its happiest and most inspiriting—a revival of the fiction of E. M. Forster. Alfred A. Knopf reissues "Where Angels Fear to Tread" and "Howards End" ($2.50 each); New Directions reprints "The Longest Journey" and "A Room with a View" ($1 each); with "A Passage to India" already in the Modern Library, all five of Forster's novels are thus restored to circulation. To accompany them comes the best full study of Forster's work and ideas yet written, by Lionel Trilling. The event, at this particular moment of literary and intellectual crisis, becomes more than a literary occasion: it takes on the force of a public service.

One would like to argue that a general enthusiasm for these brilliant but still neglected novels requires no critical instruction. They are among the wittiest, most original, most acutely stimulating and entertaining books of our time. They adhere to an established tradition of English comedy and criticism of manners and social conflict. The "condition of interest" is fully present, and old Forsterians will envy the uninitiated their impending shock of discovery and delight. But the possibility also exists of being deceived by Forster's superficial charms or vexed by his nettling reproof to passive attention and assent. He presents, as Mr. Trilling observed earlier, "a paradox which reverses the familiar one of the hard-boiled writer: his work looks soft but inside is hard as nails." The time has passed when the exactions of his critical insight and justice, his unflagging exercise of a moral realism very nearly unequaled in our time, can be left to accidental notice. Today it is not only the doldrums of fiction that his reappearance may relieve. It is also the greater atrophy or abdication of human and moral values—or the simplifying rigor of militant action on their behalf in which Forster has, for forty years, seen a danger fully as great as that of selfish apathy or liberal tolerance.

Forster has his limitations, his decided curtailment of creative temperament and action. They exist not only in his sometimes skittish mannerism and elusive decision of sympathy, in his condescension to adroit idiosyncrasy and "demurely bloodless gaiety" in his essays and shorter stories, in the refusals of recognition that shrink his critical perception (his judgments on James and Joyce sink to a pettiness which no creative prejudice can excuse), in his abrupt check to the demands of political commitment and responsibility. They appear more decisively in the fact that, "having twice mastered his art, he has twice abandoned it." Our feeling about him fluctuates, as Mr. Trilling says, "between disapproval of a dereliction from duty and a sense of relief that a fine artist has not seen art as a grim imperative." He seems to push his suspicion of action to passivity, and of beliefs to something close to a defeatism of will. His latest critic denies him the titles of great novelist, great critic, great thinker. But all this is the result of measuring by Forster's own standards the wholeness of his moral vision and his absolutely honest pursuit of the means by which that vision may be realized and applied to the life of muddle, evasion, compromise, and fear, of masked or stupefied purpose, at which his contemporaries have arrived. He is the historian of the fatal estrangements that underlie the defeats and humiliations of his age. He has offered it no easy palliatives. To its ethic of righteousness he has applied the Primal Curse, "the knowledge of good-and-evil"; to its morality of force and competition he has opposed the complex riddle of human relations; to its compulsive addiction to action and aggression he replies that it is the Inner Life that "pays"; to its tragic divisions of prose and passion, intellect and will, generous vitality and the protective hostilities of modern society, he poses his most passionate conviction—"Only connect." Lowes Dickinson once said that Forster's "kind of double vision squints." So it may—but we should compare what a microscope or the more ruthless lens of art exacts of our eyesight with what has been produced in this age of the fish by the smug eye of sanctimony, the glazed stare of obsession, or the lidless gaze of idiot fatuity before we credit that squint to myopia or a tic of nerves.

What plays everywhere in Forster's work is what plays in another form—to my mind in a lesser ethical and imaginative strength if in subtler directions—in the only other contemporary writing with which it closely compares, Gide's. It is a restless disquiet of moral sensibility, an uncompromising empiricism of sympathy and sincerity, the impulse, *ondoyant et divers,* of the skepticism of Socrates and Montaigne which takes as its duty the quickening to consciousness of human values and necessities that are eternally betrayed to the intolerance and brutality of social prejudice and force. This sensibility Forster has applied to a wide range of phenomena: to English cant and inhibition in conflict with the "vital mess" of Italy; to the rival claims of business and intelligence, ideals and actualities; to liberal tolerance at odds with the demands of emotion and of privation; finally to the baffling and dangerous hostility of races, worlds, and cultures in the enigma of India. Gide's ideal of the novel is also his: "a crossroads—a meeting place of problems," and so is another article of the Frenchman's faith: "Whatever your station or country, you should believe only what is true, and what you would be disposed to believe if you were of another country, another station, another religion." The dialectic intelligence of his art escapes casuistry by rooting itself in the facts of politics, of economy, and of passion. He has been, for forty years, one of the most privileged ushers down "the sinister corridor of our age" who have put their gifts at the disposal of statesmen, moralists, and educators. The fate of those gifts in these hands is a tragedy, but the tragedy is not literature's.

All this, and much more, is presented with superb tact and enviable understanding in Mr. Trilling's admirable study. He has written more than a book on Forster. It is an examination f the conscience of contemporary literature and thinking. Iis chapters on the five novels are brilliant successes in mak- ig summary and analysis count for critical results; his quota- ons are copious but always controlled; he has traced orster's sources, problems, and thought without misrepre- nting their variety and complex conditions; he has treated ith the finest justice Forster's "refusal of greatness" and e compensations that dignify it. I question some of his oints: I doubt that "Howards End," with its excessive hematization, is Forster's masterpiece; for me it compares ith the imperfect but more profoundly suggestive and inclu- ve power of "The Longest Journey" or "A Passage to dia" as "The Ambassadors" compares with "The Wings the Dove" in the work of James. I differ with some of is censures of detail and method in the novels, and with me of his indulgence of Forster's methods as a critic. But is is only to say that he has written an alive and stimulating ok as well as a sound and just one—one which will stand, yond Rose Macaulay's effusive tribute or the shorter studies Richards, Woolf, Leavis, Austin Warren, Shanks, and ter Burra, as the classic estimate of its subject. When he ys that Forster is "for me the only living novelist who can read again and again and who, after each reading, gives e what few writers can give us after our first days of novel- ading, the sensation of having learned something," I would alify his "only living" with *English,* but the caution would t be wholly convinced. It is twenty-five years this summer nce I read my first Forster novel; I have read some or all his work every year since then and have not yet finished. hen Mr. Trilling adds that "a consideration of Forster's ork is, I think, useful in time of war," he says what his ok fully verifies and what, with luck, this revival of the vels may succeed in proving. And when he concludes by ying that Forster "is one of those who raise the shield of chilles, which is the moral intelligence of art, against the nic and emptiness which make their onset when the will is ed of its own excess," he arrives at a tribute which few liv- g artists, of any kind, as honestly inspire or deserve.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

The World Goes Toward . . .”

FLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION OF OUR TIME.
By Harold J. Laski. The Viking Press. $3.50.

HAROLD LASKI'S new book has two faces, the one historical, the other philosophical. After this book— rticularly its historical section—it is no longer possible for lians to complain that the success of Fascist propaganda the one side and certain theoretical prejudices of Marxist thodology on the other obscure, for outsiders, the simple ential truths about fascism. Harold Laski's explanation the origins and development of the Fascist adventure and all its foreign complicities is perfect; perfect in serene ough cruel detachment, perfect in psychological under- nding, perfect in its human sympathy toward the poor lian people who are guilty, of course, for not having re- ted against fascism, but were also bewildered by the miration, servility, and fear accorded by the capitals of the rld to the man without whom no Hitler would ever have appeared. (The first thirty million marks Hitler got for his secret propaganda came to him from Mussolini, not from the Ruhr magnates; their gifts followed.)

Speaking of the Duce-Führer myth, Laski says:

> The leader must be immensely above his followers, but he must be also one with them and of them; distance must not interfere with the sense of intimate communion. So that leader, who is godlike, is also of common clay. He is the little man who failed in the "pluto-democracy" he came to supplant, so that all the little men who failed under that social order may recognize themselves in him.

It is by means of many such insights that Laski shows the true essence of fascism: it represents the lower middle classes in power for once, with all their pathetic illusions and naive stupidity. Probably what they most liked in Mussolini was the fact that for the first time they found a man in power who spoke their own elementary language. The same thing happened in Germany. Not in Russia, never: the theological disquisitions of Lenin on Marxist principles were not only far above the Russian masses; they were even over the average heads of the Communist oligarchy.

Laski's pages on fascism are so good that from the historical point of view only one point might be added: How did it happen that a nation which had given so many heroes to the long struggle from 1821 to 1860 against *Tedeschi* and the Bourbons offered so weak a resistance to fascism, although a resistance infinitely stronger than in Germany? Because most Italians went on saying, "It is too stupid; it cannot last." And many added, "Our grandfathers fought and died against the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons because they were powerful monarchies: they had to risk their lives to get rid of them; but should we really die for a gang of corrupt comedians?" It was at that time that Victor Emmanuel of Savoy, still trying to remain a constitutional king, said to Briand, who repeated it at once to me, "They are a bunch of fools, they cannot last long."

They lasted, just as the most typical pre-Fascist ruler of three generations ago had lasted; and Napoleon III was probably even more stupid than Mussolini. The end of the Corsican-Dutch adventurer was Sedan, just as the invasion of Italy is the end of Mussolini—and, let us hope, of all his accomplices, beginning with Victor Emmanuel of Savoy, who is guilty of having gradually moved from his skepticism of 1923 to a long series of betrayals and perjuries from 1926 to 1940.

Laski's chapter on Russia leaves me more dubious. It is too soon to assert dogmatically that the Russian Revolution will prove to be a much greater historical event than the French Revolution. It would be more prudent to wait for the developments of Russian history after this war, in which the Russian masses have fought under Stalin just as heroically as they fought under Peter the Great or Alexander I. I do not mean to exclude the possibility that a new myth or gospel may also have been a great force. A messianic conception has always thrived among the Russians. In the second half of the fifteenth century, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, a Russian monk proclaimed that Moscow would some day become the third Rome, the second having been Byzantium. Dostoevski did not feel much differently in the nineteenth century. And in the twentieth the Third International was again a manifestation of the same old thought, since Russian communism is, or has been, at once an expression of international socialism and of traditional Russian tendencies.

What strikes me most about the Russian Revolution is the crass stupidity and shortsighted selfishness of the conservatives of Western Europe; this stupidity became criminal when they discouraged Russia from becoming a dynamic member of the League of Nations at the time of Litvinov's efforts toward a true collective security. Against these classes—the same which built up Mussolini during fifteen years—Laski is severe; but not severe enough.

I like less the philosophical part of Laski's book, but it is my fault, only my fault. I have never been able to swallow intellectual exercises revolving around the eternal affirmation "the world goes toward . . ." Of course, even in this field Laski is infinitely above the cheap Spengler type, but the genre remains. It is only too evident that the world goes always toward new forms and new transformations—economic transformations, technical transformations; it is quite natural to try to foresee whether, for example, the economy of the future will be communistic or based on free competition.

The danger is—not of course for a man of Laski's moral courage, but why not for many of his readers?—that these prophecies may eliminate efforts of will or of thought, through the hypocritical admission that one obeys a "historical necessity," while we should obey, all of us, the moral necessity which our conscience imposes on us. What matters is, not to know where the world goes, but to know where we go, each one of us.

In a world shaken by a crisis less deep than ours Mazzini said to the Italians, "You will not create better situations if you do not yourselves become better." I believe more in Mazzini's message than in Oriental or Western determinisms.

SFORZA

Dr. Seagrave

BURMA SURGEON. By Lieutenant Colonel Gordon S. Seagrave, M.D. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

DOCTORS AWEIGH. By Rear Admiral Charles M. Oman (M. C.), U. S. N. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

JACK BELDEN, in "Retreat With Stilwell," tells of seeing a doctor perform an operation on a porch while flames were consuming Burma; later the doctor and his native nurses accompanied General Stilwell's party in their terrible trek over the mountains to India.

That doctor was Gordon Seagrave, and he is a story in himself—a story of courage in peace as well as in war, a story of life-long heroism of the sort that usually goes unrecorded.

Dr. Seagrave's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been evangelistic missionaries in Lower Burma, but young Gordon rudely broke with tradition to become a medical missionary instead. He started out in Upper Burma with a waste-basketful of instruments he had salvaged from Johns Hopkins. When a native came to him needing an operation which he had never before performed, he studied every detail in his books, then he was sick, then, still nau
seated, he performed the operation. Luck, as he calls it, wa
with him; he won the natives' confidence and soon neede
nurses to help him. Since none were available, he did wha
nobody ever had attempted: he trained girls of the nativ
races to be nurses, using four languages: English, Burmese
Shan, and Kachin. Since there was no textbook of nursing
in his spare time he wrote one in Burmese.

No obstacle was too great for this incredible man. H
needed a hospital, and there were no builders. He and hi
wife, working day and night, hauled hundreds of tons o
stone and cement 130 miles from Lashio—stopping abruptl
when a tiger or leopard appeared in the road—and built th
hospital. He was a little man with a big bass voice, and h
had no one with whom to sing; so he taught the nativ
nurses of varied races to sing hymns. This turned out to b
a real help to their morale before and during the Battle o
Burma.

Of course Seagrave was not a good doctor, as the missio
medical examiner in New York once said, because he go
infected himself with malaria and dysentery. He should hav
climbed into his mosquito net at dusk every evening instea
of trudging through jungles in the middle of the night an
swering emergency calls. Bubonic plague came to norther
Burma, and he got a touch of that, too. Moreover, he incurred the ire of the British authorities by insisting on compulsory vaccination of the natives. He kept on insisting, an
he stopped the plague before it crossed into China; he di
not want to see Chiang Kai-shek's armies crumble from a
epidemic. It is at least conceivable that Dr. Seagrave, by hi
personal courage and intelligence, thereby did more tha
any single general toward saving the United Nations' caus
before the United States ever entered the war.

When war came, General Stilwell was smart enough t
seize hold of a lowly medical missionary and make him
major. Dr. Seagrave, naively proud, continued his life-savin
while bombs were falling. Then he and his nurses marche
over the mountains in the famous retreat. All the while h
was ill with malaria, and his feet were covered with atrociou
sores. He reached India barely alive—and immediately se
up a hospital to save the lives of straggling military an
civilian refugees following along that horrible trail.

Dr. Seagrave wrote "Burma Surgeon" himself, simply
informally, with humor. It is good that no ghost-writer in
tervened, because in these pages one meets, face to face,
great man.

One of the mildly fascinating things about the war book
is the way they mesh. The persevering reader keeps comin
across the same tales from different angles. In "Doctor
Aweigh" Rear Admiral Oman is interested, for example, i
Eddie Rickenbacker's escape after twenty-one days at se
primarily because it illustrated points the navy medical servic
has been thinking about, such as the effects of dehydration o
shipwrecked humans, how to guard against immersion foot
and the merits of certain fish juices. The Admiral skips alon
to the story of Dr. Wassell, whom he makes a much mor
forceful and believable character than did James Hilto
And in this cheerily eclectic book we hear again about Pea
Harbor, with emphasis on the astonishing role played b
sulfa drugs and blood plasma.

Admiral Oman, who has been a navy doctor for forty years, is interested in all manner of problems, from rounding up lepers in Guam to dealing with the bodily phenomena of a flier who for a few seconds weighs 1,000 pounds or more at the upturn of his bombing dive. The Admiral enjoys telling stories, whether they happened to him or not, and he wanders interestingly although haphazardly through the whole range of navy medical experience.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Human Rights and Human Society

THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND NATURAL LAW. By Jacques Maritain. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.

IT IS ironic that two books as diverse in their treatment of a common subject as Burnham's "The Machiavellians" and this small volume by Jacques Maritain could have been issued within a single year. The contrast between them is at least as great as the contrast between the thirteenth century and the sixteenth. And yet, despite Burnham's "realism," his book is probably the more provincial of the two, and certainly the more dogmatic.

Professor Maritain is of course a Catholic, the foremost modern disciple of St. Thomas, and he is concerned here with two related but sometimes conflicting matters: the natural basis of human society and the divine basis of human rights. A good Aristotelian, the nature of a thing is defined for him by its function, and he sees society as both an expression and an imperfect fulfilment of human needs. Like his master St. Thomas, and in the words of his Anglo-Catholic contemporary T. S. Eliot, he is convinced that "society is for the salvation of the individual and the individual must be sacrificed to society." But while the state has temporal autonomy, "the human person naturally transcends the state, to the extent that the former enfolds a destiny superior to time"; so that "law . . . is law only if just and promulgated by legitimate authority, not because the majority or the state can be the standard of conscience." What this implies, of course, is the foundation of every orthodoxy, that there is one incontrovertible basis of moral judgment which reason can discover and to which the will must conform; and in an essay of this sort that is the crucial assumption. Yet it is precisely at this point that Professor Maritain's ingenuousness almost disarms criticism: natural law is simply "an order" defined by "the necessary ends of the human being," since "there is a human nature and this human nature is the same in all men"—a statement which in this context is trivial if true, and in the sense in which it is intended is undoubtedly false. Certainly it doesn't refute the fact—always embarrassing to a theologian—of moral diversity. And Maritain indirectly confesses as much when, with Pascal, he deplores Montaigne's observation "that among certain peoples, incest and thievery were considered virtuous acts."

It is very easy to quarrel with Professor Maritain's assumptions, to question his metaphysical motives; yet it is false to underrate either his influence or his good-will. His bias in this book, for example, is surprisingly secular, and though he adds nothing to our knowledge of modern society, much of what he says is sound and admirable. Himself a former

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Socialist, he denounces "bourgeois individualism"—repeatedly using that phrase—as vehemently as any Marxist; but though he looks forward to a gradual abridgment of private enterprise, he is convinced that private property and what he calls a "pluralist society" are essential conditions of freedom.

This aversion to unified political authority, which is certainly unusual in a scholastic thinker, leads him to propose, instead of collectivism, a system of "associative ownership of the means of production" by "management-technicians, workers, investors." The merits of such an idea are not unquestionable, as any scholar of economics will show, yet what is chiefly significant is how Maritain envisages the role of society as the progressive conquest of servitude and inequality—moral, material, and intellectual—as the steady liberation of human creative energies, and, finally, as the "establishment of a brotherly city where man shall be free from misery and bondage." Inseparable from its theology, the message can nevertheless be read in secular terms; and it should commend itself, especially in this dark time, to humanists everywhere.

Professor Maritain's book is so generous, and even sagacious, in its social idealism that one regrets both his addiction to metaphysics and the fact that his ultimate commitments are other than naturalistic. For like most works of its kind, much of it is written with a calculated vagueness that borders sometimes on obfuscation. The first pages tell us, for example, that "the aim of society is its own *common good*" (Maritain's italics), which is *not* the same as the "individual good or the mere aggregate of the individual goods of each of the persons who constitute it." But surely it is difficult to imagine what else it could be; and one suspects that in spite of Maritain's clear intention to the contrary, room has been left for political authoritarianism of some sort: one feels that the chief intellectual adversary of freedom is not fascism or any other alternative doctrine, but confusion.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

Fiction in Review

IN A curious fashion it is at once the achievement and the misfortune of S. I. Hsiung's "The Bridge of Heaven" (Putnam's, $2.75) that less than halfway through it I had forgotten it was a novel about China, written by a Chinese, and had begun to judge it as I would judge any Western novel. For clearly, in proportion as a novel is a good novel, it invites the creative participation of the reader; we all of us, however unconsciously, write as we read; this participation is our stake in a work of fiction, and we instinctively turn away, bored or untouched, from the novel which doesn't invite us to share in its creation. Yet obviously this participation is possible only when a novel deals with people close enough to ourselves culturally for us to make some sort of identification with them. In the case of Oriental fiction such a wall of mystery separates us from the Oriental way of thinking that the identification is very difficult; the best of Western readers are likely to approach a novel of China or Japan as if it were a work of non-fiction—educational or quaint, but not our kind of fun. As it were a priori denied a share in the creative experience, we are robbed of our most reliable way of judging a novel, and so we cease to judge at all.

Well, it is the achievement of "The Bridge of Heaven" that it contradicts this generalization. Mr. Hsiung not only writes flawless English, but except for details of local color his novel might quite as well be about English, Americans, or Frenchmen as about Chinese; for that matter, a novel about the Chinese nationalist revolution which overthrew the Manchu dynasty; its psychological and ideational tone is so little peculiarly Chinese that, with the necessary changes of names, places, etc., it could be a strictly routine statement of revolution anywhere. Either Mr. Hsiung is unusually assimilated to Western culture or—what is more likely—the wall of mystery between the East and West can be more easily broken through than we have been led to suppose. But here lies the misfortune of his novel: it makes it possible for the Western reader to share in the creative process, judgment is restored, and we read "The Bridge of Heaven" as we would read its Western counterpart, without fear or favor —and conclude that it is estimable, workman-like, but hardly worth getting excited about either one way or another. Like any one of the dozen American novels on national themes which appear each season, Mr. Hsiung's novel is a useful refresher in history but no real contribution to world literature.

Perhaps I should add that this opinion runs counter to the copious judgments, quoted on the dust jacket, which compare Mr. Hsiung to everyone from Goldsmith to Dickens. Myself, I found the irony which pervades the first section of the book self-conscious and tiresome, and the humor heavy-handed. In fact, I am afraid that my admiration for this first novel by the author of the highly successful play "Lady Precious Stream" pretty much ends with my admiration for his tasteful prose.

Another novel to which my response will probably be of the minority is "I Am Thinking of My Darling" by Vincent McHugh (Simon and Schuster, $2.50). Labeled an adventure story, Mr. McHugh's novel is actually a fantasy of what would happen to New York if a large part of the population were suddenly infected by the virus of instinctive behavior; what does happen is that people quit their jobs, money makes no difference, telephones go dead and elevators stall, women throw their skirts over their heads in the streets to pull down their girdles, and offer themselves to the hero in a number to satisfy the imaginings of the most incorrigible fifteen-year-old. Also the medical-research people have a field day.

It strikes me as a disappointingly primitive notion of instinctive behavior coming from someone who seems to be second only to Aldous Huxley as a delver into the scientific mysteries. Of course an author is entitled to his own fantasies, and if Mr. McHugh chooses to make his virus a microscopic bluebird, he must be allowed his Saroyan. But I would have preferred a little less love-and-happiness and a little more of what really makes people tick—it's more adventuresome. Too, something in me doesn't relish the combination of city planning and biochemistry with hot jazz. That, however, may be a prejudice.

DIANA TRILLING

MUSIC

PART of the compensation for the writing of this column has been the pleasure I have had from some of the letters it has brought me. Several have come from a reader in a North Carolina university town who first wrote to me two and a half years ago about record distribution in the provinces (more about that in a moment). A little over a year ago he turned up in person to give me a report on music in the provinces. He was on his way home from the Ann Arbor Festival; and I was interested in his account of the doings at such occasions: the Philadelphia Orchestra playing without some of its first-desk men, participating after insufficient rehearsal in a performance of Honegger's "King David" with the University Choral Union, playing a concerto with Feuermann—if I remember correctly—with no rehearsal at all. But more interesting and impressive was his description of music in his own province: of the violinist in this town, the violist in that one, the cellist fifty miles away, the horn player in another part of the state, and all the other musicians similarly scattered about traveling long distances to rehearse for concerts of chamber music, to sit in with the university orchestra for symphony concerts, and to take part in annual Mozart festivals including—believe it or not—performances of the operas.

The war had begun to interfere with all this; and the letter which I received from him the other day came from Boston, where he had been sent by the army. It described the first of the concerts that are being given this summer by the principals and other players of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and contained observations which I think will be interesting to other readers of this column. The program included Mozart's Divertimento K. 251, part of the "Haffner" Serenade K. 250, and the Piano Concerto K. 453; the orchestra comprised two of each woodwind, two horns, four first violins, three second violins, two violas, two cellos, one bass; and he writes: "The balance was just right, except in a few tuttis in the concerto, when the winds were a little strong for the strings. The orchestra was just large enough to make a plausible body of sound for the fortes, and small enough for every part, every line to come through with clarity. The strings played well, but it is the wind playing I will remember longest for ensemble and tone . . . and of all the wind players I will remember longest M. Gillet's oboe playing. . . .

"Mr. Goldovsky conducted like an amateur who was doing the one thing in the world he wanted to do: play music he was in love with. If he did not have the orchestra under an iron control, it was not necessary: the men knew what they were supposed to do, and Mr. Goldovsky knew the music and knew how he wanted it played. To my mind the performances were thus preferable to many American performances, which have a cast-iron mechanical perfection about them which renders them distasteful to me: they are so mechanically perfect that I am given to wondering whether the musicians knew, or cared, or had any feeling for the music they were playing. It is the absence of this quality that causes me to enjoy the performances of the old London Philharmonic under Sir Tommy: the performances are human enough to let you know whether the people are playing intelligently; and whether it is music they understand and enjoy. . . . It is for this reason that I often enjoy a performance by amateurs who, if they do not play with such perfection, play with love and intelligence, to a performance by professionals. This afternoon we had professionals playing with the spirit of amateurs, which, to my way of thinking, is best of all."

As for that letter about record distribution, my correspondent, whose family had a camera business, contrasted the Eastman Company's method with that of Victor and Columbia. The Eastman Company dealt directly with its retailers, who ordered from the company's warehouses and received what they had ordered within a week or ten days. Victor and Columbia, on the other hand, dealt with retailers only through intermediate jobbers with exclusive franchises for their regions; and my correspondent described the delays which resulted from this set-up. Even if the recording which the retailer ordered was a popular or recent one that the regional jobber had in stock, it took at least ten days to arrive; but if it was an older recording or something out of the ordinary that the jobber did not keep in stock and that he had to order from the factory, it never took less than a month, often took two months, sometimes took six, and sometimes never arrived at all. And if the set arrived with broken or scratched records there were the same procedure and delays with replacements.

I inquired about this of people in the trade, whose explanation was that each of the regional jobbers had too small a territory to be able to stock the entire catalogue, and that the factory did not keep stocks of everything in the catalogue on hand to take care of orders as they came in, but preferred to wait for a large number of orders to pile up before it pressed an older or out-of-the-ordinary item. Instead of publishing all this I tried the experiment of being "constructive": I had the *Nation* forward my correspondent's letter to the president of the parent corporation of one of the companies to see what improvement this would produce in the situation. It brought the expected assurance that the company's service to dealers and public was perfection, and a request for information that would enable the company to investigate; and months later, when I wrote to ask, my correspondent reported a slight improvement in service, but not enough to have kept him from giving up the buying of records altogether. I had written to ask because of another reader's complaint about the months of delay in obtaining records from the cooperative of a large eastern college, which had explained its difficulties in getting them from the regional jobber who in turn had to get them from a factory which waited for orders to accumulate before it pressed the records. Both complaints, I should add, credited Columbia with giving a little better service than Victor at that time—1941, which was long before the present shortages produced by the war (my North Carolina correspondent wrote about experiences as far back as 1935). I hope the companies are planning a method of distribution that will improve their service when the war is over.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Everybody knows the 78th Congress is bad. Editorial writers have called it "hog-wild"; it has "gone berserk," "run amuck" and "gambled with the war."

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Last year *The New Republic's* supplement *A Congress to Win the War* placed squarely before the country the record of the obstructionists in Congress who were blind to the menace of war. This year *Reaction in Congress—The Record* reports the votes, the absentees, and the pairs of all members of the House and Senate on twenty key measures. The tabulations reveal those who are obstructing the domestic program, fighting Roosevelt rather than Hitler and Tojo, and encouraging the enemy to prolong the war. It shows who are the good and valiant men and women in both parties, those who have not played politics with the lives of American soldiers.

Reaction in Congress—The Record appeared as a supplement to the August 2 issue. If you failed to get your copy at the newsstand and if you act at once you can get this double number FREE with an introductory subscription of 13 weeks costing only $1.00. Or you can buy the supplement separately using the order form below.

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Letters to the Editors

Vhat's the Evidence?

ear Sirs: Whether one agrees or disgrees with James Boyd's point of view garding the proper strategy for Neroes in the present crisis, one cannot cept his assumptions concerning huan nature and the nature of race concts.

Mr. Boyd states at the beginning of is article that the most rudimentary actor affecting the Negro's position in merican society is "man's primitive ntagonism to the strange." As evidence states that "the alien cast up on the each is killed because his color, speech, nell are different." This assumption oncerning "man's primitive antagonism the strange" is not new. It belongs mong the many erroneous folk beliefs oncerning human nature. There is no ientific evidence either in psychologil or anthropological research to subantiate it. Unless they are otherise conditioned by personal experience, aditions, or customs, the attitude of en toward the strange is properly deribed as fascination. When a white ild first meets a black person he does ot experience a feeling of antagonism r even fear. Mr. Boyd should know is from the history of blacks and hites in the South. Moreover, he ould have learned from the history f race relations in the South that when e Negro had a well-defined status in e social organization as well as in the onomic organization of the South durg slavery and relations between the vo races were regulated by an estabshed etiquette, not only was there no acial antagonism but the maximum inmacy between the two races could be aintained. One would like to know hat evidence Mr. Boyd has for his atement that "the alien cast up on the each is killed" because he is strange. rom what I have read of such inances, people have regarded aliens ith fascination at first and then have isposed of them according to their ustoms and beliefs or interests. Somemes the stranger has been treated as god and accorded special respect, and hen he was eaten, it often occurred ot because he was strange but because was thought to possess some special ower or virtue.

In view of these facts, it is unnecesary to attribute the attitude of whites toward Negroes to an impulse "rooted in nature's urge to eliminate the atypical from her breeding program." If there had been such a mystical urge in nature, the appearance of *Homo sapiens* in the course of evolution would have been impossible. Whether one accepts the Darwinian hypothesis concerning variations in nature or the findings of modern genetics, one must conclude that the evolutionary process has been characterized by the breeding of the atypical. When one considers breeding in man, it is clear that even if such a thing as "nature's urge to eliminate the atypical" ever existed, the urge has been nullified by human association and customs and traditions. Not only the Portuguese and the Spanish but in some instances even the British in their relations with colonial peoples have not shown an urge to eliminate the atypical. To bring the matter closer home, it is common knowledge that although mixed bloods in the South have not become a part of the white social organization, they have enjoyed some special privileges, and there has been no general urge to eliminate them.

In the light of these facts Mr. Boyd's assumptions concerning human nature and the nature of race relations appear as mere rationalizations of current attitudes of whites. Although racial attitudes are not fundamentally affected by showing that the rationalizations which support them are false, it is necessary to insist that those who discuss race relations dispassionately and on a scientific plane base their arguments upon science rather than folk beliefs concerning human nature and biological urges.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Washington, D. C., June 28

In Defense of Teachers

Dear Sirs: I have just read Mr. Barnard's very able discussion of the Good Teacher problem in your July 3 issue. As I said in my letter to him I found myself in perfect agreement with his entire thesis, with the exception of one item: *more,* not *less,* work should be required of young student teachers in the field of child and adolescent psychology. Unfortunately too many of our teachers and administrators know surprisingly little of what really makes Johnny tick. From this ignorance come many brilliant non sequiturs, vast misunderstanding, sharp conflicts, emotional disturbances.

But otherwise Barnard is dead right. The teaching profession, which should be one of the most highly respected in American life, is often instead the subject of farce and caricature. It is true the profession is riddled with adolescence. It is true that thousands go into it because they have the fear of competing in the outside world. The system serves as a good, omnipotent, all-giving Mother (a check regularly, specific hours, tenure very often, etc.). But to many men and women teaching offers creative possibilities that are limitless. Given a fighting chance, the intelligent, progressive, vigorous school teacher—and the element is growing—can do as nifty a piece of creative work as a Kuniyoshi with brush and palette or a Jo Davidson with chisel and marble. He can, and I mean this *literally,* build a healthier, more wholesome, more democratic America. But when in the midst of a war for survival and for democracy—just listen to some of the fascist talk in school—a man can be criticized by a superior for scratching his ear ever so lightly while he is giving a terribly vital lesson on democracy, he begins to follow the "letter" of the teaching day, not the spirit. In order to avoid criticism he applies himself to form not content, shadow not substance. This is one of the reasons why the artists in teaching go begging; why teaching is so often the enthronement of mediocrity.

Of course, "the real villain of the piece," as Barnard puts it, "is an unenlightened and indifferent public." All right, let's enlighten the public. We've done it before. We've moved a long distance from the time when a young schoolmaster had to explain to the town fathers why he had had the temerity to walk down the street with his female secretary (read Professor Elsbree's book "The American Teacher" for other indignities teachers have experienced).

But there is still a long distance to go. Let's rid ourselves of our notorious timidity and reticence. Let's communicate the real facts to the American people and show them that, when we're allowed to, we do a preciously important job with Johnny and Janie. We want to be respected for the job; we want the profession of teaching accorded the dignity it deserves, and, lest I forget, we want the teacher properly remunerated—the teacher shortage in the country today is no accident. Let's make the teaching profession something more than a stepping-stone to better things. Let's make it the noble profession it is. Only in this way will it attract the country's better students.

Mr. Barnard has done a real service with his long letter. He is to be congratulated. But what are we going to do about it? CHARLES G. SPIEGLER

New York, July 4

P. S. Oh, yes, I've been teaching for about ten years myself. C. G. S.

It Depends

Dear Sirs: In the American Agency bulletin under the heading Federal Crop Death Sentence appears the following paragraph: "The collapse of the government's $35,000,000 FCIC vindicates the long-established belief of leading American farm underwriters, namely, *that crop insurance has never* been necessary, *that too great a risk is involved,* and that the expense of handling the program is so high that an adequate premium rate is created out of all proportion to what a successful farmer would be willing to pay [my italics]."

Contradictions mean nothing to the writer of the article. Later in this same article appears this statement: "It was tried by one or two large fire-insurance companies more than twenty-five years ago and rejected inasmuch as *it involved a risk unsuitable for private carriers.*"

Assuming that the writer is correct in stating that crop insurance involves a risk unsuitable for private carriers, it does not follow that it is unsuitable for the government as a carrier. Incidentally, with very few exceptions, the private carriers ducked out on war-damage insurance and were very insistent that the government must handle it because it was too big a proposition for private interests. The essence of the matter seems to be that if you can make money at it, it is a matter for private enterprise; if you can't make money at it, it is a matter for the government, provided you happen to be among those who are likely to get hurt. However, if you are not among those who are likely to get hurt, the government shouldn't interfere either.

Despite the fact that I am in the insurance business I can't quite follow the reasoning of ever so many who are connected with it. JACOB PODOLOFF

New Haven, Conn., July 21

Appeal to Good Neighbors

Dear Sirs: The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America has received a request from Jorge Falcon, editor of *Hora del Hombre,* of Lima, Peru, regarding the recent fire that destroyed the National Library of Lima.

> The fire at the Biblioteca Nacional represents a lamentable loss that can never be replaced without the help of the people, the intellectuals, and the institutions of all other countries of America. . . .
>
> Since this fire affects us directly as being among the intellectual defenders of culture and of the democratic principles which encourage its development, we, the editors of *Hora del Hombre,* a magazine designed to maintain Peruvian thought and Peru's cultural position in the world, take the initiative for making an appeal to all intellectuals and their representative institutions in all countries of America to solicit their cooperation in the creation of a new Biblioteca Nacional by donating books, documents, and collections. . . .
>
> We should like to note that our request is not official and has no connection with the Peruvian government; it is made entirely on our own initiative. Thus all packages should be sent directly to the Ministerio de Educación, Pública, Dirección de Extensión Cultural y Educación Artística, at Lima, Peru. . . .

All serious books, manuscripts, or libraries in Spanish, English, or any other language should be sent to the above address. LLOYD MALLAN

New Haven, Conn., June 24

Prophet of the Common Man

Dear Sirs: I read in the New York *Times Book Review* of July 11 a sympathetic review by John MacCormac of Henry A. Wallace's book "The Century of the Common Man," a collection of speeches delivered by him in the course of two and a half years, edited by Russell Lord and published by Reynal and Hitchcock. The review was printed under the heading, "Mr. Wallace views the Future with Steadfast Faith. A Noble Credo for Tomorrow."

As I had had the good fortune to read most of the speeches and writings of Mr. Wallace, I was grateful to Russell Lord and the publisher, for I saw in this a wonderful opportunity for the men and women of our armed forces to get acquainted with the thoughts and ideas of our Vice-President, who is the spokesman and prophet of the common man.

I therefore purchased through *The Nation* 610 copies of the book to be distributed to the libraries and reading-rooms of the navy and army and also the merchant marine.

But six hundred books are only a drop in the bucket, and it would be nice if some of your readers would join me in this venture.

DR. JOSEPH WEINREBE

Brookline, Mass., July 24

Bewildered

Dear Sirs: A group of Latin American writers at present in the United States wish to express spontaneously and publicly our bewilderment that "South American Journey," Waldo Frank's latest book, should be having in his own country a critical reception so little in accord with the book's great importance.

In this moment, when inter-Americanism is being everywhere proclaimed as the vital problem of the continent, there is neglect of a work which, more than any of the others recently published on this theme, can contribute to a real understanding of the peoples south of the Rio Grande.

We may or may not dissent from the political opinions of Waldo Frank. But we are all agreed that "South American Journey" is the work of a true writer; it does not consist of the anecdotal and conventional observations with which the "professionals" of pan-Americanism have surfeited us; on the contrary, it is the conscientious and deep study of an American who has approached us on the level of equality and understanding with no condescension and no puerile search for the exotic.

Waldo Frank brings to the cause of inter-Americanism his vision of the artist and of the thinker who, since his youth, has contributed so much to the knowledge and analysis of the whole complex modern world.

There are in "South American Journey" observations which may wound the susceptibilities of some Americans, both of the North and of the South. But we approve of the candor of Waldo Frank because we are convinced that cando must be the base of true understanding between us. And to the true understanding no one else has contributed so much

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VICTORIA OCAMPO, Argentina
MARIA LUISA BOMBAL, Chile
ERNESTO MONTENEGRO, Chile
CIRO ALEGRIA, Peru
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All the signatures attached to thi letter have been authorized personally either to me or to Ciro Alegría.

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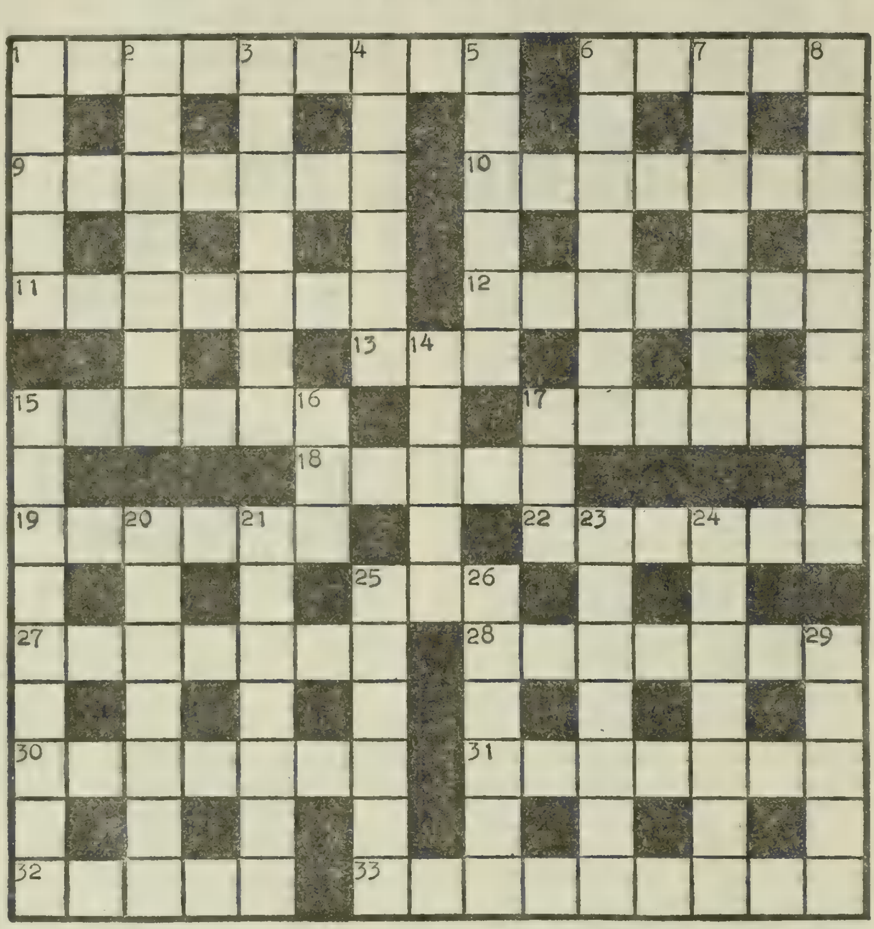
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 24

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Auto race in the blooming garden
6 The poor man's Parnassus, according to Emerson
9 Your car won't go forward if it's in this
10 On the air on the hour on the London radio (two words, 4 and 3)
11 Character in H. M. S. Pinafore
12 Shut in
13 Twirl a knob and there's your double!
15 Give over
17 Sheridan, in The Critic, spoke of one being crossed in love
18 Bury this
19 Splendour in Ulster
22 Dr. Johnson wrote of the ------ing elegance of female friendship
25 Return without the utensil
27 It may be mostly a conundrum to you; it is not to the cook
28 Where to look for cartridges?
30 Pictures that tell a story
31 It is a play upon words
32 Sounds an appropriate name for a car, from the pedestrian's point of view
33 Unique type

DOWN

1 No thoroughbred dog starts what hogs are
2 Shows
3 Stuffy, or is it bald for a Cockney?
4 I see two consecutive letters of the alphabet here
5 Is the absence of good spirits responsible for the state of this world?
6 What makes Mimi unhappy? A parrot perhaps
7 Drink wine for sustenance
8 A hundred up with the native servant, a figure at Pharaoh's court (hyphen, 3 and 6)
14 To make it join turn it round in it
15 Awfully pleased and so naturally light-hearted
16 A neckwear result
17 They certainly smelt it
20 Sick at heart and altogether upset
21 The production of this drink is almost entirely a Russian triumph (two words, 3 and 4)
23 Buddhist paradise
24 Manatee (anag.)
25 The sane always have this excuse
26 Two containers in one
29 Proverbially true

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 23

ACROSS:—1 ALL FOURS; 5 MARROW; 10 CONTEST; 11 ABRIDGE; 12 STABLE; 14 ARRESTED; 16 ANANIAS; 17 DEANS; 18 DRAY; 20 DUCTILE; 22 LACK; 24 INGLE; 26 REVERED; 29 TOREADOR; 30 SPADES; 32 AMERICA; 33 CAPABLE; 34 ENTREE; 35 OUTRIGHT.

DOWN:—1 ACCESS; 2 LINEAGE; 3 OVERLAND; 4 RUTH; 6 AGREES; 7 RED STAR; 8 WEEK DAYS; 9 MAORI; 13 ENSURED; 14 ANOTHER; 15 RALLIES; 19 FLAT RACE; 21 ENDPAPER; 23 CURRENT; 25 LADYBUG; 26 RAVINE; 27 VOCAL; 28 ASCENT; 31 ECRU.

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Vertical Warfare. By Francis Vivian Drake. Doubleday, Doran. $3.

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

REPORTS ON GERMANY WHICH COME FROM Berlin should naturally be taken with a bag of salt. When they come by way of Madrid, the prescription calls for a barrel. In the first instance they may be true and released by Dr. Goebbels simply because the facts can no longer be hidden; but when they appear to originate in Franco's servile press it is clear that they have been planted there in order to serve a purpose. It is with such justified suspicion that we read the tale of Adolf Hitler's noiseless fall from power and his replacement at the helm of the Third Reich by a triumvirate consisting of Field Marshal Keitel, Grand Admiral Doenitz, and Marshal Goering. The story first appeared in the Falangist paper *Arriba,* whose Berlin correspondent reports that Hitler and the Nazi party are being retained merely as a facade in order to prevent the kind of internal dissolution which accompanied the collapse of Mussolini in Italy. Why should the Germans want such a story to get about without at the same time taking responsibility for it? Without pretending to have the definitive answer, we can see two possible advantages. If the report is given wide credence it will increase the already dangerously prevalent assumption that the war, in Europe at least, is all but over. And it will be grist to the mill of those who have long hankered after a negotiated peace. If we were prepared to dicker with a Badoglio, the Goebbels theory might run, why not with a Keitel? If this is in fact the explanation, then Dr. Goebbels is slipping badly. The technique is as crude as the objective is wishful.

*

THERE IS SOMETHING ABOUT MASS MURDER which appears to elevate wanton killing from the level of crime to the realm of international politics. Upwards of a million innocent civilians have been systematically put to death by the German leaders admittedly because of their race. Hundreds of thousands more have been shot, gassed, or hanged as civilian hostages, contrary to every principle of international law. The enemy has bragged about these and equally monstrous crimes and held them up as a warning to other victims. Yet now that the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union have appealed to neutral governments not to give shelter to escaping war criminals, there is much talk about the

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right of asylum, as though these self-confessed murderers should by virtue of their defeat acquire the standing of political refugees fleeing persecution. Turkey is reported to be irritated over the alleged slight to its sovereignty, and the Swiss press takes so hostile a tone concerning the three-power *démarche* that Paul Ghali reports from Berne: "As one of my friends put it, 'The attitude of both Sweden and Switzerland seems most propitious for Hitler, Goering, and the rest.' " It is possible that the United Nations might have approached the neutrals more diplomatically; they might even have invited their participation in the conduct of the trials. Nevertheless, the neutrals will, for at least two reasons, be perpetrating a monstrous folly if they give refuge to war criminals merely to demonstrate their sovereignty. First, because failure to bring these men to justice in an orderly fashion will release the fury of the victim nations against all Germans and Italians, the innocent along with the guilty. And second, because by giving asylum the neutrals would draw down on their own heads the bitter hostility of their now tortured neighbors. What, for example, would be the relations between a free Norway and a Sweden which enabled Quisling to enjoy a comfortable old age?

*

THE CONNALLY-SMITH ACT HAS BACKFIRED. In its first test John L. Lewis, its supposed victim, clearly emerges as its chief beneficiary. Following a ruling by Attorney General Biddle that under the act minority groups possess the same right as majority groups to take a strike ballot, members of the United Mine Workers District 50 won a strike vote in the Allis-Chalmers plant in Springfield, Illinois. The vote automatically overturns a previous ballot in which a C. I. O. union had won the right to represent a majority of the employees in the plant, and opens the way to a possible strike in this important war plant early in September. The fact that the U. M. W. is the only important union in the country that does not consider itself bound by labor's post-Pearl Harbor anti-strike pledge makes the Connally-Smith bill a convenient weapon for Lewis in District 50's organizational drive in plants with established C. I. O. and A. F. of L. unions. Attorney General Biddle has been criticized for making an interpretation that so obviously plays into Lewis's hands. But in view of the rejection by Congress of an amendment that would have limited strike votes to majority groups, there can be little doubt that Biddle has accurately reflected the intent of Congress in his interpretation. It is the bill itself that is at fault. Obviously, Congress was more interested in embarrassing the Administration than in punishing Mr. Lewis.

*

THE HARLEM OUTBREAK WAS NOT A RACE riot: at no time was there fighting between Negro and white groups as there was in Los Angeles and Detroit. On that point there has been almost universal agreement among Negroes and whites. But to dismiss the affair as merely an example of hooliganism and vandalism is to dodge the issue completely. There is no question that rioters, hoodlums though they may have been, were protesting in their own way against the many discriminations which Negroes suffer, even in New York. The war has awakened a new sense of racial consciousness among Negroes all over the country, but in no place has it struck so deeply as in Harlem. The men who have been drafted from Harlem have been particularly outraged by the segregation and discrimination practiced in the army and navy, and their protests have fanned the already existing fires of discontent caused by job discrimination, bad housing, high rents, high prices, insufficient recreational and educational opportunities, and occasional police brutality. Under Mayor LaGuardia's personal supervision the police handled the outbreak with considerable effectiveness. But the long-range task of giving Harlem a fair share in the employment, education, health, and recreation facilities of the nation has not been met by city, state, or federal government. Until this is done, there will be constant danger of a repetition of last week's tragedy.

*

FRANK E. GANNETT, NEW YORK NEWSPAPER owner, Presidential aspirant, and eloquent defender of "freedom of the press," has started a campaign to kill "Under Cover," a book by John Roy Carlson which has been widely praised by reviewers as a painstaking exposure of Axis agents and fifth columnists in the United States. Although Mr. Gannett has declared that statements in the book about him personally and the Committee for Constitutional Government of which he is a trustee are "ignorantly or maliciously false, inaccurate, and grossly misleading, libelous, and seriously damaging," he has not, at the time of writing, taken the obvious legal remedy. Instead, the Committee for Constitutional Government, to which the book devotes considerable attention, has sent a notice to booksellers, radio stations, newspapers, and others warning of "probable liability for damages of those who participate in the distribution of the book." This threat has succeeded in scaring Baker and Taylor, the largest book wholesalers in the country, but fortunately the publishers of "Under Cover," E. P. Dutton and Company, are not only sticking to their guns but counter-attacking. They have issued a statement saying that the book was published only after "thorough investigation," that they do not intend to withdraw it, and that they are prepared to offer financial protection to booksellers. Elliott B. MacCrae, secretary-treasurer of the firm, spoke warmly of "attempted intimidation" in a press interview. This characterization of Gannett's effort to suppress a book without incurring the risks of legal action seems to us almost too mild.

"NOW THERE IS NO INHERENT REASON WHY a ballet dancer . . . cannot also be a good economic analyst," said the New York *Times* editorial. "The only important question is what kind of an economist Mr. Bovingdon is." The *Times,* we thought, is talking sense. Moreover, given its research facilities, it can find out in the twinkling of an edition what the cold facts are about Mr. Bovingdon's qualifications. So we hurried on. But did the *Times* point out that Mr. Bovingdon has a B.A. from Harvard and a Ph.D. in economics from Columbia University? That he speaks and reads Japanese, German, French, Spanish, and Russian, and that he once taught economics at Keio University in Tokyo? Not at all. Instead, it merely quoted an admittedly foolish remark Mr. Bovingdon made about dancing in 1924—people are likely to make foolish remarks about their hobbies. On the basis of that remark the *Times* accused him of having totalitarian tendencies. And the editorial ended by saying that somebody really ought to find out about Bovingdon's economic competence and his "present economic opinions." Surely the worst of dancers never put on a sillier performance than this pirouette by the *Times.* As for the incident itself—the firing of an apparently competent and useful government employee because he likes dancing and, it is whispered, has red leanings—it is only one more proof that Diesism is contagious.

*

GENERAL SMUTS OVERTHREW THE HERTZOG government in 1939 and took South Africa into the war with only a precarious margin of votes, and for nearly four years he has lived dangerously in the face of a powerful opposition dedicated to a policy of neutrality. Moreover, he has had to combat an undercover pro-fascist movement of somewhat formidable proportions which has preached sedition and practiced sabotage. Nevertheless, General Smuts has survived without resorting to dictatorial methods, and this summer, although he could have prolonged the life of Parliament, he chose to seek a new mandate. The decision was that of the stout believer in democracy; the timing revealed the astute politician. For the victories in North Africa, in which South African troops had played an important role, gave his United Party a very favorable electoral springboard. And at the same time the waning prestige of the Axis cooled the ardor of the pro-fascist elements. On July 7 unprecedented numbers of voters went to the polls, a large majority of them intent on "answering Zeesen"—the Nazi radio station which had filled the air with propaganda for the anti-war Reunited Nationalists led by Dr. D. F. Malan. The results, delayed by collecting and counting soldiers' votes, show that General Smuts has won a spectacular victory. The United Party, with its pro-war allies, the Labor and Dominion Parties, received a popular majority of two to one. Together they now have 107 members in a Parliament of 150. Dr. Malan's group, it is true, has held its own, but at the expense of the other anti-war groups, which have now been eliminated. Although the election was fought entirely on the war issue, its outcome means that South Africa will begin the tasks of peace under a leader who is a firm believer in international cooperation.

*

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD—WE NEVER GOT USED to thinking of him as Lord Wedgwood—was one of those "sports" who do much to redeem the general stuffiness of the British upper classes. Born into the industrial aristocracy, a direct descendant of the famous potter, he was a natural radical and spent his life fighting for the under dog. He entered politics as a liberal in the 1906 electoral sweep that brought Campbell-Bannerman to 10 Downing Street and inaugurated what then seemed a series of daring social reforms. After the last war, in which he served with distinction, he joined the Labor Party and held office in the first Labor government. But Wedgwood was never a man to pay too much attention to either party labels or party discipline, and while he adhered to the Socialist creed, he never ceased to be a rampant individualist. He was a man of many causes, and when these were assailed he was quick to take the counter-offensive no matter what opponents he might meet. Of recent years much of his energy had been given to Zionism, and on many occasions he vehemently attacked the British government for its failure to implement its promises to the Jews. Yet for all his belligerence Wedgwood will be mourned by men of every party, for his personal charm made friends of his political enemies. And above all he will be remembered as a representative House-of-Commons man who did much to maintain the great traditions of Parliament.

Mr. Crider's "Scoop"

FROM Washington comes the news flash that the Department of State is floundering about in a muddle of disorganization, internal rivalries, and cross-purposes. Few readers of *The Nation* will be jolted out of their chairs at this revelation, but what elevates the report into the man-bites-dog category of news is its source. Only a week ago Arthur Krock attributed the wave of criticism which has recently engulfed the State Department to "Communists and their fellow-travelers." And now along comes a simple but damning indictment written by one of his own subordinates and splashed on page one of his own New York *Times*.

The dispatch, by John H. Crider, tells of a report to the President by his administrative experts describing "conflicting personalities, lack of cohesive policy, and a resulting impairment of the efficiency of the Department of State at a time when it must assume tremendous burdens relating to the effectiveness of the coming peace." Diplomats are reported to be thoroughly bewildered by the conflicting views communicated to them by various department officials. Lack of direction on both French and Italian policy, as Mr. Bolles points out elsewhere in this issue, is glaringly apparent. And the situation has gotten so out of hand that one British diplomat, according to Crider, "recently asked a news correspondent if it was true that two of Secretary of State Cordell Hull's immediate assistants referred to the Secretary by use of an odious epithet."

It is no wonder that Crider's story brought Mr. Krock back from his vacation on the run. For years a faithful tub-thumper for Secretary Hull, Krock tried to repair the damage. Significantly, he did not attempt to refute the Crider story or the report of the President's administrative experts. On the contrary, he dismissed them as "common knowledge in the capital" (as though he had ever conceded the faintest suggestion that all was not harmony in the Department). Then falling back on a previously prepared line of defense, as the military analysts say, he attempted to turn the whole exposé against the President, holding him responsible for saddling Hull with unsympathetic assistants and for failing to dismiss Welles when it became apparent that he and Hull were at loggerheads.

Mr. Krock's detailed analysis seems to us to be full of holes and his own record of reporting on the subject disingenuous, but there is more than a shred of truth about his conclusion. Of course the President is responsible for his own State Department, and it is high time he did something about it. Our own recommendation would be to replace Secretary Hull, who has long demonstrated his incapacity either for administering the department or for evolving a foreign policy that has any relevance to the present state of the world. But we hardly regard such a move as probable in a pre-election year, considering Hull's extraordinary hold on the Southern Democrats.

The President's position is, in fact, an extremely delicate one, and even though the situation is partly of his own making he is entitled to sympathetic understanding. He can give the department the shake-up which is long overdue and run the political risks which such a move would certainly entail. Or he can return to his old policy of creating new and efficient agencies, which would drain off some of the functions of the State Department, at the risk of jurisdictional disputes and inter-agency rivalries. What seems to us utterly illogical, however, and in the long run impossible, is the course the President appears to have chosen. At a crucial diplomatic point in the war he has elected to repose full confidence in the State Department, placing in its hands economic as well as political weapons which in its present condition it is wholly incapable of handling. With this sudden accession of responsibility, the contradictions and dissensions which have long smoldered in the department are naturally rising to the surface. Once discernible only through the microscopes of "cranks" and "fellow-travelers," they are now visible to the naked eye of Arthur Krock.

There Is a Tide . . .

THERE is no means of telling, as we go to press, whether there is any basis for the numerous reports of a meeting between the President, Winston Churchill, and Stalin. But if such a meeting has not been arranged, it ought to be promptly. For the tide of victory is setting strongly toward the shores of the United Nations. The collapse of Mussolini, the capture of Orel and Belgorod, the fall of Catania, the obliteration of Hamburg, the growth of defeatism inside Fortress Europe—these are the surf-marks which show how rapidly the tide is rising. But are we prepared, in either a military or a political sense, to take it at the flood?

Ernest Lindley, an accepted mouthpiece of the Administration, answers this question in rather dismal fashion. "The European war," he says, "is moving almost too fast. . . . Paradoxically, it looks as if Mussolini's collapse came too soon. It might have served us better if it had come two or three months later when Allied armies were fully prepared to invade Italy and the Balkans, and possibly other portions of the European continent." If views of this kind have been transmitted to Moscow, it is not surprising that Russian demands for a second front now should have taken on a peremptory, almost angry tone. For there is no doubt that this is the psychological moment for an invasion of the continent which would strike much nearer the heart of our enemies than Sicily. With the Russian summer offensive developing growing power, with Hitler forced to hurry reserves to the Balkans and Italy, with the German home-front under obvious strain, the effect of a new blow in the west could be shattering.

But Mr. Lindley tells us, and we fear his authority is all too good, that we are not ready for such a move. It is a matter which it is impossible to argue about, as the relevant facts and figures cannot be published. But whatever may be the reasons for military unreadiness there can be no excuse for political delay in exploiting Mussolini's fall. For this was an event which could have been intelligently anticipated and for which political strategists should have been prepared. Unhappily, it took us by surprise and we have not yet decided how to exploit it. Our first, too hasty, assumption was that Badoglio had taken over the government with the intenion of pulling Italy out of the war on our terms—unconditional surrender. Therefore, the O. W. I.'s rude remarks about him were repudiated and he was approached with encouraging words while revolutionary developments in Italy were disparaged. It soon became clear, however, that Badoglio's role was that of salvage man for Italy's ruling classes and his idea of suitable peace terms the neutralization of Italy. This proposal seems to have the backing of the Vatican, and it would no doubt be as acceptable to Germany—to which it would afford cheap protection—as it must be unacceptable to us.

Finding that Badoglio has, in fact, nothing to offer and that his tactics are simply affording the Germans time to create a new line on the Po, we are now appealing over his head to the Italian people, and warning them that they must force the new Italian government to seek peace or suffer anew the horrors of bombardment. But how are the Italians to impress their will upon Rome? They can only resort to demonstrations, to strikes, to riots; in short, to actions which both Washington and London have frowned upon as making for anarchy. There was a revolutionary situation in embryo immediately after the fall of Mussolini. But we did nothing to encourage its growth, and while we wait for Badoglio to appear at Eisenhower's headquarters he busies himself in restoring internal "order."

The reception our troops have received in Sicily proves that potentially a large part of the Italian people are our friends. Properly approached, they could become our allies both in compelling the Italian government to come to terms and in ejecting the Nazis from Italy. Those are objectives they almost certainly share with us, but beyond peace and rupture of the Axis alliance the Italians want to be free of the kind of government which has brought them to their present plight. It is absurd to dismiss such arguments as introducing ideological irrelevancies. We can take full advantage of the tide which is washing away the ideas which created this war only if we have better ideas with which to replace them.

Plans for D-Day

THE Republicans, through Harrison Spangler, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, appear to have made another political blunder in their implied opposition to the demobilization program summarized in the President's radio address. Publication of the full report of the Conference on Post-War Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel makes it clear that the program the President outlined represents about the minimum that it is politically possible to do.

As contrasted with the planless demobilization of our 5,000,000 service men after the last war, the Conference's ninety-six recommendations represent a mildly encouraging approach to the problem. The period of demobilization is to be stretched out so as to tie in with the gradual conversion of the war industries to peacetime functions. A three-month "furlough" on pay will be given to men released from the forces, after which they are to be entitled to a maximum of six months' protection under unemployment insurance, plus the opportunity for a period of vocational training with pay.

Obviously, this is a far advance from the payment of a $60 bonus which was the sum total of the government's efforts after the last war. But we wonder whether it is going to appear to the average soldier as adequate compensation for the interruption of his civilian career. In money terms—and money is what the returned soldier is going to be needing—the proposals call for maximum assistance of about $690 for the transition period. Taking into account the World War bonus law—and the longer period of service in this conflict—the amount of cash assistance is actually less generous than that finally provided for overseas veterans of World War I. On the reasonable assumption that the transition is going to be much more severe than it was in 1919, and the extent of mass unemployment much greater, this program appears less than adequate to meet the hardships of the rehabilitation period.

Recognizing the limitations of any purely financial settlement of the country's debt to the servicemen, the conference rightly proposes an elaborate program of education, retraining, public works, and agricultural rehabilitation to aid the servicemen in finding their niche in civilian life. On our ability to translate these generalized proposals into concrete, practical terms our whole post-war program will stand or fall. Contrary to the general impression, however, no detailed plans in this direction have yet been formulated and, at the moment, there is no agency empowered to undertake this task. The killing of the National Resources Planning Board by Congress leaves the country without a civilian general staff to prepare a strategy for D-day.

It is not enough to say that educational facilities will be available for servicemen by the time they are demobilized. A huge program for retraining, involving millions of men, cannot be set up overnight. Unless the entire effort is placed under competent educational direction, it might easily become a gigantic boondoggling enterprise without educational value. The same applies to planning for post-war public works and agricultural resettlement. Immediate responsibility for seeing that provision is made for handling this job well in advance of the need rests, of course, with Congress. But we should like to see the President provide much more effective leadership in post-war planning than he has done to date. Concrete plans covering the technical aspects of demobilization should be a matter of public discussion and debate in the months to come. Only through this process shall we be able to meet the test when D-day arrives, whether it is in 1943 or 1949.

Foreign Policy Wanted

BY BLAIR BOLLES

Washington, August 5

PRESSED by our allies overseas, the Administration at last seems to be moving haltingly toward some sort of recognition of the French Committee of National Liberation; by the time this article appears the grudging gesture may have been made.

The British government wants the committee recognized; the Soviet government wants it recognized; the members of the committee themselves have smoothed the way for recognition by making General de Gaulle the permanent president of a new Committee of National Defense and General Giraud, the darling of the Potomac, commander of the French fighting forces. The impossible arrangement by which the two generals held the same job is wiped out; with that arrangement perhaps will be wiped out our dismal policy toward the French.

Some frank talkers at the State Department itself are willing to grant in private conversation that the French policy has steered the United States into an impossible back alley in which we find ourselves irritably condemning a man whose strength, outside and inside France, grows daily. Despite every Washington effort to cozen, humiliate, and frustrate De Gaulle, he has emerged as the first Frenchman in the world. The State Department knows this and so does the department's chief prop at the White House on French affairs, Admiral Leahy.

The moves toward a change in American policy have all been conducted behind the scenes and back of the smoke screen of President Roosevelt's statement that after all 95 per cent of the French people are under the German heel. When the National Committee was reorganized, Secretary of State Hull would do no more than tell his press conference that the problem of recognition was a matter being studied from week to week and from day to day, though at that very moment he had a communication from the British government urging limited recognition. The full satisfaction of military requirements, which Mr. Hull has said time and again are paramount in the formulation of policy, actually requires recognition, so that the French in North Africa will be in a position to fit adequately into the war.

Washington's dilemma over French policy points up an extraordinary story given page-one prominence by the New York *Times* on August 4. The story, by John H. Crider, attributes to "administrative experts" the discovery that the State Department is inefficient and a breeding ground for dissension. Mr. Hull at once retorted that his department is efficient, but recent events suggest otherwise. We bungled on French policy badly when we played Giraud against De Gaulle. We had no policy of any kind ready when Mussolini gave up the ghost in Italy. We guessed wrong on Badoglio's intentions and gave continental Italy almost a week's respite from the pounding of war—not to mention giving the Germans an opportunity to entrench themselves north of the Po—while we waited for Badoglio to do what apparently he never intended to do, that is, sue for peace. United Nations diplomats here regard this not unnaturally as inefficiency of a major sort.

The Crider story, which shook Washington more vigorously than anything else in weeks, apparently had no ulterior meaning. It bore in many ways the marks of a hot-weather story and contained charges unaccompanied by specific detail. One detail it could have carried concerned our lack of planning for the proper economic exploitation of Sicily. Long ago the Board of Economic Warfare, before it was merged into the Office of Economic Warfare, prepared an elaborate program for American use of the agricultural economy of Sicily immediately following an Allied invasion. The State Department did not accept the program. The military in North Africa did not accept the program. We invaded Sicily without a program, and the result is the United Nations have had to plan long-range shipments of food into an island which, properly worked, could soon after the invasion have begun turning out large quantities of food. A V-mail letter reaching Washington today from a soldier in Sicily comments that besides cantaloupes he and his fellows are getting no Sicilian produce, nor is there prospect they will get any.

The decision announced here two days ago to send Wesley Sturges to Sicily as the State Department's economic representative suggests that perhaps the "administrative advisers" mentioned by Mr. Crider have some influence. Dr. Sturges was a BEW agent, and the BEW has been keener than the State Department in anticipating developments in foreign affairs. The lights burn late in the department; the staff men work long hours; but they grind their noses on the emery of immediate problems which obscure the greater issues, and the result is inefficiency when the major emergency arises. Mr. Hull is an unsinkable public official; but there is a large gap between Mr. Hull's political sagacity and the efficient management of the republic's foreign affairs.

The dissension in the State Department which Mr. Crider's informants referred to is an old and tragic story. It is tragic because it raises bureaucratic storms that render it impossible for the efficient men in the department to do their work as well as they might. The department was long divided into two camps over the question of whether we should appease Japan. It is riddled now by rivalry between supporters of Assistant Secretary Adolf Berle, Jr., and the friends of Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson. Both officials work on economic matters. Differences in the department particularly befuddle its approach to the intricate and important problems of international aviation after the war.

Dissension, duplication, and bureaucratic rivalries hamper the development of our foreign policy even beyond the State Department itself. I saw a disturbing number of instances on my recent visit in England. In London, representatives of the State Department, the BEW, and the military quarreled with each other during diplomatic conferences with the British. Ambassador Winant has known his decisions to be reversed when high British officials appealed to Harry Hopkins. The OEW is busy planning the choice of German targets for our bombers; the Office of Strategic Services is busy doing exactly the same thing. The day approaches when the diplomatic aspects of the war will be every bit as vital as the military. Friendly foreign diplomats here wonder how we will meet that phase of the war.

[*Our regular Washington correspondent, I. F. Stone, is on vacation. His weekly letters will reappear with the issue of August 28.*]

Understanding England

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

CEMENTING the war-time partnership between Britain and the United States for peace-time purposes is not the most difficult of the many steps which must be taken to achieve a stable and just world order, but it may be first in importance in the sense that, without it, other steps become impossible. It may be harder to bridge the ideological gulf between the Western world and Russia, or the racial gulf between the Western world and Asia. It may be still harder to check the pride and restrain the power of the dominant nations so that the smaller countries may have their due place in world organization. Yet the Anglo-American partnership remains first in order of importance.

This partnership is assumed to be comparatively easy of achievement because of the common language, cultural traditions, and democratic ideals which bind the two nations together. But it must be observed that relatives sometimes find a tolerable accord more difficult than strangers. Minor differences against the background of fundamental similarities sometimes offend the imagination more than wider differences which invite no odious comparisons. It would be easy to refute some misconceptions which Britons harbor about our American democracy in regard to these minor differences. But it will be more profitable to leave the correction of such misconceptions to those in Britain who know us well and to deal on our side primarily with American misconceptions of British life.

Of the two chief prejudices against Britain in the United States, one pertains to its domestic life and the other to its foreign policy. The divergence between the democratic achievements of the two countries is responsible for the first of these prejudices. The United States is socially a more democratic country than Britain and is frequently affronted by the more rigid class structure of British society and the concomitant class snobbishness. But Americans do not generally know that Britain is much more advanced than we in respect to political democracy. Our social equalitarianism is the fruit of a bourgeois democracy that was able to realize the equalitarian ideals of the eighteenth century upon a virgin continent, without accommodating them to the hierarchical structure of feudal society. Britain, on the other hand, represents a remarkable mixture of feudal and bourgeois traditions. It is the one nation of the Western world which was able to give effect to the democratic protest against feudalism without sacrificing some of the virtues of the older order.

Socially, the consequence of this transition is a system in which the classes are more sharply separated than among us. But the political consequence is that Britain still enjoys advantages which we ought to recognize more generously, not only for the sake of better understanding but also with the idea of seeking such advantages for ourselves.

The feudal tradition embodies a much more organic sense of the community than does the bourgeois world. A bourgeois society easily degenerates into warring private interests, each of which claims certain "inalienable rights." The sense of the community, on the other hand, is a highly developed aspect of feudalism. When unleavened by democratic ideals, as was the case in the Middle Ages, the spirit of *noblesse oblige* may find no better expression than the sentimental charities of a "lady bountiful." But when the best aspect of the feudal tradition is left as a factor in a functioning political democracy, as in Britain, a comparatively high degree of justice is achieved, for then the tension of competing interests and claims is tempered by a recognition of the final demands of the commonweal.

The difference between the patience of the British under war-time rationing and restrictions and the frequently sullen and sometimes open rebellion of various interest groups in this country is largely the difference between these two traditions. Furthermore, the British take political control of the economic process for granted, while a bourgeois democracy like our own still indulges in the illusion that it is possible for economic life to pursue an independent course. "Manchester" liberalism is practically dead in the land of its birth, but in our own country "liberal" reactionaries regard the political restraints upon economic life made necessary by a technical civilization in general, and by war-time requirements in particular, as a New Deal conspiracy against business. In Britain even privileged groups speak with enthusiasm of the fact that ration coupons are a new kind of money which relate expenditure to need. In my recent visit to Britain I frequently heard what I have never heard in America—an expression of the hope that rationing will continue after the war, on the ground that it is pleasant to eat one's food without the uneasy feeling that one is eating at the expense of someone else.

The political distance between the left-wing Tories and labor in Britain is less than between any Republican group and our New Dealers. British labor may rightly be resentful because the Beveridge plan has not been implemented; and it is certain that a real class debate must precede its final implementation. Nevertheless, the principles of the Beveridge Report have been accepted with a degree of unanimity unknown in our own country. The ideas of Quintin Hogg's group of radical Tories would make Mr. Spangler and the Republican reactionaries purple with rage. Even some of the more conservative Tories would be capable of shocking Mr. Spangler.

There is a certain peril in this degree of political solidarity among the British classes. It tends to obscure some of the basic property issues which must be solved before modern society achieves a real measure of justice. The feudal class system leaves its mark upon the laboring class by giving it an inferiority complex. The larger measure of social justice achieved under the British system adds a degree of political complacency to the sense of social inferiority. In consequence, labor lacks a strong will-to-power. It is hazardous for a stranger to prophesy in such matters; yet I will venture the guess that it will be a long time before labor in Britain controls the government completely. Meanwhile it will probably exact various concessions from conservative governments either by participation or by pressure from without.

This organic rather than rational conception of community relations has the further consequence of emphasizing historical forms of social growth. The British do not like logical systems of political thought. They are on the whole averse to perfectly consistent systems, whether political, philosophical, or theological. They believe in venturing step by step from one liberty to another, from one form of justice to a broader one. In periods of prosperity they speak with pride of this method of "muddling through," though they sometimes engage in self-castigations about it in periods of adversity. This penchant for gradual historical growth gives the British nation a much brighter prospect of a basically peaceful domestic future than we have. The tumults and crises of our political life will continue to astound our British partners, in peace as well as in war.

It must be observed, however, that the international problem of our day has become too revolutionary for this method of approach. It may, ordinarily, be a good thing to follow Pope's advice:

> Be not the first by whom the new are tried
> Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.

Yet there are crises in history, such as the present international situation, when the proponents of gradual historical growth may underestimate the degree of novelty in a new situation and thereby fail to take steps sufficiently daring and venturesome to meet the situation.

The British feel that subsequent history has justified their critical appraisal of Woodrow Wilson's rather too abstract approach to world problems, particularly in view of the fact that American "realists" completely negated the plans of world government projected by American "idealists." They are rather glad that the Roosevelt Administration seems to be following the British method of gradually enlarging, and building upon, the closer relations among nations that the war has forced upon us.

Upon this point it seems to me that neither American nor British policy is sufficiently daring for the crisis of our time. Woodrow Wilson's world plans may have been too abstract and the League may not have sufficiently exploited the partnerships which the war alliances had created. Yet the policies of the present do not go far enough. The many problems which must be solved, between Britain and America on the one hand and between the Anglo-Saxon powers and Russia on the other, could be solved more easily if a partnership on broad general lines were projected than they can be if every problem of military, political, and economic pooling is approached without the presupposition of an over-all partnership. Furthermore, there are no really thoroughgoing plans for the application of this pooled power in solving the problems of the Pacific or of the European continent. There is every indication that Russian, British, and American plans are at cross-purposes concerning these problems, in so far as there are any plans. It would be unjust to hold the historical and piecemeal approach of the British solely responsible for the defects of both British and American policy; but it is a fact that that policy is too conservative for a period that requires broad plans.

Space permits only the barest mention of the misunderstanding between Britain and America in respect to foreign policy. Underlying the difference is the fact that America's power is preponderantly economic, whereas Britain's is chiefly political. Ours is derived from our continental resources and our unrivaled power of industrial production, while Britain's rests on its vast imperial system. The friction between these two forms of power promises difficulties on every hand. Our greater production of airplanes and ships and Britain's greater number of air bases and harbors is one factor; possible conflict with British sovereignty in countries that produce rubber for the American market is another. Even the reconstruction of the European continent—which will require American credits, while the nearness of Britain and its probably closer tie with Russia will give it greater political authority on the Continent than we are either willing or able to exercise—presents the same possibility of friction between economic and political power.

In the immediate instance, this friction expresses itself in the tendency of liberals in Britain and America to be unduly conscious of the sins of the other country rather than of those of their own. The British left frequently speaks of American politics as if a reactionary triumph in this country were already a foregone conclusion. On the other hand, American liberalism tends to regard British "imperialism" as merely a system of exploitation—a judgment which not only disregards the very great democratic achievement embodied in the "Commonwealth" side of the British Empire, but also obscures some very real accomplishments in British colonial administration. At the opposite extreme are those British idealists who speak of the burdens of empire as if nothing but a sense of moral responsibility could prompt them to bear their imperial tasks. This kind of moralism is as far from the truth as an interpretation of empire which identifies it purely with economic exploitation.

Both Britons and Americans, in short, require more objective criteria for an estimate of imperial tasks and a criticism of imperial vices. Despite American criticism of British imperialism, we shall have to learn in time that power, once possessed, must be exercised; that its occasional misuse is no more grievous than an isolationist effort to disavow its responsibilities; that even the most responsible exercise of power is not free of imperial corruption; and that the danger of the exploitation of the weak by the strong can be overcome only by the gradual elaboration of the most careful political and moral restraints.

A closer relationship between the two Anglo-Saxon powers might reduce friction by preventing a clash between forms of power which ought to supplement each other in a world community of nations. Each people would do well to remember the universal taint of imperial exploitation which accompanies the exercise of power, whether political or economic, when either is tempted to accuse the other. We might, in that event, learn to repent of our own sins, rather than of those of our partner.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

NOTWITHSTANDING his clear declaration against secret diplomacy, Mr. Wilson goes on with his secret plans for some sort of international action against Russia . . . a situation which the warmest supporter of the Administration cannot but regret.—*August 3, 1918.*

JUSTICE SEABURY aptly characterized the nominee just designated by the New York gubernatorial primary as "the best representative of the worst element in the Democratic Party in New York." But Alfred Smith is more than that. Aside from his association with Tammany, he has thoroughly earned high office by long and useful public service. . . . Fortunately, the Hearst candidacy collapsed at Saratoga; not even Tammany, which to a considerable extent owes to him its control of the city of New York, could stomach him, and it is universally hoped that this body blow to Mr. Hearst's political aspirations—an insult in themselves to all decent Americans—will forever end his hopes of obtaining office. —*August 3, 1918.*

HAD IT FALLEN to the lot of editors or statesmen to summarize the fourth year of the war six weeks ago, it can hardly be denied that the account would have shown an impressive balance on the Kaiser's side. . . . Within the last six weeks, however, the tide has turned.—*August 3, 1918.*

A REMARKABLE EXPERIMENT in governmental control was begun last week when the Department of Labor took over all the unskilled laborers in the country under a rationing system. It is now unlawful for anyone employing more than a hundred workmen to advertise or otherwise solicit such labor into his employ, except through agencies of the Department.—*August 10, 1918.*

RESTRICTIONS on the use of meat were abolished by the Food Administration on August 9, owing to the fact that the danger of a shortage has now been averted.—*August 17, 1918.*

THE GREAT and sensational case of the United States of America *vs.* William D. Haywood *et al.* resulted in a verdict of "Guilty" against the one hundred defendants. . . . Although the trial consumed over four months, and although the witnesses were numerous and the records unprecedentedly voluminous, the jury deliberated less than two hours. This circumstance was a great surprise to the defendants as well as to many impartial observers. . . . It is in every way to be hoped that a rehearing of the case on appeal, if such rehearing is had, will be neither delayed nor impeded.—VICTOR S. YARROS, *August 31, 1918.*

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Let's Look at Labor

V. UNIONS, RESTRICTED CLIENTELE

BY HERBERT R. NORTHRUP

AMERICAN trade unions have met the problem of organizing Negroes in a variety of ways. A desire to monopolize the market for their members' skill, together with race prejudice, has induced some craft unions to adopt the color bar. Fifteen such organizations still exclude Negroes by explicit provision in their constitutions or rituals. Six of these are small and relatively unimportant, but the other nine—the Machinists, the Commercial Telegraphers, the Railroad Telegraphers, the Railway Mail Association, and the Switchmen (all A. F. of L. affiliates); and the Locomotive Engineers, the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Railway Conductors, and the Railroad Trainmen (the independent railroad brotherhoods)—include some of the most powerful unions in this country. Five other unions—the Plumbers and Steamfitters, the Electrical Workers, the Asbestos Workers, the Flint Glass Workers, and the Granite Cutters (all A. F. of L. affiliates)—have no rules restricting the admission of Negroes, but their locals generally exclude them by tacit consent. In addition, nine organizations—the Boilermakers and Shipbuilders, the Maintenance of Way Employees, the Railway Carmen, the Railway Clerks, the Blacksmiths, the Sheet Metal Workers, and the Federation of Rural Letter Carriers (of the A. F. of L.) and the Rural Letter Carriers' Association and the American Federation of Railroad Workers (both independent)—confine Negroes to Jim Crow "auxiliaries" which permit them to pay dues but in one way or another deny them a voice in union affairs or an opportunity for occupational advancement.

Some craft unions, for example the Bricklayers and the Plasterers, both of the A. F. of L., have attempted to insure Negroes equality both in the union and on the job. The large number of Negroes in the trowel trades undoubtedly was an important factor in inducing these organizations to adopt such a policy. In addition, unions having jurisdiction over unskilled workers, like the A. F. of L. Hod Carriers and Common Laborers, and those organized on an industrial basis, like the A. F. of L. Ladies' Garment Workers and the unions affiliated with the C. I. O., generally admit Negroes on an equal basis.

Officially, the American Federation of Labor opposes race discrimination without reservation. Actually, it has condoned it in all its forms. Since 1895, it has not once refused affiliation to an organization because it excluded Negroes. On several occasions it organized Negroes into directly affiliated "federal" locals because a constituent union barred them. Then, when the union in question amended its rules so as to admit Negroes to a Jim Crow "auxiliary," the A. F. of L. Executive Council revoked the Negroes' federal charters and forced them to accept an inferior status in the local union.

On the other hand, no national union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations bars colored workers or confines them to separate locals. Since the C. I. O. was founded by leaders of the Mine Workers and the garment unions, which have long had as liberal racial policies as any unions; since it is committed to a "take in everybody" philosophy, and indeed had to do just that if it wished to organize the mass production industries; and since it contains within its ranks most of the left-wing groups in the labor movement, its opposition to discrimination is not difficult to understand.

Of the twenty-nine unions which by explicit provision or tacit consent either exclude Negroes or afford them only inferior status, thirteen are found on the railroads and six more in railway shops. In no other industry has collective bargaining been so unprofitable for Negroes. Management has denied colored railroad workers promotion and paid them less than whites for performing identical jobs, a fact which is often hidden by classifying Negroes and whites doing the same work under different titles. Rather than admit Negroes and bring their standards up to those of the white workers, two railway brotherhoods, the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Railroad Trainmen, have attempted for more than fifty years to drive Negro firemen and brakemen off the Southern roads, where nearly all of them are employed. Both appear about to succeed. The Locomotive Firemen signed a contract with most of the Southern railroads in February, 1941, which has the effect of prohibiting the employment of Negroes on engines with Diesel motors or automatic stokers. Under an Interstate Commerce Commission ruling automatic stokers were required to replace hand firing on nearly all steam engines by July 1, 1943.

The Railroad Trainmen have made use of the National Railroad Adjustment Board to achieve their goal. This unique administrative agency was set up by the Railway Labor Act of 1934 as a final court for disputes arising out of the interpretation of collective agreements in the railway industry. It is a bi-partisan board composed of management and the standard railway-union representatives, who deny other interested parties a hearing. It has enunciated the principle (with referee sitting in and employer members dissenting) that a particular job "belongs to" a particular class of men. Accordingly, since Negroes who perform brakemen's jobs are usually classified as "porter-brakemen," they have no "right" to such work, even if a railroad has always hired Negroes, and never whites! On April 20, 1942, the First Division of the Adjustment Board (Award No. 6,640) ruled exactly this way. Vigorously dissenting, the employer members declared that this "award seriously transgresses our authority and duty," and demanded a federal investigation. Congress would do well not only to follow this suggestion, but to investigate also the relationship between the racial policies of the railroad unions, particularly the Locomotive Firemen, and the current shortage of labor.

Such an investigation was planned by the Committee on Fair Employment Practices set up by President Roosevelt in June, 1941. The committee had succeeded in opening up employment opportunities to Negroes in many plants which had barred them. But about two weeks before the railroad hearings were to be held—and two days after the President left for the Casablanca conference—Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Commissioner, into whose agency the committee had been shifted a few months before, called off the railroad hearings. Recently a new committee headed by Father Francis J. Haas has been appointed and the railroad hearings rescheduled for September 15-16. But whether the committee can do more than embarrass the railroad unions by publicizing the sordid details of their policy remains to be seen. In the meantime, the Negro firemen and brakemen, among the highest paid colored workers in the country, continue to be deprived of jobs.

The exclusionist union which carries the greatest threat to the economic future of colored workers is not the Locomotive Firemen or the Railroad Trainmen, but the International Association of Machinists, which recently left the A. F. of L. Founded by railway shopmen in Atlanta, it now has a membership of 500,000, sprawled all over the economy in railway and machine shops, shipyards, and more recently in airplane plants, in which the A. F. of L. has given it exclusive jurisdiction. Had it won collective bargaining rights for most of the aircraft industry, it would have helped to institutionalize the almost universal prejudice which management in this industry exhibited toward Negroes before the war. Fortunately, the equalitarian-minded Auto Workers (C. I. O.) have been more successful in this field. Moreover, the FEPC has forced the Machinists to permit Negroes to work in some of the plants in which they have agreements. Nevertheless, the employment of Negroes in this great industry of the future continues to be small, and the Machinists' union remains a threat to further industrial gains of Negroes wherever it is entrenched.

A few locals of the Machinists have actually admitted Negroes in disregard of the exclusionist clause in their union ritual. Whether this is a sign of reform or a temporary expedient remains to be seen. But until the exclusionist clause is removed, permanent reform is scarcely possible.

For a union to practice equality of treatment, not only must it admit colored workers on an equal basis; it must also insist that jobs be divided without regard to race, and that lay-offs, rehirings, *and promotions* be based upon some principle, such as seniority or ability or some combination of the two, which does not permit discrimination. The promotion problem has come to the fore during the war boom and has been responsible for much friction. White workers, in many instances, have resented the introduction of Negroes into jobs which they regarded as strictly their property. On the other hand, Negroes have justly pointed out that real equality means equal treatment in all phases of the collective agreement. By and large, union officials have backed up the Negroes since the war. It was upon the insistence of the C. I. O. Auto Workers that Negro janitors and foundry workers in the automobile industry were up-graded and trained for jobs in the Detroit factories that have been converted to tank and airplane production. Although harassed by some wild-cat strikes by prejudiced whites, the top officials of this union have not compromised their stand.

The A. F. of L. Ladies' Garment Workers, and such C. I. O. unions as the Steelworkers, the Aluminum Workers, the Electrical, Radio, and Machinery Workers, and the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers have taken a position as firm as that of the Auto Workers in so far as non-discriminatory promotions are concerned. In addition, the last two, together with the C. I. O. National Maritime Union, have played a major role in inducing employers who had never hired Negroes to accept them for the first time.

But equalitarian-minded unions have had little success in opening up the higher-bracket jobs to Negroes in the South. Constantly on the defensive in this area, they have hesitated to make a frontal attack on the custom of reserving the better jobs for whites. Besides, too frequently unions desirous of giving Negroes equal treatment have found it necessary to go slowly lest they induce the majority of white workers to shift to an organization which is not committed to a non-discrimination policy. Thus, while in many instances the split in the labor movement and the rise of the new industrial unions have forced older organizations to liberalize their racial policies, too often the lack of a united front has compelled the equalitarian ones to backtrack on their principles.

Despite the failure of unions to revolutionize hiring and promotion practices in the South and despite the activities of such organizations as the railroad brotherhoods and the Machinists, unions are today far more of a help than a hindrance to Negro workers. A great part, perhaps even a majority, of the gains made by Negroes in industry during the last few years can be attributed to union influence. During all their years of unrestricted control, few American employers made any real attempt to give Negroes a square deal in so far as hiring and promotion were concerned. Their excuse was that the white workers would not stand for it. Often this was the case. Yet it has been the unions that have forced management to accept and to promote Negroes, and the union leaders who have kept the protests of prejudiced whites from getting out of hand. In view of the fact that a majority of the discriminatory unions are confined to a few industries, especially railroading, it is likely that organized labor will continue to be a boon to Negroes.

On the other hand, there does not seem to be much hope that the unions which have discriminatory rules will abolish them in the near future. To be sure, there is a minority in most of these organizations which has long advocated just that. But after diligent research, I can report only one union, the A. F. of L. Hotel and Restaurant Employees, which has completely removed the restrictions against colored workers that were once in its laws. The unwarranted emphasis by the armed forces on Jim Crow and the virulent racism that is sweeping the country are likely to retard progress after the war. Certainly there is a crying need for education, not only of the rank and file, but of some union leaders as well.

[*This is the fifth article of a series of seven on the problems confronting the American labor movement. The sixth will appear in two weeks.*]

Jack Raper—Batting for Scripps

BY DEXTER HOYT TEED

SINCE the death of E. W. Scripps, founder of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, the liberal, crusading organization he created has degenerated to a pale and weak conservatism. But there is one man who carries the torch for "E. W.," fighting uncompromisingly for the ideals Scripps advocated during his flamboyant life.

This man is a fragile, seventy-three-year-old little Clevelander who until he speaks looks as if he might be a Mr. Milquetoast of the eighteen-nineties. When he bends his gaze upon a listener, however, and speaks his mind, his quality becomes clear. He is, of course, Jack Raper of the Cleveland *Press*. Though he has never become nationally known, the men with whom he works swear by him and insist, with a catch in their throats, that he is the answer to a newspaperman's prayer and that if there is a last journalist it is he.

Raper expects to retire at the end of this year, after serving for forty-three years as an absolutely independent columnist on the paper that Scripps founded as the *Penny Press* back in the days when nearly every newspaper was the tool of some pressure group, political party, or financial interest. He has not become rich except in the love that other newspapermen, grateful citizens, and those he has helped have bestowed upon him.

Jack Raper knew E. W. Scripps as well as he knew his own mother. He will tell you about him today. "That old bastard!" he will say affectionately. "He drank more whiskey than any man I ever knew, but he was so damnably honest and independent that he makes some of these modern journalists who are out for the almighty dollar look like pigmies. E. W. never owned a block of stock, he was never tied up with any banks, and nobody ever influenced his editorial policy. Of course the *Press* is bigger and more successful financially than it ever was when Scripps was living, but if he controlled it today, the paper would be a stronger editorial force, crooks and shysters who now sometimes get away with murder would be put in a fitting place, and we'd have a better world to live in."

There was a tradition of honest, liberal, and progressive journalism in Cleveland. The *Press* continued it. And in Scripps's early days it began to spread over the country. The Scripps policy was not only good American doctrine; it was also good business. Scripps never suffered serious financial difficulties. The money rolled in and E. W. prospered. Raper found his place on the *Press*, after wandering around the country as a journeyman newspaperman, all the time moved by ideals that were strange in an era when every American boy believed that if he were smart enough he could become a multimillionaire or President.

To understand the Raper of today it is necessary to know his background. He has written of it picturesquely:

> Beginning at the beginning, I was born in McArthur, a town or the town in Vinton County, the hickest county

> in the state of Ohio, but no hicker than I am, for notwithstanding the fact that I have spent two-thirds of my life in fairly large cities I am a hick, afraid of crowds, street cars, automobiles, traffic cops, head waiters, hat checkers, bootleggers, uplifters, aluminum collars, and hard-boiled shirts, and I shave myself with an old-fashioned straight razor—a hick without a single sign of evolution into an urban.

Young Jack's father wanted him to be a professional man, but Jack ran away from home and got into the newspaper business by the back door. He has never been out of it. Some may say that Raper has been a rare exception in journalism, but that is not so. He caught the spirit of journalism as a youngster and despite pressure from every direction has never forgotten it.

With such a background Raper in recent years has had to face the fact that the Scripps-Howard outlook has changed. Fortunately the *Press* has a gifted editor—in the opinion of many persons the ablest editor in the Scripps-Howard chain. Back in 1928 Louis Seltzer was a "boy editor"; today, a grandfather at forty-five, he is an editorial and political force in the Middle West. Formerly a successful reporter, Seltzer has the knack of humanizing the news.

When the non-Scripps influence descended upon Scripps-Howard, Raper still had a chance under Seltzer to function as an independent thinker. True, Roy Howard had said bluntly that the need for pro-labor liberal journalism was over. The slogan, "Give light and the people will find their own way," still stood, but it had been nullified by Howard's statement, when he returned from Russia, that "the people" were receiving too much information. The Scripps influence was dead as a moving force behind Scripps-Howard journalism. Under the circumstances Jack Raper might have been expected to suffer an eclipse. But he just isn't that kind of person. Seltzer put no brakes on his column, although the *Press's* editorials became more and more conservative. A. T. Birch and John Markham, who wrote them, did not find it difficult to follow the Howard line.

Raper has often directly opposed the editorial policy of the paper. The *Press* was against the city's purchase of the immensely profitable Cleveland Illuminating Company. Raper came out strongly for it. He didn't pull any punches either. He presented facts and proved to many that taxes would be reduced substantially by the purchase and that the city as a whole would benefit. Raper lost that fight, but it didn't discourage him. While editorials were catering more and more to big corporations, Raper still had a feeling for the little man.

Frequent digs at the people and the causes the paper supported have appeared in his column. For example: "Take this for a guide: whenever the big boys are against anything, it is certain to be pretty good for the masses." "I suppose God had some reason for putting bankers here. He made the boll weevil and the corn borer also." "Washington is noting that Governor Bricker is playing the silent game just as Hoover and Coolidge did. And for the same reason those two played it. They couldn't think of anything to say." "Some awful big men can crawl into some mighty small holes." "What this world needs is more open minds and fewer open mouths."

When the *Press* bears down on labor, Raper rises to defend it. He has fired some of his best verbal broadsides at Eddie Rickenbacker.

Often referring in his column to "my esteemed contemp, the Cleveland *Press*," he tears apart some of its best editorial arguments. Sometimes he uses ridicule, sometimes facts. In one of his many speeches he used the tongue-in-the-cheek method. "Certainly I'm not anti-*Press*," he said, "though I am occasionally irritated by the knowledge that I must be careful not to send the editor to jail. But, speaking to you privately and confidentially, I wish now and then that the editor was in jail." Some wondered whether he was referring to Seltzer or Roy Howard.

Seltzer has cannily utilized Raper's forthright liberalism to retain liberal readers antagonized by the change in editorial policy. Seltzer even added to his staff Dilworth Lupton, who writes in a liberal vein but is not averse to compromise. The prestige of Raper's outspoken column has been increased by the contrast.

For months Raper has been a two-fisted critic of Frederick C. Crawford, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. He has objected to both his outlook and his ideas. Seltzer, a man who by nature likes peace in the human family, one day asked Raper to attend a luncheon with him and "meet a friend." Raper became suspicious and asked Seltzer who the friend was. When he learned it was Crawford, he said bluntly, "Louis, I don't want to meet him today, tomorrow, or ten years from today. He isn't my kind and you know it."

Of all the Scripps-Howard papers, the Cleveland *Press* is the most successful. It makes approximately one million dollars a year. Raper is undoubtedly one of the main reasons, for he gives the reading public the straight-from-the-shoulder opinions to which Scripps had accustomed it. Louis Adamic once called him Cleveland's most successful citizen. The late Martin B. Daley, for years an important figure in Cleveland, said of him: "When clashes occurred between the city and the gas company on the ancient question of rates, five words by Raper could do more harm than five pages of costly advertising could repair." Several times people have tried to persuade him to syndicate his column nationally, but he has insisted he wants to write for Cleveland and Cleveland people. "You can't see very good when the spotlight's turned on you," he wrote once in his column—and he may have been thinking of himself.

Raper is probably a rather ordinary human being who

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has used what talents he had and refused to compromise. A spare little man, friendly and chuckling, he moves spryly through the world, pausing to deflate the egos of stuffed shirts, bombastic politicians, and self-seeking crooks. He is invariably cheerful and hopeful while trying doggedly to make people a little more honest and a little more considerate of others. If he appears cynical at times, his cynicism is a fraud. Actually he is warm-hearted and impish. Like the average man that he is, he is skeptical of bigness and "big men." This may be his weakness, but it is a good weakness in an era when many newspapermen have discovered that catering to bigness is the surest way of obtaining financial rewards.

Raper has been surprisingly popular among those who disagree completely with his views. If he speaks before a Rotary Club, he is likely to select a subject such as Jesse James and Other Bank Robbers and then upbraid the bankers for their shortcomings. But he gets their applause. He was the first important Cleveland citizen to denounce the Van Sweringens' top-heavy financial empire. His speech on that subject before the City Club is still recalled as a classic. He described the light that burned in the Cleveland Terminal Tower built by the Van Sweringens, and closed with these words: "There in the tower top it burns, night after night, in memory of the Unknown Bondholder. And there they sit, the unkissed cherubs, symbols of the sublimity of virginity and masculinity. Pure in their private lives. But it can hardly be said that in their relations with the public they practiced continence."

He believes we will win this war and that the American tradition of liberty will be maintained, but some of the things that are happening now irk him. He wrote recently: "A letter-to-Santa-Claus contest conducted at Luke Field, Arizona, was won by a private who said: 'I have always voted the Republican ticket and read the funny papers on Sunday.' Death on the field of battle can hold no terror for such a man."

Raper is annoyed by the caution that has come over the Scripps-Howard chain and even the *Press.* When young Charles Scripps, grandson of E. W., was working on the paper, Raper detected in him a natural leaning toward liberalism and hoped that eventually Charles would be able to reestablish the liberal tradition. But young Scripps went into service soon after the war started. Raper also had hopes of Jack Howard, son of Roy, but Jack is in the navy now.

Raper cannot be wholly happy on a paper that almost invariably is on the side of privilege, that prints editorials written at Scripps-Howard central headquarters, and that allows its sports editor, after the manner of Lucius Beebe, to call the public "peasants." But Raper will be independent to the end. It's his nature, and he will never forget or betray the memory of Scripps.

In the Wind

THE PROPAGANDA BROADCASTS of Robert H. Best, American traitor, on the Berlin radio are now followed by this announcement: "The commentaries by Robert H. Best are his own and do not necessarily represent the views of this station."

SHOWING of the Negro movie, "Cabin in the Sky," at the Maury Theater in Mount Pleasant, Tennessee, was halted half an hour after it opened. A mob gathered in front of the theater and its leader ordered the manager of the theater to stop the showing. The manager went to the sheriff and asked what he should do. The sheriff advised him to obey the mob.

THE POLITICAL VALUES of the Norman, Oklahoma, *Daily Oklahoman* are revealed in two editorials published the same day. On Mussolini: "If he had died before he sent his soldiers to invade Abyssinia, he would have ranked in future history with those who served wisely and patriotically and well." On Henry Wallace's Detroit speech denouncing fascism: "While Americans died in Sicily, Henry Wallace talked politics."

ANTI-JAPANESE SENTIMENT on the West Coast is being used by an outfit called the Home Front Commandos, Inc., to promote drastic anti-alien legislation. One of its leaflets advises immediate action, because "the Pacifists, the Sob Sisters, the Religious Cliques, and the Brotherly Love gang will frustrate anything that may be attempted when peace comes. Now is the time to prepare for the Peace-Time War."

EXEGESIS: *Editor and Publisher* interprets Westbrook Pegler's position for the press: "Pegler is not against unionism. As a matter of fact, he is for it. He expressed great concern that the reaction that might take place with a change of administration in 1944 will go too far against unionism and might tend to build up a fascist organization."

AN ITALIAN underground organization, Justice and Liberty, has recently sent a group of members from its United States branch to Italy, "to continue . . . their fight in the heart of the struggle."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazi propaganda office in Brussels arranged for a captured Russian tank to be driven through the streets. The Brusselers covered it with flowers. . . . A Nazi paper in Lodz, Poland, urges German residents to wear their racial insignia as a "gesture of courage." "Whoever wears the German sign proclaiming his German nationality proves that he does not wish to be lost in the crowd."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Perplexities of Peace

BY JOSEPH CHAPIRO

IT SEEMS that we know less about the principle of world peace than about how to colonize Mars. "All your misfortunes have not taught you," cried the great French author and preacher Fénelon to the peoples of Europe 250 years ago, "what you must do to banish war." The truth of what he said is confirmed for us daily through the flesh of our sons, if not our own.

Certainly, none of the democratic peoples wanted this war. They made great sacrifices to avoid it. Nevertheless, they were drawn into war, one after the other, by a stronger, undemocratic nation, not because the democratic principle was a failure, or because the peoples adhering to it were betrayed by their governments, but because their statesmen and politicians did not understand the completely new principle of the modern world. A single people can unleash world war. But world peace can be secured only by all the peoples together. That is the lesson of the period between two wars.

The question is, therefore, how do our statesmen intend to apply this lesson and to secure world peace?

It is strange that in spite of the radio and in spite of official propaganda, we hear nothing about their intentions. No official peace program has been announced or even proposed for discussion. True, there is the Atlantic Charter, which was signed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill a few months before the United States entered the war. The Charter, however, is but an ethical document, a creed of peace—not in any sense a program. In Moscow, Stalin has addressed some heart-warming messages to the heroic Red Army, but they served to enlighten us about the sentiments of the fighting Russians toward the German people rather than to formulate a peace program for the world. Nor have all the proclamations of the various governments in exile done more. They have been concerned chiefly with the restoration of the sovereignty of countries now under the Nazi yoke.

At the time of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, that is, less than forty months after the outbreak of the First World War, I was able to publish outlines of twenty-four official peace programs sponsored by the warring powers, programs which basically resembled each other and therefore, at least theoretically, made the continuation of the war an absurdity. Whether those programs were good or bad, they existed. Today, after forty-seven months of war, no sign of a program has appeared.

In the last 150 years, the human spirit has attained undreamed-of heights in all fields except one—that of international politics. But this field, more than any other, rules the fate of collective humanity and of our individual existence. While all other forms of mental activity fructify one another, give and take from one another whatever is creative and challenging, international politics has taken from the inventions, the discoveries, the creations of our civilization only what is destructive, only what contributes to its own retrogression.

The most wonderful thing about the creations of the human spirit is that they fall into a pattern. Thus we are continually adding to the intellectual and spiritual riches which constitute our civilization. But in international politics nothing has been permanent. As the years have passed, each new conquest, for which a higher and higher price has been paid, has had a briefer and briefer existence. For centuries conquests, and the resultant political power of the conquerors, have lasted no longer than a few decades. The work of Charles V, Louis XIV, Napoleon, Bismarck—to name the greatest of them—endured only a bare fifty years. This astonishing phenomenon may be explained by the fact that the statesmen drew their wisdom for the future not from the continuous organic changes of the world but from the past. They let themselves be guided by history, which proved to be a machine running out of gear, a machine which so far has not been able to produce a body of principles that would enable us to establish a future more secure than the bloody past.

History records clamorous events that for the moment shake the world and a few decades later disappear without trace. It seldom records such phenomena as the triumph of steam with all its consequences, the natural development of a unified economy, or the slow victory of electricity. It lingers happily over Napoleon but scarcely mentions Ampère—perhaps because Ampère's triumph was not sealed by a treaty. But Napoleon's work vanished long ago, while electricity in the past 150 years has encircled the world with an external nervous system of such importance that all other systems have had to be quickly adapted to it. Animals which are transported to different living and climatic conditions must adapt their bodily functions to the new conditions or die. Politically we are in the same situation as those animals. The world today is no longer the one in which we thought we lived, and the failure to appreciate that fact has been leading Europe to its ruin.

THE VATICAN SPEAKS

The following quotations are taken from a Rome shortwave broadcast to Spain, picked up by the C. B. S. Shortwave Listening Station in New York on August 3, 1943.

Turin: Cardinal Maurelio Orsatti, Archbishop of Turin, has addressed a most noble pastoral letter to his followers in which he says among other things: "Today our august sovereign has placed the government in the firm hands of a caudillo who has demonstrated with facts that he is working only for the good of the fatherland. This is a formidable mission that he has accepted by reason of high duty. We must have faith in him and in his collaborators. It is a crime against the fatherland to interfere with his work in any way, even by criticism. The first measures adopted, as reported by the Italian press, show that the government desires to give the citizens that liberty which all were expecting. But liberty does not mean doing whatever one wishes to do. In fact, we must prove ourselves worthy of this liberty."

Genoa: Throughout all the churches of the Diocese of Genoa, the priests have read a pastoral letter by Cardinal Archbishop Boetto, in which he recalls that the duty of all Christians is to humble themselves to the new legitimately constituted authority with a spirit of comprehension, obedience, and discipline:

"No Christian must associate himself with any demonstrations of political ideas or programs of which he knows little; that is, programs or ideas which don't appear to respect institutions and natural rights. Prayer—the religious institution of the nation—participation at Holy Mass and the other sacraments, modesty in one's habits and ways, generosity and diligence are necessary, especially during these critical days, so that God may show the guiding light to the rulers and give our fatherland prosperity and the spirit of fraternity and of peace in the community of human beings."

The scale of political thinking has changed, and we can no longer work with dimensions which are microscopic in comparison with cosmic, indivisible reality. Scarcely a hundred years ago people in European capitals took no notice of what was happening in Shanghai or in any other distant spot on the earth. Today everyone feels instinctively, without being able to explain why, that any event, however distant, may have fateful consequences for his own country. Nevertheless, since the First World War our statesmen have used an archaic vocabulary, offered us banalities that in no other field of human endeavor would have received the slightest consideration.

I do not believe that the leading statesmen and party leaders of democratic Europe have lacked good will. Our leaders have simply lacked the chief necessity—global vision; and because they have lacked it for two decades, Europe and the world have been plunged into chaos. The democratic statesmen knew that the collapse of the League of Nations, the rearmament of Germany, the conquest of Ethiopia, the murder of the Spanish Republic, the Japanese invasion of China, the rape of Austria and Czechoslovakia, all accompanied by the uninterrupted slaughter of Jews, foretold coming global catastrophe. But they did not know how to organize the world to escape that catastrophe. The greatest calamity of all was that they were not even aware of their ignorance.

Wilson was the first statesman in modern times to think in a cosmic way and to see the world as an entity. He had the world view even before Versailles. When I visited Eamon de Valera in Dublin in 1934, I met a member of the Irish delegation that had been sent to Wilson in Paris in the spring of 1919. He related an episode to me which throws a bright light on the origin of the present tragedy. As the members of the Irish delegation questioned the American President, his replies became weaker and weaker. When they called his attention to the contradictions in what he said, Wilson fell back exhausted into an armchair and in a low voice confessed that if he wanted to keep all his promises and put his original program into effect he would have to send a new army overseas and wage war against all Europe, and of course the American people would never consent to that. This avowal of complete bankruptcy affected the delegation like the announcement of the Apocalypse. As Wilson took leave of his horrified guests, he could only whisper brokenly, "Did you really imagine that I was in a position to make over the world with one stroke? I came here with great hopes. I hoped to accomplish so many things that I have not been able to accomplish . . ."

Our leaders are perplexed, and that in itself is a step forward. In 1919 the old men gathered at Versailles thought they had the remedy in their hands, and they brought Europe to the verge of ruin. In 1943, our leading statesmen are convinced that we are far from possessing the remedy that will save the world, and they are unwilling to dispense the wrong medicine. That is the way I explain the absence of any official peace program. But the best of them know that economically the earth is a single unit and that peace likewise, as the Russians insist, is indivisible. They are groping for the common denominator which will permanently establish a new international system, based upon foundations of mutual trust and constructive idealism. They will find it only if their vision encompasses the whole terrestrial globe, and the political as well as the economic unity of its peoples. If not, Fénelon's cry will be heard again, this time with a violence that no one can foresee.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE eruption of Rome filled Goebbels's ministry with consternation and confusion. By the time these ines appear in print much more water will have flowed down the Tiber, but a glance back at the first convulsions n the German political-dope factory will be instructive. Here is a calendar:

Sunday, July 25: Mussolini's "resignation" is proclaimed in Rome in the afternoon. Berlin doesn't mention it. But all the regular "political reviews" are omitted from the day's radio schedule, without explanation.

Monday, July 26: The bulletin from Rome is read to he radio audience for the first time—before dawn, at 3:37 a.m. Each reading is followed by the explanation, 'It is assumed that this change in government is due to the state of Il Duce's health." This, tirelessly repeated, s the only information available all day from radio or newspaper. In the evening comes Badoglio's proclamation that Italy will stay in the war, with a German admonition at the end: "Let the German people take due note of this declaration."

Tuesday, July 27: During the morning hours no further news of any kind from Italy. Only an effort to make this "internal Italian affair" seem unimportant for Germany. The Berlin *Börsenzeitung,* for example:

> The meaning of the Marshal's words is unmistakably clear, in spite of absurd and calumnious speculations by certain pro-British neutral papers which are casting doubt on Italy's honor.

At noon, however, comes the radio commentator Dr. Kriegk with vague hints that possibly everything may not be settled:

> The new development in Italy will cut deeply into the structure of Italian political life. We await developments in the political theater of war with complete calm.

And evidently orders have gone out not to use the word 'Axis" any more. The word "Axis" has disappeared from the German vocabulary! No more concrete news. Nothing about the dissolution of the Fascist Party. Nothng about Mussolini, the King, Badoglio, Gayda, Farinacci, etc. Not a word about unrest, demonstrations, fighting.

Wednesday, July 28: Still nothing about the dissolution of the Fascist Party or other developments. Life in Italy is "normal." Only "a few incidents" (those three words, nothing more) have occurred. But it is necessary o explain the lack of news. This is taken care of on the radio by the dark words of Fritz Lucke:

> It is only natural that the German people are waiting with obvious impatience for every piece of information from and about Italy, whose fate particularly concerns us Germans. The German leaders are fully aware of this. But the German leaders know also that such a German statement is nowhere more feverishly awaited than in our enemy's camp. The reason is clear: it is hoped that some very slight German comment will make it possible to draw conclusions about the next German move. For this reason the German leaders maintain silence.

Thus for the first time it is revealed that some sort of "moves" have become necessary. The point is underscored: "It is for the German leaders to determine when the day of action will come." "Brave hearts and cool heads" are commended to the public. By this time it is clear that we have wandered pretty far from the subject of Il Duce's health.

Thursday, July 29: Still no word on the dissolution of the Fascist Party, etc. But Mussolini is suddenly discovered. The principal theme for today is his sixtieth birthday. He is, it appears, a grand old man in momentary and honorable seclusion, still the revered hero of his people. The *Völkische Beobachter* greets him as a "man of the century." And the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* carries the eulogy still further:

> After our victory future generations will venerate in the remarkable personality of Mussolini a great revolutionary who advanced the goal not only for his own people but for the renewal of mankind.

Hitler's gift to his great friend, a magnificent edition of the collected works of Friedrich Nietzsche, is widely commented upon. The possibility of a separate Italian peace is mentioned for the first time—in the form of a denial. Churchill, Roosevelt, and Eisenhower have made a separate peace utterly impossible. As Dr. Kriegk explains:

> Italy realizes now that no confidence can be placed in Britain's or America's word, and the British will have to learn that the Italians can fight if anyone tries to destroy them.

Friday, July 30: Still nothing on the dissolution of the Fascist Party, etc. But Friday is the day Dr. Goebbels's weekly article appears in his magazine, *Das Reich.* There is intense curiosity as to what he will say about Italy. At midday DNB sends out its usual summary of the article —and Italy is not once mentioned. Five hours later the DNB editors receive a notice: they were mistaken in assuming that the article was by Goebbels; it was not by Goebbels. *Das Reich* appears on the newsstands, and for the first time in a year it has no article by Goebbels! The press and the radio suddenly resume the line of three days ago: nothing has changed Italy's international position or its alliance with Germany. Nothing has happened but a change of regime "appropriate to Italian conditions." The Italian people in an hour of danger have "rallied around their King."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Soldier Walks Under the Trees of the University

The walls have been shaded for so many years
By the green magnificence of these great lives
Their bricks are darkened till the end of time.
(Small touching whites in the perpetual
Darkness that saturates the unwalled world;
Saved from the sky by leaves, and from the earth by stone.)
The pupils trust like flowers to the shades
And interminable twilight of these latitudes.

In our zone innocence is born in banks
And cultured in colonies the rich have sown:
The one is spared here what the many share
To write the histories that others are.
The oak escapes the storm that broke the reeds,
They read here; they read, too, of reeds,
Of storms; and are, almost, sublime
In their read ignorance of everything.

The poor are always—somewhere, but not here;
We read of them where they and Guilt subsist
With Death and Evil: in books, in books, in books.
Ah, sweet to contemplate the causes, not the things!
The soul learns fortitude in libraries,
Enduring patience in another's pain,
And pity for the lives we do not change:
All that the world would be, if it were real.

When will the boughs break blazing from these trees,
The darkened walls float heavenward like soot?
The days when men say: "Where we look is fire—
The iron branches flower in my veins"?
In that night even to be rich is difficult,
The world is something even books believe,
The bombs fall all year long among the states,
And the blood is black upon the unturned leaves.

RANDALL JARRELL

Ourself When Young

GENESIS. By Delmore Schwartz. New Directions. $3.

THIS poem may well be characterized in Eliot's words for Pound's "Hugh Selwyn Mauberley": "a positive document of sensibility." It is one of the few such documents recently produced in America. As the war's inattention to culture continues to undermine whatever aesthetic "standards" were professed before it, one is especially pleased by the fact that a young poet has kept his head and his craft well enough to illumine an experience not merely personal but to some extent true of all his perceptive contemporaries.

The time is this century, the place New York, the agonist a third-generation American of Russian-Jewish "extraction" —exquisite official word. We are introduced to him some time after he has fought his way through a New York childhood, memories of which are keeping him from sleep. Ancestral memories, too, going back to the generation which left Russia in dislike of military conscription. This assertion of individuality, generalized, becomes one of the main themes of the poem: the individual attempting to act with free choice in relation to, or at least to become aware of, the "deities"—for example, war, capitalism, sex—which affect him. As the youth recalls episode after episode in his and his parents' lives, they are interpreted both by his own growing intelligence and by a chorus of listening and commenting "ghosts." These symbolize attitudes of living men—cynical, ironic, idealistic—which the vast leisure of death has intensified rather than transformed: the poet is thus enabled to exercise a double irony, confronting the confused haplessness of life with the fully intelligent haplessness of death. The ghosts' dialogues with the hero, in blank verse, alternate with the episodes of family life, narrated in prose. "Genesis," the first book of a longer work, ends, in about the hero's seventh year, as his parents' long-growing estrangement explodes in a highly dramatic scene: his mother, driving by a roadhouse, sees his father dining with a mistress and rushes in, dragging the boy with her, to let loose a flood of hysterical denunciation. This is the catastrophe of the first stage of his pilgrimage: he enters a new phase of realized identity, both as victim and as potential agent. As he meditates on these events he still believes in his mortal capabilities: "The bed, the darkness, and my dear dark body/Are with me, certain—God is a dream!" In answer to which one of the ghosts has the last word: "Poor New York boy, with what finality/You will in time say—and triumphantly!/*O what a metaphysical victory/ The first morning and night of death must be!*"

It will be seen that, in narrative outline at least, the poem belongs to the genus *Bildungsroman,* species "Growing Up in America." What distinguishes it from other American stories treating this theme—I know of no other long poem in the species, barring "Hiawatha"—is that, for all the rigorous realism of its prose sequences, it is not bound by realist conventions. In American writing these conventions—even when there is an attempt to break loose from them, as in Dos Passos's interjections—usually make the hero a mere bundle of emotions, more easily conceived as reacting to than acting on the environment to which the writer devotes most of his descriptive skill. This vice of the fluid or interchangeable protagonist (exercise: distinguish Eugene Gant from Robert Jordan, in six easy lessons) Schwartz has easily surmounted, knowing—to paraphrase Aristotle—that poetry is more philosophic than fiction. His characters are not types so much as symbols, and symbols of human impulses that are clarified, not diluted, by his presentation of their spatia and temporal conditions. This gives them a certain mythica stature, which Schwartz, as his purpose varies, may leave implicit—as in the escaping grandfather's Ulyssean character and adventures; or point up—the final phrase in the narrative of the catastrophe is, "After Medea cried aloud and lytemnestra struck." Thus in his hands the myth element oins the chorus as another double weapon, deftly used both or tragic and ironic connotation; it does not, as with many ecent converts to the Myth, become a bludgeon.

The focus, then, of this comedy—in the Dantean sense—f good and evil is not society, or heroism, or adolescence in ur time, as with most *Bildungsromane*—an exception being The Magic Mountain," to which Schwartz's poem is in any ways spiritually akin—but one human individual, presented and considered in all the categories of relation: to is family, the family; to some boys, some girls, childhood; o the sidewalks of New York, the quick and the dead. chwartz adumbrates a theme of the first importance and alue: the infinite possibilities, logically and ethically udied, of human individuality. This and its uncompromisng technical skill are what make the poem not only a docuent but positive. "You lie in the coffin of your character," ne of the ghosts says to the boy; but another asks, "Who an recover actuality? And who can win his way to critiism?" If "Genesis" is a statement of this question, it creates onfidence that the answer too will be aesthetically valid. espite occasional garrulous aridity, it suggests as a whole a enuinely tragic view of life, which needs stating more than ver against the prevalent falsettos uttering or claiming to ispel premature indifference and despair.

FRANK JONES

dventure in the Sky

OD IS MY CO-PILOT. By Colonel Robert L. Scott, Jr. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

ALTA STORY. By W. L. River. Based on the diary and experiences of Flying Officer Howard M. Coffin, R. A. F. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50.

ORPEDO 8: THE STORY OF SWEDE LARSON'S BOMBER SQUADRON. By Ira Wolfert. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.

THE young men who are fighting this war in the sky were fascinated, as boys, by the mechanical contraption hat enabled men to speed through the air. They simply had o fly. "You are up there pitying all earth-bound creatures," ays Robert Scott. They realize, of course, that a staggering ercentage of their number die; but each man thinks death ay come to someone else, not to him. "Fighter pilots," olonel Scott explains, "don't think of not coming back."

Scott's first flight, at the age of twelve, was in a glider e built; he took off from the roof of a house and crashed ixty-seven feet to the ground. The next year he bought an ncient plane at an auction and managed to make it go. For he sake of more flying he joined the army and battered his ay into West Point. When the army flew the air mail in 934, Scott was one of the pilots.

He had great difficulty getting into war flying because of is advanced age, thirty-four; but finally he was assigned to four-motored bomber and set off across the Atlantic and frica for the Far East in the hope of bombing Tokyo. This idn't work out, and he found himself flying a transport lane over the mountains of Burma and China. He dropped thousands of pounds of rice to starving Chinese soldiers, ferried hundreds of refugees out of Burma (but not General Stilwell, who preferred to walk), and once got lost over Assam bringing three tons of tin out from China to India.

Still Scott's appetite for adventure was unsatisfied, so he talked General Chennault into lending him a P-40 fighter, and conducted a one-man, free-lance war against the Japanese in Burma. He took a morning off one day, just for the fun of it, and flew 29,000 feet to the top of Mt. Everest and on up two miles above it. Then at long last he got what he really wanted—a chance to shoot down Japanese aviators in team warfare. He became commanding officer of the Army Fighter Group in China, which was the successor of the disbanded American Volunteer Group under General Chennault. He and his fellow-flyers were so active that the Tokyo radio belabored and belittled them. "We don't think the American fighter force in China is more than 300 ships," said Tokyo. Actually, the number was thirty-two.

Colonel Scott pecked out his 277-page book with two fingers on a portable typewriter when he returned to the United States, and he did an excellent job of it. The reader gets all the thrills of flying and fighting, with none of the hazards. Why Scott chose the title, "God Is My Co-Pilot," is a mystery known only to him, but it shouldn't put anyone off from reading his exciting tale.

Howard Coffin was air-crazy, too. He joined the R. A. F. and was sent out from England in the summer of 1941, headed for Cairo he hoped. He landed at Malta in a group of 200 fighter pilots, thinking it was only a stop on the way. Then the news was broken to the flyers that they were assigned to Malta for the duration, meaning the duration of their lives. Coffin, however, survived; he was one of the six out of the original 200 who did.

"Malta Story" is a novel, written by W. L. River, about Coffin's year on the most bombed bit of land in the world. There is something of a plot, complete with a love story; this can be skimmed through rapidly. The merit of the book lies in its truly fine picture of the island's struggle for survival under an almost unceasing rain of German and Italian bombs. The picture is well-rounded. One gets the feel of the place, even the smell of it. One gets to know the remarkable Englishman who commanded the flyers and fought with them; the Italian priest who left a safe church in Italy to be with the Maltese for the duration—until he was buried in the wreckage of his cathedral on Easter morning; and the young girl named Lina who steered a fishing boat up to a German flyer in the water, supposedly to rescue him—and killed him with a boat hook.

In "Torpedo 8" Ira Wolfert writes the chronicle of a bomber squadron, starting in Virginia and following the flyers to Hawaii, Midway, and Guadalcanal. In Hawaii they got word that the Japanese were descending on Midway; eighteen men of the squadron were ordered out in six planes to attack the oncoming enemy. "Everybody was down to see them off. It was like a college football team going off to the big game." Of the six planes, one returned, and one of its crew of three was dead.

The men picked for replacements were not happy about coming into Torpedo 8, but Swede Larson, the commanding officer, gave them a talk. "Torpedo 8 still exists," said Swede, "and the way I feel, it exists to get vengeance." It did so. The squadron fought in all the air-sea battles of last fall when the Japanese were trying desperately to regain Guadalcanal. It fought until all its planes were smashed. But most of its men were alive on Guadalcanal, so Swede Larson distributed tommy-guns, rifles, and hand grenades and told the men to fight on the ground. It was better for morale than not fighting at all. Torpedo 8 came down to earth, dug foxholes in it, and went on with the war.

These three books—"God Is My Co-Pilot," "Malta Story," and "Torpedo 8"—are primarily adventure stories in that modern locale of adventure, the sky, which still seems an incredible realm to those of us who are earth-bound. They are good books. Sometime, I hope, an even better book will be written about aerial warfare; it will record the changing thoughts of a human being as he progresses from the stage of a boy fascinated by a flying gadget into the premature maturity of a killer.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

"The English"

BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH PEOPLE. By Ernest Barker. Oxford University Press. $1.25.

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE: IMPRESSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS. By D. W. Brogan. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

OF ALL the books that no one can write, those about nations and national character are the most impossible. Perhaps Edmund Burke, who long ago said he did not know the way to indict a whole people, might have been willing to change his meaning slightly, and likewise his spelling, so as to read, "indite"; for the reason which moved him to make the one statement would apply to the other: a people is too numerous, too various, too much an epitome of mankind, to be cited for judgment in a formula, or even in a string of formulas modifying and annulling one another.

Yet this truth goes visibly against the common grain. Everyone longs to put into a nutshell his synthetic impression of his own or another people. Stranger still, nearly everyone likes to read the impressions of others on "the Frenchman," "the Englishman," "the American," in order to argue, accept, and reject definitions—dancing a sort of gavotte upon a quicksand. This taste and tendency are always at their height in war time, when the urge to collective curiosity, friendship, and hate is kindled by political necessities. Hence the timeliness of the publication by the Oxford Press of a series of small volumes—including the present one on Britain—under the general title of "The World Today"; and of Mrs. Alfred Knopf's invitation to Professor Brogan to set down his "Impressions and Observations" on the English people.

Though the two works before us were also both written by professors of history, they ought not to be compared. Whereas Ernest Barker's covers in slightly more than 125 pages the standard topics of social and political description, Mr. Brogan's ranges discursively over all imaginable subjects, from Tom Brown's school days to strip-tease vaudeville, in 300 packed pages. It is notable, however, that both writers have been forced by their aim to assert that "the English" are very much a group apart, of whom certain things can be predicated with assurance. Mr. Barker, who once wrote an admirable critique of nationalism, now sets forth a good dea of dubious fact about the presence of certain physical stocks and mental characteristics in the English "mixture," qualifying his belief, in one instance, as "a permissible guess and a pardonable faith." Early in *his* book Mr. Brogan also plumps for the fact that "the Englishman's Englishness is ineradicable. History, climate, general good luck . . . have given him institutions, habits of life, a world view that can only be explained in English terms. . . . [To the Englishman] a world without England would have no adequate standards of rightness. . . . So it has been ever since 'Britain first a heaven's command arose from out the azure main.'"

After taking in these two opinions, whether shared o merely reported by their authors, it is clear that being the chosen nation, and finding material reasons for it, is not a pretense and practice confined to the enemy. I agree with Professor Brogan that this belief in English rightness probably exists in many Englishmen, but I agree even more with his later statement: "At moments, their sole apparent bond of union appears to be the fact that they are 'English,' and being English seems to have hardly any definable content a all." In other words, it is only when one has to talk abou "the English" in the lump, or when one follows the will-o' the-wisp of the typical, the average, the majority, that one succumbs to the nationalist's "permissible guess and pardonable faith."

Yet see where it lands you. In order to speak truthfully o many generations of men living under different condition Mr. Barker has to conclude that "the British people has no been untouched by poetry, or by the spirit of scientific inquiry and scientific invention, but it may be confessed that i the estimation of the world, if not in its own aspiration, i has largely turned to the practical arts of economics an politics." The whole fallacy lies here: "in its own aspiration" whose? Chaucer's? Shelley's? Rupert Brooke's? Tell us, i you wish, that like every large mass of people the Englis care little for poetry and not at all for living poets, but d not perform a subtraction by which English literature is mere "touch" deductible from Blackstone's "Commentaries and the (non-poetic) quotations of Lombard Street.

In these matters Professor Brogan does hardly better. He assigns the English *one* art, literature, apparently thinking tha the world's ignorance of the great English musical traditio —fully comparable to the German—and of English paintin —fully comparable to the French—is a measure of the fact But he recoups the loss by crediting England especially wit the invention of machines and the spread of Darwinism, i manifest injustice to the facts of technological and biologic history. The truth is that no discussion of any Western cu tural products which is not European in scope and outloo is worth the shelf room it occupies. Partial accounts on harden parochial prejudice, both the overweening and th ignorantly modest.

There remain politics and social life. Mr. Barker's accou of these is largely conventional and academic. Little or noth ing is said of the way England earns its living. There a chapters on Government, Law, Church, and Social Servic but none on trade unionism and few indications of the actu as against the theoretical working of institutions.

In contrast, Professor Brogan's avalanche of concrete ar verse facts is excessive and unmanageable. For a reason that cannot guess, Professor Brogan seems throughout to be oking over his shoulder at his English audience. He told earlier that England is explicable only in English terms, hich I find a paradoxical type of explanation. At any rate, ough he has lived for long periods in this country and ows much about it, he has hardly taken pains to make his en subtle views clear to Americans. His chapters are ill- ganized, full of distracting comparisons, and choked with pporting proofs in the form of frequent half-page foot- tes. Above all, he is smartly allusive à la Guedálla. How any of his American readers will understand even so simple sentence as "We have moved a long way from Tract XC"? should like a Gallup poll on the subject. And again, who tside a university will understand Carthusians to be pupils , Charterhouse School or will grasp the sense of comparing e Monmouth rebellion with *la Vendée?* There is not a page thout a puzzle. It is really a pity that a writer so full of owledge, wisdom, and fine wit should have missed the pportunity of being at once informative and enlightened, of ting as a real translator of meanings between the two coun- es he knows so well.

For in the hands of a somewhat studious reader Mr. ogan's book is useful, entertaining, rich in new material d solid thinking. His opening sermon on political morality refreshing; his fairness and historical sense in dealing with ermany are very creditable, and his willingness to pitch into merican errors of judgment shows courage. But the form d the criteria of selection are wanting. I am convinced by th these volumes on England that except for works of nius like Bagehot's "English Constitution," the form quisite to convey an explanation of a people is the historical. on't describe! Tell us what happened, who was there, and said what. Then we may get something nearer the ngled reality of national traditions and national divisions. e hear about minority views as well as prevailing ones, e see genius as well as crime, without being compelled to rike an average; we see the assets pell-mell with the liabili- es; we see human history, in short, instead of a balance eet for the past drawn up by a necessarily uncertified private countant.

JACQUES BARZUN

The Island of Chile

CHILE: A GEOGRAPHIC EXTRAVAGANZA. By Benjamín Subercaseaux. Translated by Angel Flores. The Macmillan Company. $3.

IN THIS "crazy geography," as a literal translation of the original Spanish title of this book would have it, one of e best known of Chile's young writers gives us a penetrat- g description of his country and his countrymen.

The geography of Chile is unique. Its central section has climate as Mediterranean as Italy, in the south it is a replica f Norway, and the person most likely to be at home in its orthern desert would probably be an Arab from Libya. hese things are well known to all, but it has taken a writer ho is not a professional geographer to point out a large umber of interesting consequences. Chile is separated from e world by a desert in the north, it faces polar ice in the south and the Andes on the east, while in the west it confronts the limitless expanse of the Pacific. Until the coming of the plane, in fact, it was one of the most isolated countries in the world and, indeed, "should be called an island even though this does not fit in with the geographical definition of an island." When one realizes these facts it is not so surprising that Chileans have lived "immersed in isolation," and that it took them longer than most South Americans to awaken to the menace of the Axis.

The title of "crazy geography" which Mr. Subercaseaux gave to his book does not refer, however, to the configuration of Chile, but to the unorthodox way in which he has tackled his subject. "What we are seeking here," he says, "is to get the feeling of Chile," and he begins forthwith to describe it in a manner as refreshingly original in style as it is unusual in content. He springs a surprise on the reader from the very first page, for he sets out to praise the Portuguese discoverers at the expense of the Spanish captains, most unusual for anyone from a Spanish-speaking country. That this is no momentary aberration is proved by a reference later on in the book to the conquistadors, who have in recent times been the recipients of the most fulsome praise, and whom he calls "dull." Mr. Subercaseaux has strong individual views.

Slicing his country up into neat and picturesquely labeled sections—the nitrate region, for example, he calls the "Land of Tranquil Mornings," and the lake district the "Land of the Blue Mirrors"—he takes the reader down the entire 2,600,-mile length of Chile from Arica to the fastnesses of Tierra del Fuego. His main concern is the appearance, location, and above all the spirit of its mountains, cities, and people. He is openly scornful of current geographies which "are economic, as if written for merchants," and he brings his own discussions of these matters to life by dealing extensively with the people who live in the many climates of Chile, how they earn their bread, and how they think.

Mr. Subercaseaux is critical of much that he sees in his country, and it would appear that large numbers of his countrymen are too, for this book was a best-seller in Chile. Although he is a member of one of the first families in the country, he openly voices his disapproval of the great landowners: "Each *hacendado* has a tone, a family virtue, and a self-assurance which makes association with him painful to me." He has a fellow-feeling for the depressed and the poverty-stricken, the Indians, the coal miners of Lota, who live in "an accumulation of poor narrow streets filled with gloomy shacks."

This "crazy geography" may not be the work of a trained geographer, but it is certainly that of a man who knows every inch of Chile and is remarkably observant. It has plenty of spice in it, and the meat to go with it.

The translation is ably done, although it might perhaps be mentioned that kilometers do not make so much sense to a northern eye as miles. It is a pity that somebody did not take a hint from the title of one of the chapters, Wherein a Good Map Is Needed to Find Out Where You Are, for after going through a maze of names of places not mentioned on the highly decorative but quite inadequate map on the first end paper, or indeed in most atlases, the reader is liable to find himself in doubt as to his whereabouts.

C. A. HUTCHINSON

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Mitchell's Wonderful McSorley

McSORLEY'S WONDERFUL SALOON. By Joseph Mitchell. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.50.

GENRE paintings resemble feature stories. They take a mellow, or raffish, or appetizing area of life and memorialize it by the affection they have for their subject. Too often, unfortunately, they remain ephemeral, registering but a moment of warmth. But John Sloan's painting of McSorley's, an old bar on East Seventh Street, in New York, is still remembered. And other painters, though somewhat less impressively, have also inscribed their affection for the place Now Joseph Mitchell, ex-newspaperman who contributes special features to the *New Yorker,* has assembled twenty of these pieces and put them in a book with the title of "McSorley's Wonderful Saloon."

He begins with McSorley's, recounting its sawdust career under four changes of management in the last eighty-nine years. Then he ambles over to the Bowery, where he describe Mazie, the brassy blonde who presides at the ticket window of the "bums'" favorite movie palace. He inspects gypsie and museum-keepers; glorifies Joe Gould, the Greenwich Village eccentric who has translated several of Longfellow's poems into Seagull; chats with Madame Olga, the Bearded Lady, and laments the lapse into respectability of a once boisterous gin mill. He sympathizes with old scrubbers fron the skyscrapers and with cave-dwellers from Central Park He finds a drinking reformer and a Times Square "sport" who arranges a yearly benefit ball for himself.

In the second section of his book, Mr. Mitchell celebrate beefsteak fests, clam-diggers, and terrapin-raisers; in a thir he suggests potentialities as a short-story writer (in Goodbye Shirley Temple and in On the Wagon), while in the last h delineates both joys and depredations in his home communit near the Little Pee Dee River, in North Carolina. For th most part he remains objective, assembling facts, measuring limiting himself to exact data. This gives one the sense o an honest camera shot, deliberate but unmoving. Sometime he chides city inhabitants for their lack of gumption, an then he seems to editorialize. At best, he touches some subterranean chord which puts us *en rapport* with the metropolitan community. Old McSorley—father and then son— draws the taps and eyes the aging men who harbor in th creaking chairs. Mazie, locking her wicket, paces the darke reaches of the Bowery, seeking the wastrels who might otherwise perish in the night. These moments are cherishable, an they give us something that O'Henry, in many ways th predecessor of Mitchell, could not convey.

This is the sympathetic penetration of life. Sloan had in "McSorley's," and certainly in his early etchings. The mo smoldering George Luks—surely an American genre painte if there ever was one—all but entered the very marrow of h subjects. True, the density and the richness are not attaine to the same degree as in the Dutch, such as Van Ostade, c the demoniac Jan Steen. But new affiliations have been mad between man and his fellows. And in this sense, Josep Mitchell, who is at all times a scrupulous and attentive write has contributed something comparable to the best of ou twentieth-century genre painters. JEROME MELLQUIST

IN BRIEF

HE FIGHTING SOUTH. By John
Temple Graves. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
$2.75.

his seems the most genuinely reveal-
g of the several books of the past few
ars by Southern liberals about the
outh. It describes rather than theorizes,
d is particular rather than general.
/hen explanations and theories are
lled for, Mr. Graves marshals views
every sort by direct quotation, and
aves the reader to draw conclusions.
he author's own views are urbanely
aborated, with a mixture of personal
etail charmingly interwoven. He lays
re the shortcomings of the South
hile preserving a warm natural belief,
rdly requiring explicit statement, in
hat every Southerner regards as the
ualities of the South. It is equally clear
at his love of the South is part of his
ve of America, as his love of America
part of his love of humanity. In short,
is a natural, not theoretical, liberal,
emocrat, and patriot.

*HE LIFE AND WORKS OF BEE-
THOVEN.* By John N. Burk. Ran-
dom House. $2.75.

n this substantial volume a separate
alf is given to the works of Beethoven,
hich are listed and analyzed with the
onciseness, learning, and taste which
ose who are familiar with Mr. Burk's
usical criticism would expect. There
e also a valuable list of phonograph
cords and a useful index; but, curi-
usly enough, no bibliography is pro-
ded for the serious reader whom this
olume will attract. The accompanying
fe is, however, based on the best pub-
shed sources. Although it does not pre-
nd to the same general appeal as Mr.
urk's beautiful "Clara Schumann: A
omantic Biography," it is written with
e same simplicity and escapes both the
ntimental and clinical interpretations
achieve a plain realism rare in lives
the musical Titan.

IGHTING UP LIBERIA. By Arthur
I. Hayman and Harold Preece. Crea-
tive Age Press. $2.50.

Ir. Hayman spent many years—though
e is still a young man—as a company
lministrator in Liberia. With the col-
boration of Harold Preece he has com-
ressed into one short and absorbing
ook, made up of history, sociology,
itobiography, politics, and anthropol-
gy, enough to leave the name of Liberia
ermanently etched on any liberal American's consciousness and conscience. If the historical portions are slightly too fictionalized, there is nothing fictional about the passionate exposé of social and political conditions maintained with our connivance—conditions on which Mr. Hayman is careful to quote verbatim the reports of the League Commission.

WILLIAM PRESTON JOHNSTON. A Transitional Figure of the Confederacy. By Arthur Marvin Shaw. Louisiana State University Press. $3.

The subject of this biography is the eldest son of the Confederate general Albert Sidney Johnston and the biographer of his father. He fought in the Confederate army and after the war was professor under Lee at Lexington, Virginia, president of Louisiana State University, and first president of Tulane University. Mr. Shaw's book is written in a scholarly manner and fully documented from published and unpublished sources.

DRAMA

THE amateur spirit, when it is supported by just enough professional skill to keep it off the ground, is a bewitching sprite; and the amateur spirit animates the cast and disarms, and charms, the audience at "The Army Play by Play" (Martin Beck Theater). It is practically embodied in Pfc Keith Davis, who starts off the performance by singing "Wartime Lullaby." The song, written by Mrs. General Drum, is terrible, but Private Davis, with his sparkling blue eyes, his happy smile, his "nice singing voice," and his desire to please is quite irresistible. (In all fairness I should say that Mrs. Drum's unrelieved imitation of the worst song of World War I, "Just a Baby's Prayer, etc.," is not a whit worse than the other song Mr. Davis sings, which is, if I heard aright, one of the lesser works of Woodrow Wilson.)

Fortunately the five plays are, with one exception, far better than the lyrics of Drum and Wilson. These plays are the prize winners among 115 submitted from United States Army posts throughout the world in a contest sponsored by John Golden in association with the Army Second Service Command. Two of them were written by former actors, one by a radio serial writer, one by a Yale School of Drama man who had done a good deal of minor directing here and there, and one by a Viennese, now a corporal in the American army, who studied with Max Reinhardt. (Meaning no offense, is there any theatrically literate refugee who *hasn't* worked or studied with Reinhardt?)

The best of the plays is Corporal Irving Gaynor Nieman's "Button Your Lip," in which the most sensational rumors-about-camp settle on a rookie. He is suspected (1) of being a saboteur and (2) of being the boy friend of the visiting film star. It's an amusing situation and it is nicely tossed about. Needless to say, there is a happy-as-usual ending in which a lieutenant is made to look silly and the film star embraces the rookie. The next best is "Pack Up Your Troubles" by Pfc Alfred D. Geto, in which two Nazi spies get hopelessly entangled with a private who is trying against all the odds and regulations to make a telephone call to a Long Island hospital where his wife is having a baby. "Where'er We Go" by Pfc John B. O'Dea pretends to be no more than a slice of life—cut very thin—in almost any barracks, and it does very well as that.

"Mail Call" by Air Cadet, now Lieutenant, Ralph Nelson is the only one of the plays that can be called serious—the buddies of a soldier who has been shot for running away in battle write a letter to his family, certifying his bravery—but the script is not equal to the theme. As for "First Cousins," a melodrama by Corporal Kurt S. Kasznar, I regret to say it is quite bad, Reinhardt or no Reinhardt.

The sketches by American soldiers play only over the surface of army life, which, as it appears here, is something of a cross between urban collegiate and juke-box. The dialogue is facile and fairly fast, and a good deal of it sounds as if it might have been dipped out of that endless flood of patter which pours out of Hollywood and the radio. It is entertaining while it lasts—and "The Army Play by Play" provides a pleasant evening—but it offers no food for second thought. I was going to say that I would have expected something better among those 115 plays, but experience distills slowly and it is not likely that we shall get the real story of army life in World War II for some time to come. This version is definitely slanted to the lighter, noisier aspects. At one or two points there is the sound of whistling in the dark, but it would be foolish to assume that any great proportion of men in the army know it's dark—if only because the general run of Americans of which they are a part is scarcely aware of it either.

The five plays are interspersed with specialties which deserve mention. Private Jules Munshin's caricatures are extremely clever, and you have no idea how funny a couple of acrobats can look—in this case the Brothers Arnaut—when they go on playing their violins, in unison, no matter what outlandish positions they get into.

"The Two Mrs. Carrolls" with Elisabeth Bergner (Booth Theater) brings up several rather old and tiresome questions: (1) How could an agent, a producer, or a director, let alone all three, read this play by Martin Vale and not know at the end of the first act that it was hopelessly bad from every point of view—dramatic, literary, commercial? (2) Assuming it got to the point of rehearsal, how could these same people see it through more than once and still not recognize that simple, overpowering fact? (3) Why does an actress with the reputation of Elisabeth Bergner consent to appear in such a play? And (4) having committed herself to it why does she play the part of a murderee in a cheap melodrama as if it were a totally different part in a totally different kind of play?

MARGARET MARSHALL

RECORDS

FOR years now one has been able to observe Stokowski's tendency in the direction of tonal elephantiasis by comparing his new recorded performance of a work with his early one. Thus, his performance of the E flat minor Prelude from Book 1 of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier with the Philadelphia Orchestra many years ago—which was lurid enough, God knows—took one side of a Victor record; but now two sides in Columbia's latest Bach-Stokowski set (541, $3.50) are needed for all the expanding and contracting of string tone that is his performance of the piece with the All-American Orchestra. The volume also includes two pieces which Stokowski has, I believe, newly transcribed for his purpose: one is the Andante movement from the A minor Sonata for unaccompanied violin, which he calls Andante Sostenuto to correspond with its transformation from a piece intended to be taken at a "walking" pace to a dirge that permits all the phony-eloquent orchestral goings-on which he waves his hands over. And the slow movement of the F minor Clavier Concerto gets the same treatment.

I dare say the expanding and contracting sound was exciting to listen to in the living performance; but from these records it comes out of a wide-range reproducing set-up—a Scott 23 with a Brush pickup—muddy, gritty, distorted, and mixed with the noises of bad surfaces. Nor is it much better when the range is reduced by switching to an Astatic Trutan pickup; only when the range is further reduced by use of the treble-control does one get a sound that is wholly lacking in brightness and brilliance, but agreeable to the ear and unmixed with noises. In addition, sides 1 and 6 of my review copy waver badly in pitch. But the set is worth its price for the cover design, which in pictorial terms achieves one of the most perceptive critical evaluations of Stokowski that I have encountered.

Columbia also has issued Brahms's Sonata Opus 120 No. 1 for piano and viola (Set 487, $3.50), in which one may observe Brahms in the process of grinding it out, using all his skill in manipulating sounds to produce an external shell of a sonata structure—the themes, the transitions, the hushed suspense here, the imposing climax there—which is hollow and empty inside. The performance by Egon Petri and Samuel Lifschey is excellent; its recorded sound is fairly good—with the piano clear and true but dull, and the viola on the other hand a little shrill. The surfaces are bad; and the fifth side of my review copy wavers a little in pitch.

A year or so ago Victor issued a set in which three of Wagner's five songs to Mathilde Wesendonck—"Träume," "Im Treibhaus," and "Schmerzen"—were sung by Traubel with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Stokowski. Now Columbia has issued "Träume" and "Im Treibhaus" sung by Lotte Lehmann with piano accompaniments by Paul Ulanowsky (71469-D, $1). I continue to find "Träume" only slightly interesting; but "Im Treibhaus," I now realize, is one of Wagner's most extraordinary compositions: it uses the thematic material of his wonderful orchestral Prelude to the third act of "Tristan und Isolde" in a piece of declamation which astoundingly anticipates the harmonic disintegration and the declamatory vocal line that we have heard in our own century. As for the merits of the Traubel and Lehmann versions, Traubel's voice was afflicted by strong tremolo in "Träume," but was steady, powerful, and opulent in "Im Treibhaus"; at its best, however, her singing lacked the emotional warmth and subtle inflection that make Lehmann's performances so deeply affecting. The orchestral coloring also is important in these songs; but on the Victor records the orchestra was blanketed by the voice much of the time, whereas the piano is heard clearly on the Columbia record. Then the introduction which Wagner thought it necessary to write for "Träume" must be considered important; and the Columbia record includes it, whereas the Victor omitted it. Voice and piano are well reproduced on the Columbia record; surfaces are poor.

The older set which Columbia features as its record classic for August is the one of Beecham's performance of Act 4 of Puccini's "La Bohême" with the London Philharmonic, Lisa Perli, Stella Andreva, Heddle Nash, John Brownlee, and others (Set 274, $4.50). Puccini was my first love in opera—and it was the music, not only Farrar's looks, that held me enthralled; but today I find its pallid sentimentalities and archnesses and the style of their execution unendurable. I must therefore regret Columbia's choice of the music; but it is right about the performance and recording, which are very fine. And the surfaces are quiet—which is something I have noticed about other such recent Columbia pressings of older recordings that were made in England. It would seem to indicate that the processing of the recording itself has something to do with the amount of noise from surfaces.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

on

ar Sirs: I had intended to write
rlier to say that I have been in the
vernment service since the administra-
n of William Howard Taft, 1910 to
exact, grew up in and around Wash-
gton, and think I have a pretty ex-
isive knowledge of government de-
rtments, and what XXX had to say
Washington Gestapo was all news to
. I cannot count the number of times
and FBI investigators have come to
to ask about prospective appointees
ese many years, and I have been asked
such questions as were recorded. On
eral occasions recently investigators
both agencies have commented favor-
ly on Jews because they would be
ti-Nazi, hence safe. The whole drive
questioning has been to ascertain loy-
y in the sense of not being Nazi-
scist; personal questions in no case
ncerned the details XXX stresses.
ence I am completely puzzled by the
velations. T. S. H.

lls Church, Va., July 31

. and Pro

ar Sirs: As a fellow-sufferer from
rious and lengthy investigations, I
fully corroborate the statements
ade by the writer of Washington Ges-
o in your issue of July 17. I too have
en questioned concerning my past, my
ture, about the company I keep and
company I have kept. Of course my
alifications were of the highest and
ile my record would not fill a half-
ge of "Who's Who," it has been no-
ed by some.

To keep the record straight, I too have
en interviewed concerning the "char-
er" of prospective employees or em-
oyees of various branches of the gov-
ment service, both civilian and mili-
y. The questions enumerated by your
iter sounded very familiar, and with
nor variations due to the individual
itiative of the particular investigator
about the same as I was asked. One
vestigator went so far as to ask
ether employee Z had displayed any
eference in the recent discussions be-
een Poland and Russia. Another
nted to know about employee Y's at-
ude toward the Rapp-Coudert inves-
gation. A third wanted to know
ether Z had shown sympathy for the Loyalists during the Spanish Civil War.

Were it not for the fact that we are a nation engaged in a life-and-death struggle for survival as a democracy, the above might be glossed over as trivial and amusing incidents involving minor government officials. As it is, however, the character of these investigations reflects the ugly picture of biased officials sniping at loyal Americans on the home front, sapping their morale and interfering with essential and even vital activities here at home. Some of these investigators should be investigated. Or are they simply carrying out instructions? A *Nation* READER

North Conway, N. H., July 25

What Makes Republicans That Way

Dear Sirs: For twenty years I have lived in a Connecticut community, a beautiful town infested with Republicans. The figures are, I believe, about 90 per cent. Someone asked me why I lived in an environment which was so unsympathetic. I replied, "I am not very bright and I know it. Hence I have an inferiority complex. However, all things are relative, and to live among these economic illiterates builds me up. Furthermore, as William Blake wrote, 'Love relaxes—damn braces.'" So, living here, I am always braced.

What particularly irritates these people is that I bear all the labels the snobs revere: Brookline, the Back Bay, the Harvard Club of New York. My "shibboleth" is as authentic as theirs. Even worse, my wife is a member of the Junior League. That makes me "a traitor to my class."

To study such people in their habitat is an educational if not elevating experience. I am now ready to report upon what makes reactionaries tick, or even whirr and explode.

First: they are, literally, economically illiterate. Study the libraries in their beautiful homes and you will find not one volume dealing with economics. They are completely without the information necessary to an intelligent verdict upon a political question. I am willing to grant that certain minds which are truly informed might honestly arrive at a reactionary conclusion, a conclusion which I would reject. These are natural Tories and not all of them are uninformed or unintelligent. Their limitation is one of heart rather than of head. They are ungenerous and lack a social conscience. They need more of the milk of human kindness. Also, usually, they are unimaginative.

These neighbors of mine, however, are not educated relative to today's problems. This does not explain their psychopathic hatred of President Roosevelt. My clinical analysis is as follows: Within almost everyone is what old-fashioned people called a conscience. It is the force which is insistently challenging us to grow larger, to "build more stately mansions." What an irritating factor! A foe to complacency; a spur to progress. Who wants to be spurred? Doesn't a horse hate a spur? These rabid Republicans hate Roosevelt because he is a challenge; he makes them uncomfortable. Their consciences know that he is superior in largeness, in charity, in breadth of sympathy, and in intelligence. What an annoyance! Damn the man! Instead of facing themselves honestly and seeking to emulate him it is much easier to damn him. Thus they achieve a temporary surcease from their discomfort. By gathering together for the purpose of assuring one another of the worthlessness of "that man in the White House" they get the same result yielded by aspirin in the case of pain. No such bitterness was displayed against Wilson because he did not deal with social-economic problems. He did not make people uncomfortable. Prior to the Civil War, Southern slaveholders hated the Abolitionists with venomous ferocity because the latter attacked them upon a point regarding which many of them already felt uncomfortable. Toward the North as a whole they felt no such hostility. "It's the truth that cuts." Thus President Roosevelt, with his obvious sympathy for the under dog ("the only true democrat is the aristocrat"); his instinctive sense of justice; his mildness, like that of a noble Newfoundland; his patent superiority to his detractors, even in facial expression and personal appearance, is a living indictment of their pettiness, their ungenerous natures.

As an American, one feels ashamed of these expressions of everything contrary to the ideals of Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln. One wonders why a nation which was given such an opportunity to create "a brave new world" on an unspoiled continent should have bred such types. Then one realizes that probably they are merely at a lower point of spiritual progress, that we who flatter ourselves upon our superiority to them are far from perfect; and we possess our souls in patience. In Whitman's words, "perhaps we passed that way huge times ago." Doubtless all Roosevelt-baiters die and go to Hell for a period, but as Emerson said, "although Hell exists it is disciplinary, not punitive, in its significance." Thus:

> So long as the Light holds out to burn
> The vilest Republican may return.

EDWARD J. LEONARD
South Norwalk, Conn., July 1

Not Lost

Dear Sirs: To my disadvantage a trial subscription to *The Nation* ends this month. First I would like to say that although the subscription is not to be renewed you will not be losing a reader—a very much enlightened and thankful reader—as I have already made arrangements with my book dealer to hold a copy for me each week. Paradoxical it may be, but while I can save fifteen cents a week by walking a fare limit, or smoking a little less, or spending a nickel or so less for a breakfast or lunch here and there, I can't raise $5 in a lump sum. I've tried it but every time I had two or three dollars put aside, away it would go for one of the books reviewed in *The Nation.* Reviewed in a way that only *Nation* reviewers can do it. Reviews that whet the appetite. Reviews that can be depended on, especially when a recommendation is made (maybe when the book is condemned too, but I've yet either to read or to buy a book that has been condemned by *Nation* reviewers).

Secondly: A few thank-you's. To I. F. Stone for his brave "inside" stories of doings in Washington. To Jack Barrett for his cross-word puzzles (although I've yet to solve completely one of the damned things). To Diana Trilling for tips on good fiction and for tips on "what-not-to-read" fiction. To the Editors for (1) In the Wind—even though it sometimes makes me wonder if all your good work isn't going for nought; (2) The Shape of Things—for which I wait each week so that I may have a true understanding of the news I've read during the week—the results are amusing and amazing; and (3) for a true, open, unbiased, and willing-to-see-both-sides attitude on the (a) Negro, (b) Jewish, (c) Catholic church, (d) post-war, and (e) labor questions and issues.

In general, do you, as editors and authors, fully realize the breadth and depth of (I) the white's dislike and distrust of the Negro, (II) the Catholic's and the Protestant's ditto of the Jew, (III) the Protestant's ditto of the Catholic, (IV) damned near everyone's ditto of any "decent" post-war world aid, and (V) the office worker's ditto of unions and labor questions in general? As I am an office worker, my vision may be limited, but the discussions I have with others (store owners and workers, neighborhood defense workers, soldier friends on leave, relatives of all religions and jobs, and transients in buses and restaurants) doesn't allow me to take a very optimistic attitude. The *Daily News* seems to have more influence, not only on its readers but on the general public, than do *The Nation,* the *New Republic,* *PM,* and any others you may care to have classified with you.

Would it be possible for you to print an article regarding the truth or falseness of the talk I've heard (by three participants in the last war and by three members of the present army, one officer and two non-coms) about how the veterans are going to take care of the Jews as soon as the boys come home from this war? It seems that they are either going to start a new party or get control of one of the present parties and then, once in control at Washington, clear out the Jews in responsible official positions and then work on the ones in business. It also seems that labor is to be put in its place too.

A. F. WERMUTH
West Caldwell, N. J., July 27

Conscientious Objectors

Dear Sirs: Although the system of dealing with conscientious objectors in World War II is a great improvement over that of World War I, its administration has resulted in imprisoning over twice as many men of genuine conscience as were imprisoned in that war. Over 1,100 objectors to military service on conscientious grounds are in prison today, and their number is being increased by 75 to 100 a month. The reasons for this extraordinary result of a more liberal system are:

1. A narrow interpretation of the requirement of "religious training and belief" as the basis of conscientious objection, commonly interpreted by the Selective Service System in terms of belief in deity and of connection with a church. Hundreds not so recognized refuse military service and are sent to prison.

2. Failure to provide any service of national importance other than Civilian Public Service camps on the CCC model, to which many men object as "boondoggling." Refusal to accept a CPS assignment results in a prison sentence.

3. The direction of Selective Service by military officers—contrary to the explicit provision of law—whose limited notions of conscience control all Presidential appeals and all paroles from prison.

4. The commitment to prison of over 500 Jehovah's Witnesses who have refused all service under conscription, demanding a ministerial status, but who could at least be given more useful work than prison occupations.

The undersigned members of the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors, organized by the American Civil Liberties Union, are endeavoring to help solve the problems presented not only by the imprisonment of over 1,100 men but also to provide other forms of national service not associated with Civilian Public Service camps so that all genuine conscientious objectors may be engaged in occupations of use to the country.

The vast majority of men are today segregated in prisons and camps while the manpower shortage calls for every available man in productive work. Conscientious objectors are willing and eager to engage in a host of occupations not related to the conduct of the war which contribute to the national welfare. Many of them have volunteered for dangerous experiments and services

Readers of *The Nation* can assist in this work by contributing to the expenses of maintaining representatives a Washington and of handling test case in the courts by sending funds to Dr Evan W. Thomas, treasurer, at 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Among those who sign this communication are members of the American Legion, who do not of course suppor the pacifist position and yet who hold that all genuine conscientious objector should be given every opportunity for useful public service.

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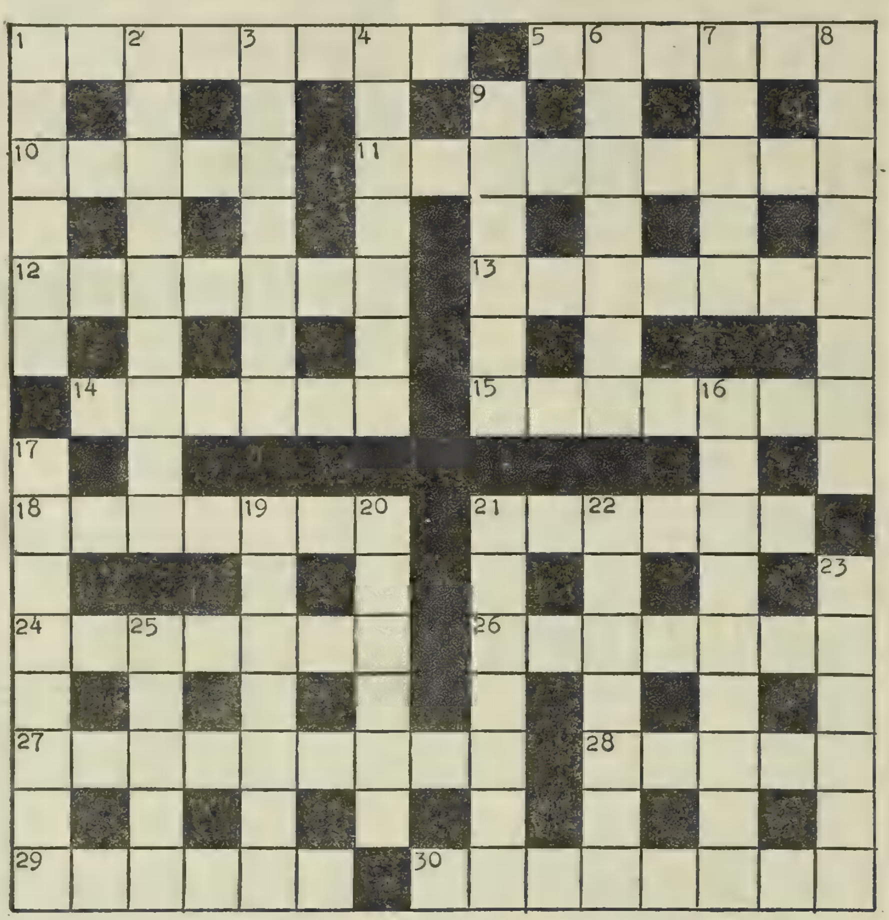
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 25

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Wagner's last opera
5 Upset in a car? Then you'll need this!
10 The young in a disorderly revel
11 What my clues get from you, no doubt
12 Seats of the mighty
13 Oriental who will hold your clothes while you sit on him
14 Scottish musicians (?)
15 With the wind up, and you end it in France
18 It is an unhappy lot which finds none, Publius Syrus decided
21 He is a good shot, but one form of game is not enough for him
24 Can't exactly say you've got it in the neck, but the ache is there all right
26 One might be lying thus in part of the U. S. (two words, 2 and 5)
27 Cream for a sorceress?
28 A parting word
29 We shouldn't care about this wave entering our garden
30 Employed for covering loosely

DOWN

1 Topers make this quickly
2 Izaak Walton's favorite seat in the country
3 No good firing at the enemy until he's this (two words, 2 and 5)
4 Addresses
6 I am in the list; that's bully
7 Way of saying things!
8 Reprove mildly
9 East wind? No, a Near East one
16 Necessary to get a joke well into a Scotch understanding, according to Sidney Smith
17 Boxers frequently try to get what spinsters hope they won't get (two words, 4 and 4)
19 Busy people sometimes conclude a letter thus (two words, 2 and 5)
20 Latins, properly (?) handled, turned to him
21 Sound of amusement from black men
22 There are some things one wouldn't think of doing for one
23 One sees Peru in course of this transformation
25 "Happy the people whose - - - - - s are blank in history books" (Carlyle)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 24

ACROSS:—1 CARNATION; 6 MUSIC; 9 REVERSE; 10 TIME PIP; 11 DEADEYE; 12 ENCLOSE; 13 NUR; 15 DESIST; 17 OYSTER; 18 INTER; 19 LUSTRE; 22 ENDEAR; 25 RET; 27 GRIDDLE; 28 INROADS; 30 TALKIES; 31 CHARADE; [illegible] DODGE; 33 NONPAREIL.

DOWN:—1 CURED; 2 REVEALS; 3 AIRLESS; 4 ICEMEN; 5 NETHER; 6 MIMICRY; 7 SUPPORT; 8 CUPBEARER; 14 UNTIE; 15 DELIGHTED; 16 TIE; 17 ORE; 20 SPILLED; 21 RED WINE; 23 NIRVANA; 24 EMANATE; 25 REASON; 26 TINCAN; 29 STEEL.

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"Falange: The Axis Secret Army
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Reviewed by Alexander Uhl

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The Shape of Things

THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE HAS PRODUCED UP to date a minimum of real news and a maximum of rumor and speculation, mostly centering on the man who isn't there—Joseph Stalin. From London and Washington, as well as Quebec, have come a spate of interpretations of the categorical statement by the official Tass agency that Russian participation in the conference "was not and is not envisaged." One popular explanation is that Soviet attendance was ruled out by concentration on Pacific questions. A directly opposite suggestion is that the chief purpose of the meeting is to find ways and means of satisfying Stalin's demand for delivery of a second front, as per contract. Our own view is that Europe is the *raison d'etre* for the conference, although of course in any discussion of global strategy the problems of one theater have to be related to those of every other. Since the last meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill, it is in Europe that the situation has changed radically. The all but completed capture of the Sicilian gateway, the collapse of Mussolini with its psychological repercussions in Germany, the Russian victories, and the defeat of the U-boats—all these events necessitate a revision of the time-table. Southern Italy, at least, now seems likely to fall into our hands in short order, opening the way to new ventures. But such victories in the Mediterranean arena are of little interest to Stalin unless they force the recall of enough German divisions from the east to make possible a decisive victory there this year. We are inclined to think that time is on our side, but from the Russian point of view we have been borrowing that time from the Red Army, and repayment is due. Until that debt is honored it is clear that little headway will be made in reaching an understanding with Russia about vital post-war issues.

✶

THE MORALE OF A CONSCRIPT ARMY IS interdependent with that of the civilian population from which it springs. Thus the unwillingness of Italian soldiers to go on fighting reflects the war-weariness of the Italian people as a whole. Conversely, the determination with which German troops have fought recently in Russia and Sicily indicates that the morale of the German people, while perhaps increasingly brittle, is still some way from

BURLINGAME

the breaking point. In Italy, Marshal Badoglio, thanks partly to our fumbling of an opportunity, contrived to clamp back the lid on the revolutionary caldron which started to boil over when Mussolini fell. But he has not been able to draw the fires underneath and there are signs that the lid will soon be blown off for keeps. For there is no instrument of coercion to which the Rome government can turn. It has, perforce, been compelled to break up the Fascist Party apparatus in an effort to appease popular feeling. It cannot look to the army to shoot down demonstrators, for the soldiers share too many of the emotions of the mob. However, by stalling the Allies and temporarily restoring "order" Badoglio has gained time, if not for himself, for the Nazis. By all accounts they are digging in along the line of the Po, while in Sicily their rear guard is covering the evacuation of as many men and as much material as possible. When this operation is completed, they will probably abandon southern Italy. Rome will then, perhaps, be more amenable to suggestions of peace, though no longer able to surrender what we need most—control of Lombardy. We shall now have to fight hard for northern Italy. "Anarchy and chaos," which would have impeded the Germans in organizing new defenses, might have served us better.

*

HOW DID THE STORY GET LAUNCHED THAT Sumner Welles is about to be eased of the burdens of his office? The report appeared simultaneously in the New York *Times*, the Chicago *Tribune*, the Washington *Times-Herald*, and, with the possible exception of papers subscribing to the New York *Times* news service, nowhere else. The three papers mentioned are all champions of Secretary of State Hull in his long-standing feud with his second in command. Hull himself denied the story of Welles's pending transfer to other duties, but with a degree of circumlocution which left reporters wondering whether there might not be something to it. The net result is that whether or not the State Department is shortly to lose the services of Mr. Welles, his position has already been effectively torpedoed. This achievement has long been a major objective of the Secretary of State, whose repeated injunction to others to keep their eyes on the war has not deflected his own from the interplay of Washington politics. Hull has frequently suggested to his former colleagues in Congress the inadvisability of treating Welles as a policy maker, and ever since his subordinate's advocacy of the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill resolution, relations between the two men have glided from the strained to the impossible. Welles thinks it would be a good idea for Congress to go on record concerning the shape of the peace; Hull fears public debate and thinks the peace should be left to the professionals. The extent of Welles's present eclipse, ironically, is a measure of his growth as a democrat.

ALMOST ANY DAY NOW THE FRENCH WILL become one of our allies. Of course, they have been fighting a long time, have spilled blood for the United Nations on every front and on the seas of both hemispheres —but all that was unofficial. Now they are to be recognized. Britain is ready, the Soviets are eager to the point of irritation, General Eisenhower is reported to regard the move as a military necessity, and even in the State Department voices have been raised in its favor. The formula for recognizing the French Committee of National Liberation is said to have been worked out, and all that remains is for President Roosevelt to give the word. Britain and the United States have been exchanging notes on the subject since July 21, and the delay must already appear to the world as a grudging reluctance to perform a distasteful act. That, in fact, is the more charitable of the prevailing views concerning our procrastination. The other interpretation is that time was necessary to work out a formula with a joker, to wit, recognition of the Committee as a de facto government only up to the moment when French troops land on the soil of continental France. After that what? Presumably we would then recognize a military distatorship under the commander-in-chief of the French forces, namely, General Giraud, or impose Amgot rule on France. Either arrangement would be temporary, lasting only until the holding of a free election. But "temporary" is an elastic word and much can happen while it is being stretched. The prospect of this formula is held out from Algiers rather than Washington, indicating its possible nature as a trial balloon. If that is what it is, it should be exploded with a bang that will be clearly heard in Quebec.

*

THE LAG IN WAR PRODUCTION THAT HAS been in evidence the last few months has become so serious that it may affect plans now being laid for an intensification of the military effort. Although plane production reached a new high of 7,373 in July, output has fallen far behind schedule. It is clear that the goal of 10,000 planes a month will not be reached this year, and possibly not until well into 1944. A similar lag has afflicted all other branches of war production except shipbuilding, where schedules are being met. Many causes have been cited for this unexpected check on the industrial front. Changes in design, shifts and cancellations of contracts account for some of the delays. There is a belated recognition of failure to take advantage of small-plant facilities for subcontracting. But the principal problem, in the West Coast aircraft factories at least, has been insufficient man-power. During recent months many plants have been losing through the draft, shifts to other jobs, and in other ways as many workers as they have been able to hire. Much of this loss could have been prevented through provision of adequate housing, transpart facilities, day nurseries, and special arrangements for women workers. But in the absence of a carefully worked out man-power program, it is probable that some form of "allocation" of labor may become necessary. The Manpower Commission's new order to reclassify men now in 3-A on the basis of occupation rather than dependency is a timely move in this direction.

*

THE AGITATION AGAINST THE DRAFTING OF fathers is particularly unfortunate in view of the acute man-power shortage. As the situation now stands, skilled men by the tens of thousands are being withdrawn from essential war industries to meet selective-service quotas. Except for 4-F's and the young men just turning eighteen, no single or childless married men between eighteen and thirty-eight are to be found in most areas who are not in essential jobs. But hundreds of thousands of young fathers, the cream of our physical manhood, are still to be found playing baseball, barbering, running elevators, or doing other non-essential work. The War Manpower Commission does not want to see all of these young fathers in the army, but it does want them to choose between army service and essential civilian occupations. In the absence of a law providing for the conscription of labor, the selective-service act provides the only machinery available for forcing these men into useful work. Several Senators and Congressmen, led by the isolationist Senator Wheeler, are seeking to upset this man-power program by making family responsibility rather than contribution to the war effort the basis of man-power policy. We do not believe that this effort will succeed. But the publicity given to the statements of individual members of Congress who oppose the drafting of fathers on political grounds serves the purposes of the enemy by unnecessarily confusing young fathers regarding their draft status and thus delaying their shift to war industries, where they are badly needed.

*

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING BADLY needs any political kudos that can be gleaned from Winston Churchill's visit to Canada, for his Liberal Party is showing many signs of senile decay. On top of a terrific beating in the Ontario provincial elections, it has lost four federal by-elections, two in the West and two in Quebec. In Ontario, it went to the polls with sixty-three out of a total of ninety seats; it emerged with only fourteen. The Conservatives, who have recently sought to widen their appeal by adopting the adjective "Progressive," increased their numbers from twenty-one to thirty-eight. But the real feature of the contest was the advance of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, which raised its poll from 60,000 to 360,000 and its seats from none to thirty-four. With no party securing an absolute majority, it seems that the Conservatives will have to patch up some kind of coalition with the Liberal remnant. This may provide a forecast of the political line-up after the next federal election. The C. C. F. is already the strongest party in the West and the following it has secured in its first invasion of industrial Ontario suggests that in English-speaking Canada it will soon be in a position to displace the Liberals. It has not yet been able to make any headway in the province of Quebec, but in this Liberal stronghold Mackenzie King's government is under attack by another foe. In Stanstead, Quebec, the by-election victory won by the newly organized Bloc Populaire is regarded by qualified observers as an indication that this nationalist group will prove a very serious contender at the next general election. Thus threatened from two directions, the Liberal Party, which has ruled Canada through so much of its history as a Dominion, may meet the fate which overtook the British Liberals in 1918.

What About China?

IS FAR EASTERN strategy one of the leading subjects on the Quebec conference agenda? Russia's absence from the meeting has led some commentators to give an affirmative answer to this question. But in this case another question is inevitably raised. Have Chinese representatives been invited to share in the discussions, and if not, why not? China's strategic position in the war against Japan—comparable to Russia's position in the war against Germany—would seem to require Chinese participation in planning the grand strategy of the war in the Far East. We assume that China is being carefully posted on developments through its membership in the Pacific War Council and perhaps through unofficial representation at Quebec. But in the determining of strategy, Chiang Kai-shek's voice is not being heard, except possibly indirectly. As the situation now stands, the United Nations war plan in the Far East is an Anglo-Saxon plan. What excuse can there be for this undeniable fact?

In a recent article in the *Reader's Digest* Hanson W. Baldwin, military editor of the New York *Times*, suggests one possible excuse when he argues that China's potential military contribution to the war against Japan is negligible. China, Mr. Baldwin insists, "has as yet no real army . . . most of her troops are poorly led and incapable of effectively utilizing modern arms." There is, unfortunately, a substratum of fact beneath Mr. Baldwin's contentions. China is potentially a strong military nation, but despite the sacrifices of six years of warfare its power is still largely potential. Nevertheless, Mr. Baldwin overstates his case when he discounts recent Chinese victories and dismisses Chinese military strength as inconsequential. On the few occasions when the Chinese have had adequate air support they have shown an offensive capacity that should be recognized in planning the future strategy of the war against Japan. Moreover, it is unwise to ignore the remarkable achievements of Chinese guerrillas merely because they are rarely reported in the American press. The Chinese make excellent soldiers. Provide them with air cover and supplies and they are perfectly capable of driving the Japanese into the sea.

It is doubtful whether Washington or London is worried about the military potential of China. A much more likely basis for concern lies in the persistent reports of serious friction and possible open conflict between the Kuomintang and Eighth Route (Communist) armies. The Chungking government has flatly denied that it plans to take forcible action to dissolve China's Communist Party, as was intimated in a recent article by Vladimir Rogoff which appeared in a Moscow magazine and was extensively quoted in the New York *Times*. But Chungking did not deny the allegation which was the central thesis of Rogoff's article, namely that "appeasers," "defeatists," and "capitulators" within the Kuomintang ranks have prevented China from building up an adequate war economy within its borders, thus creating a fatal dependence on supplies from abroad. This charge, like Mr. Baldwin's, is doubtless exaggerated, but the resistance encountered over a period of years by so important a factor in the Chinese war effort as the industrial cooperatives indicates that it contains at least a grain of truth.

On the matter of friction betwen the Kuomintang and the Communist armies it is very difficult to obtain wholly reliable information. But as Raymond Gram Swing pointed out in one of his broadcasts last week, it is misleading to think of the Chinese Communists as Marxian proletarians. They are essentially agrarian radicals whose domestic policies are characterized chiefly by attempts to introduce democratic practices and a program of land reform. Contrary to the general supposition, the Chinese Communists have chalked up fully as good a record in the war against Japan as the regular army. T. A. Bisson, writing for the American Council of Pacific Relations, points out that the Eighth and Fourth Route Armies, though constituting only a small proportion of the armies of China, have inflicted two-fifths of the total casualties suffered by the Japanese in 1941 and 1942.

Under the circumstances it is clear that regardless of the rights and wrongs in China's internal political struggle it would be a catastrophe if civil war were to break out. Nor can a continuation of the present armed truce, which has resulted in the withdrawal from combat of half a million central government troops to watch the Eighth Route Army, be regarded as a satisfactory state of affairs. Some way of settling the conflict must be worked out before China can play an offensive role in the war against Japan. But the gulf that separates the contestants is too broad to be easily bridged. The position of the government is simple, and logical. Since there cannot be two governments and two armies in China, the Communists, as the minority, should abandon their separate regime. The Communists have taken the stand that they can afford to do this only if democratic machinery is set up in China which will permit a minority party to function effectively. They also feel that some agrarian reform is essential for getting the mass support demanded by a total war. There is logic in their position.

The solution of the problem is a matter for China alone to discover. Advice on details from this side of the Pacific is likely to be of little value. But it is necessarily of concern to us in the United States, as partners in a common war, that China should work out an early and equitable settlement of its internal conflict, so as to hasten the final defeat of the enemy and the liberation of the Chinese nation.

Some Notes on Harlem

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

BECAUSE the recent trouble in Harlem was not, narrowly speaking, a "race riot," there is a tendency to heave a sigh of relief, compliment the New York City administration for handling it so efficiently, and forget the whole thing. But citizens of the largest city in the country—which ought to set the pace for the intelligent handling of race relations—should consider the Harlem riot not as a closed incident but as a sharp warning. This may sound like alarmist talk. It is, on the contrary, a sober judgment based on the reports of reliable and realistic observers. I am merely summing up their views.

What happened on the night of August 1? A white policeman, James Collins, stationed in the lobby of a hotel which has long been notorious, attempted to arrest a woman, Margie Polite, for using profane language. A Negro military policeman, Robert Bandy, intervened, grabbed the officer's nightstick, and beat Collins over the head with it. I take this account from the *Amsterdam News*, a leading Negro newspaper. "Bandy then ran out of the hotel and Patrolman Collins shot him in the left shoulder. Collins then placed the soldier under arrest and took him to Sydenham Hospital, with a crowd following. Someone in the crowd shouted, 'A white policeman killed a Negro soldier.' That set off the spark." There followed hours of mob violence in which six people were killed and hundreds injured, while stores were smashed and looted, with damage estimated at more than $5,000,000. Food and liquor stores were special targets.

It was not a race riot, we are told, but there is no question that the violence was primarily directed against whites. The stores attacked were mainly those owned by white people. One young colored woman who mixed with the crowd told me that the people felt they were getting revenge on the storekeepers who sell inferior goods at high prices. Many, no doubt, could not resist the simple desire to get things they wanted and needed—another observer told of a Negro woman who directed her child to get a "spring-mattress" for her because she had always wanted a "spring-mattress"! Then too, looting is infectious, but it would not have assumed such proportions if it had not been fed by long-smoldering resentment against poverty and discrimination. White property was fair game because the people of Harlem firmly believe that white owners have nothing but contempt for the community, never contribute to its welfare financially or otherwise, and are interested only in exploiting colored people.

Much praise has been bestowed upon the city administration for the intelligence and dispatch with which it handled the affair—and much is due—but many Negroes also feel that the riots were in part the cumulative result of a policy of law enforcement in Harlem which has been far too lenient in its handling of day-by-day infractions of ordinary civic decency. It is common knowledge that on the streets of Harlem filthy language, the peddling of dope, the depredations of "baby thugs," sidewalk crap games, the molestation of women who live there, and all the other manifestations of hoodlumism go on continuously—and are largely ignored by policemen who have been told to "go slow" in order to avoid any charge of discrimination or who share the minority psychology that it doesn't matter as long as Negroes are only invading the rights of other Negroes. "Mayor La Guardia," writes one commentator in the *Amsterdam News*, "referred to the hotel where the trouble started as a 'dive.' Well, if it is a dive why has it been allowed to remain open, *with police officers stationed there on a twenty-four-hour watch?*" (My italics.) That is a very pertinent question.

So much for the immediate events. What about the fundamental cause? It can be summed up in one word—segregation. All the immediate as well as the intermediate and remote causes of the trouble in Harlem, from high rents to hoodlumism, can be traced back to the Jim Crow mentality, which was bred in the South and has infected the whole country. It is true that the Negro has on the whole received better treatment in New York City than in any other part of the nation. And in a way this very circumstance tends to obscure the ugly fact that Harlem is essentially a black ghetto, created and perpetuated not only by successive migrations of Negroes from the South, where segregation is taken for granted, but by the ignorance, fear, prejudice, indifference—and benevolence—of New York's white majority. Inevitably Harlem has all the characteristics of a ghetto—cultural isolation, economic discrimination, bad housing, overcrowding, exploitation by members of the majority race, a high rate of juvenile delinquency—in short all the evils of the white world in exaggerated form.

I suspect that even enlightened New Yorkers, some of whose best friends are Negroes, seldom face the reality of Harlem. And I suggest that they take a look at that section of their city not as a place where they have fun on Saturday night but as an isolated community where a minority lives and has its being—and stews in its own juice.

At the end of the last war Harlem had a population of some 125,000. Harlem was, indeed, created by World War I. There was a great migration, carried north by the tide of industrial expansion which that war induced. It was, so to speak, a "healthy" migration. There were jobs at the end of the trek. And the people who came to Harlem during those years were assimilated, at least into their city within a city.

In 1943 Harlem has a population of some 400,000; and a great many of the people who have contributed to this increase, particularly in the last ten years, headed north in other, rather ill-starred migrations, propelled by depression. They came looking for jobs, to be sure, but also for relief from hunger and eviction and all the other ills that Negroes in the South are heir to. It stands to reason that many of them were maladjusted, subjectively as well as objectively, in their native communities. In Harlem they found, perhaps not jobs, perhaps only a bed in some relative's already over-crowded flat, but a kind of freedom with poverty in a huge city—which is a perfect set-up for hoodlumism.

In the best of circumstances, it would have been difficult for a community to assimilate this constant stream of newcomers, who hailed, moreover, from backward regions. Add to this the fact that hoodlumism is an old story in any ghetto, and the further fact that police control of a majority over a minority tends toward brutality on the one hand and, on the other, toward a laxity induced by the minority psychology, which I have already mentioned. A Negro may be viciously beaten for molesting a white visitor in Harlem; but decent citizens of Harlem complain that they do not feel safe on the streets of their own community after dark.

The war, of course, has introduced other important and exacerbating factors, both psychological and economic. In normal times segregation breeds a defensive attitude among Negroes that ranges from the militant advocacy of equality to black chauvinism and plain irresponsibility. The war has accentuated these tendencies. It has dramatized for Negroes their position as a minority, creating fresh resentment against all the disabilities of segregation. And these disabilities are glaringly pointed up by the constant discrimination and frequent violence meted out to Negroes in the armed forces of a country that is fighting in the name of democracy. On the economic side, resentment has been increased, not diminished, by such prosperity and status as the war has conferred on colored workers, for where equality does not exist, the demand for it is as easily incited by prosperity as by poverty.

Segregation is, at best, a compromise that white Americans make with their democratic principles and their belief in human dignity. In the long run it not only corrupts both races; it simply does not work, for it perpetuates and intensifies oppression of the minority and it must invariably react against those who impose it.

Harlem is a tragic example of this fact. Another example, even more serious because it is sanctioned by law, is to be found in the practical effects, already observable, of the Supreme Court decision which ordered equal, but not necessarily identical, facilities for Negroes. Negroes now are occasionally admitted to Pullman dining cars—and subjected to the humiliation of being screened from the view of white passengers. And in the far more crucial field of education, that decision has brought about the establishment for Negroes of third-rate graduate professional schools, which insure the isolation of a minority whose one hope of acceptance and integration depends upon free access to the main streams of culture.

It is obvious that the white majority is not yet ready to abandon the disastrous policy of segregation. But whites as well as blacks who have a genuine belief in democracy should understand with their hearts as well as their minds that segregation must be eliminated, and they must advocate immediate policies that contribute toward that end.

In Harlem, for instance, these immediate policies should include, above all, equality in employment and wages, decent housing, an intensive program of social education and rehabilitation and respect for the rights of the individual. It should include also a policy of law enforcement which will be as strict against the ordinary infractions of public behavior in Harlem as it is in other parts of the city. We may be sure that the great majority of citizens in Harlem would support such a policy, for leniency in this regard is only discrimination in reverse.

As for Negroes, they too have a responsibility, and their most intelligent spokesmen have been the first to say so. While insisting steadily on equality, Negro leaders must impress upon their followers the fact that law and order, impartially and decently administered and scrupulously observed, are the principal safeguard of any minority.

Pay for Your Own Inflation

BY JEROME WEINSTEIN

LIKE an advancing forest fire, inflationary price increases spurt through the dry tinder of excess purchasing power. And just as a forest fire grown out of hand is brought under control by a back fire, deliberately set to burn out an area ahead of the advancing blaze, so can inflation, artificially created and properly controlled, be used to check the ravages of an uncontrolled inflation.

Price increases initiated and regulated by the government can be substituted for inflation. This artificial inflation may be used to bring supply and demand into balance in a way that will accomplish the following desirable social objectives: (1) allocation of the burden of inflated prices to those who indulge in excess spending; (2) transformation into government revenues of the price increases, which otherwise would constitute unearned profits for those who deal in consumers' goods; and (3) assurance to every individual of his essential share of vital necessities at uninflated prices.

By such artificial inflation the forces of supply and demand can be made to play their functional part in the machinery of distribution—machinery which is now near collapse despite price ceilings, rationing, and subsidies.

Prices are rising because the amount of money people are willing and able to spend for goods exceeds the aggregate value of these goods at current prices. Such increases due to excess demand result in increased profits and normally stimulate additional production, which restores a balance between supply and demand at some lower price level. But in the present circumstances, when the resources which can be devoted to the production of consumers' goods are necessarily limited, this stimulus of additional profits cannot call forth the usual response of increased supply. This is what makes inflation.

Can we stabilize prices on a level at which demand exceeds supply? Not so long as the inexorable law of supply and demand continues to operate. And it will continue to operate while the facilities of distribution are privately owned and operated. For within the framework of a price-and-profit economy, we cannot legislate against the forces which make it function. Price-control measures will be effective within that framework only to the extent that they increase supply or reduce demand. Price ceilings do the reverse, tending to increase demand. To the extent that they are effective they enable people to purchase more goods. In the same way, price roll-backs, which operate only as subsidies to consumers, tend to increase the unbalance between demand and supply by increasing the purchasing power of money.

Rationing, to the extent that it is effective, does reduce demand. However, rationing is effective only at the subsistence level at which all consumers are equal. But we have to deal with a substantial surplus of goods over and above the bare minimum for existence. On what basis is that surplus to be distributed? If it is left to supply and demand, the higher prices paid for the surplus will inevitably create a black market in the goods which should be sold at subsistence price levels, and if we attempt to distribute this surplus through an equal rationing, we face the obvious fact that the privilege of buying and the financial means required for the exercise of that privilege are materially different things.

Price increases reduce effective demand by driving out of the market those marginal buyers who are unable or unwilling to pay the higher price; those who can and will pay more find the purchasing power of their money reduced. This happens regardless of the cause of price increases. A sales tax which adds 20 per cent to the cost of goods will drive out marginal buyers and reduce the purchasing power in the same way as a 20-per-cent rise caused by inflationary demand. To the extent that any price increase, however caused, uses up purchasing power, it eliminates that purchasing power as a continuing force of effective demand.

A general sales tax could be used to increase artificially the prices of consumer goods to the level that would otherwise be reached if inflationary demand were left unchecked. But those price increases would accrue to the government by way of tax revenues instead of constituting unearned profits. The hardship to a consumer who pays a dollar a pound for steak, including sales tax, is no greater than the hardship of paying the same price because of excess demand.

The objection to such use of a general sales tax is that, like uncontrolled inflation, it falls upon the just and unjust alike. It burdens consumption at the subsistence level as heavily as consumption at a luxury level. It fails to distinguish between the pound of meat that is an absolute necessity and the pound of meat that is bought with extravagant spending. It stabilizes prices at the expense of the poor for the benefit of the rich. A tax that cuts the poor man's consumption by a third will not check the appetites of the wealthy. And what goods the poor man cannot buy because of the tax will become available for the rich to consume.

The use of a general sales tax to inflate prices artificially will, except for the tax revenues to be derived, bring with it all the evils of inflation itself. It will not limit the burden of increased prices to those whose excessive spending has caused the price increase. Nor will it assure to every individual the opportunity to buy his essential share of the necessities of life at uninflated price levels. Any acceptable method of artificial inflation must, if possible, do these things.

Can a solution for the problem be found by exempting food or clothing from the sales tax? This would only divert spending from the taxed fields of expenditure into the untaxed fields of expenditure. It would further increase the demand, and consequently the prices, for these goods, and thus defeat its own purpose.

The end in view, however, could be achieved by a direct and currently payable tax upon the use of purchasing power in excess of an exempt minimum amount. The tax would progressively increase in rate to the point necessary to achieve a balance between spending and available goods. It would apply to those consumers' goods which by price increases reflect the pressure of excessive inflationary demand—primarily food, clothing, and household goods. Exemption would be given to an amount deemed adequate to cover the cost of goods required for subsistence.

Under this plan there would be issued to every individual coupons covering the exempt amount. Such coupons in money denominations would be used in the purchase of goods in the same way that ration coupons are now used. In the event that the consumer wanted more coupons, he would be required to purchase them, at progressively higher rates. For instance, the first $200 of extra coupons could be taxed at the rate of $20 a hundred; the next $200 at $35 a hundred; and the next $200 at $50 a hundred. The more an individual spent for foods and other taxed goods, the more he would be required to pay in taxes and the less would be the purchasing power of his money. The tax would represent an increase in the price of necessities at the point where they start to be consumed as luxuries. In this way the tax would equalize the competition between higher and lower income groups for the same goods. Retailer collection of coupons could be made certain by requiring their submission along with stock-replacement orders. The retailer who failed to collect coupons could not replenish his stocks and would soon be out of business.

To assure the priority of demands based on essential consumption, wholesalers would be required to give a preference to such retailers' orders as were supported by exempt coupons, which would have a distinctive color. This would assure to every individual his essential share of the necessities of life at uninflated prices. Both free and taxed coupons would be issued for periods of two or three months in order to prevent hoarding. If coupons were issued on an annual basis, there would be a rush of anticipatory buying to guard against the contingency of inflationary price increases a year hence.

The use of a periodic basis would also give that flexibility which is essential to any control of excess buying. As our reserve stock of consumers' goods disappears, the inflationary gap continues to widen. By lowering or raising a ceiling on the maximum amount of extra coupons which could be purchased within any one period, it would be possible to restrict spending above the subsistence level to the amount of goods then available.

The progressive taxation of excess spending would in itself serve as a flexible, self-rationing measure. Each consumer would ration and adjust his periodic, tax-exempt purchasing power to satisfy his own particular demands. He would not sacrifice his ability to buy food without payment of a tax in order to buy a pair of shoes for which he had no immediate need. This restriction on spending would make it possible to dispense with much of the specific rationing now in effect.

The rationing of those few commodities of which there existed an absolute shortage could be continued. Special ration coupons could be included in each book of free coupons. In this way it would be possible to administer the rationing of all such commodities by a single comprehensive scheme.

A black market in free coupons is not likely, for such coupons would merely suffice to cover a subsistence level of expenditure. A black market in extra coupons could be effectively checked. Every individual might be required to present his pass book in order to purchase extra coupons, and the amount of each purchase would be entered therein. He could also be required to file his pass book with his income-tax return. Discrepancies between expenditure and income would be obvious and create a situation every taxpayer would seek to avoid.

The method here proposed balances supply with demand by depreciation of the purchasing power of money used for excess spending. The tax becomes a progressive discount rate which the state applies currently to dollars used for purchases beyond a subsistence level. The thousandth dollar spent buys less than the six-hundredth dollar spent and still less than the first dollar spent.

The same depreciation of purchasing power would occur with inflation. As more and more money would be spent, it would become worth less and less in terms of goods. Thus the proposed tax is equivalent to inflation in its effect upon prices and upon the aggregate demand of all consumers. It differs from inflation in that, by the use of exemptions and progressive rates, the burden of higher prices is distributed in accordance with ability to pay. At the same time, it gives the state a source of substantial revenue.

This is inflation *à la carte*. Each consumer will create his own private measure of inflation. The price increases which he must pay are to be determined by his own spending. He cannot impose upon others the burden of price increases caused by his excessive demands on a limited supply of goods. The cost of inflation is placed, as it should be, upon those who cause it. This is the inflation that can beat inflation.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION is swinging toward the left. By this I mean primarily that the progressive elements represented by Secretaries Ickes, Perkins, and Wallace are steadily gaining influence at the White House at the expense of the reactionary and partisan elements personified by Budget Director Douglas and Postmaster "Genial Jim" Farley.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, *August 2, 1933.*

TRAMPS are an old phenomenon in the United States—indeed practically an institution—but hitherto they have been of masculine gender. No longer, it seems. The Women's Bureau in Washington, in summarizing a survey made in nearly 800 cities . . . found 9,769 women moving from one place to another, unattached, jobless, and homeless.—*August 9, 1933.*

STRANGE AS IT MAY SEEM to one arriving in Moscow from the Western world, the Bolsheviks are still obsessed by the fear of imminent war on the Soviet Union. . . . Any number of important Bolsheviks sincerely believe the bourgeois states are preparing to invade the U. S. S. R. in the near future.—LOUIS FISCHER, *August 9, 1933.*

DON'T COMMIT SUICIDE. Find out what's wrong with you. A staff of eminent psychologists is at your disposal in the *Modern Psychologist*.—(ADVT.) *August 16, 1933.*

WE ARE GLAD to note that official Washington is waking up to the need of an unremitting campaign for unemployment relief and is trying to prevent newspaper ballyhoo about improving conditions from jeopardizing the work of raising funds for the distressed.—*August 23, 1933.*

THE HEARINGS [by the New York State Public Service Commission] brought to light the fact that officials of the companies under investigation had . . . increased their pay by $130,000 in 1932 alone, and that during the depression official salaries had increased by 17 to 77 per cent. . . . Some 8,000 . . . employees have been laid off. . . . Many employees have received wage cuts as high as 50 per cent.—JEROME COUNT, *August 23, 1933.* . . . Power and light employees wanted as union organizers for nation-wide campaign. . . . Write qualifications. Brotherhood of Edison Employees.—(ADVT.) *August 30, 1933.*

THE HERCULEAN EFFORTS of Hugh S. Johnson and his associates during the last week have resulted in a large collection of completed codes, chief among them those covering the steel, oil, and lumber industries.—*August 30, 1933.*

THE TENDER-HEARTED NAZIS, pausing in the midst of their pogroms and the belaboring of interned political dissenters . . . have decreed an end to vivisection in the Reich.—*August 30, 1933.*

"The Beginning of the End"

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

SELDOM has President Roosevelt made a more prophetic statement than his reference to the successful invasion of Sicily as marking "the beginning of the end." Less than a year after El Alamein and Stalingrad, the high-water marks of German power, the close of the war is clearly in sight. Today the enemies of the Axis stand in the best military position since 1939.

If the President's statement is to be criticized from any angle, it is incorrect in that it appears to attribute to action on one front—the southern European—credit that belongs to many and diverse factors. For the military position in which we now find ourselves rests not on any one success, but rather on a combination of triumphs on every front.

Almost overlooked in the midst of more dramatic events has been the victory in the Atlantic, which has permitted a concentration of greater man-power and munitions of war in Western Europe. The battle of ship production has now clearly been won. When a wolf-pack of twenty-five German submarines loses three of its members without being able to approach a convoy close enough to fire a torpedo, it is a sign that the battle of the Atlantic is turning against the Axis. And our turnout of anti-submarine weapons has not yet reached its peak.

The German bid for victory in Russia has fared no better. Slight gains might reasonably have been anticipated from the attempt to reduce the Kursk salient—made in considerable force and under favorable conditions. The utter failure of this offensive is a portent for the future. The heavy losses of man-power, the dispersion and weakening of German air strength, combined with the enormous improvements in Russian organization and tactics, have produced a new situation. The Red Army is qualitatively superior to the *Wehrmacht,* and it almost certainly has greater reserves. Even the digging-in process which has accompanied the change from Blitzkrieg warfare to that of attrition has not prevented the Red Army, in its turn, from launching successful offensives in areas strategically vital to Germany. Though these have been undertaken in superior force, they have not resulted in any serious weakening of Russian defenses elsewhere, as the Germans have learned to their cost after trying diversionary attacks. The long and unbroken retreat out of Russia which marked the doom of Napoleon is now well under way in the case of Hitler. And, as in the Battle of the Atlantic, time is now on the side of the Allies. The Russians are becoming stronger as Germany's strength ebbs. Already there is a suggestion of demoralization in the German retreat.

In the air, too, the United Nations are winning the war. Losses in June were so heavy that some critics feared the margin of profit in aerial bombing had been wiped out. However, during a lull of several weeks, a shift was made in command, squadrons were regrouped, and a new technique was worked out. The late July and early August raids were then undertaken in record-breaking force. More distant penetrations of Germany were made without a proportionate increase of losses. Even in repeated saturation raids on the same target, such as those over Hamburg, not attempted earlier for fear of too heavy loss, the number of British planes downed ranged only from 4 to 5 per cent. The far more accurate precision work of the Americans, directed at such targets as oil refineries and synthetic rubber plants, has further cut down Germany's industrial output. There is widespread difference of opinion as to whether bombing alone can win the war, but there is no possible denial that our present campaign is steadily reducing Germany's industrial and military potential. And it will be conducted in far greater force in the months directly ahead. These are the three major fronts in the European struggle. In none of them is there the remotest likelihood that the Axis will be able to reverse the trend.

It is nevertheless in Sicily and Italy that the growing weakness of the Axis has been most clearly shown. The invasion of Sicily was expected to result in Allied success. With sea and air superiority, better supply lines, a higher grade of troops, and proved leadership on our side, nothing else was possible. What was startling was the rapidity of the early gains, the physical and moral collapse of Italian resistance, and the swift political repercussions in Italy. Equally marked was the improvement in the American armed forces. Our armies have come a long way since their fights in Tunisia. Hitler's refusal even to attempt defending the entire Italian peninsula, while perfectly sound strategically, was the first clear admission of defeat made by official quarters in Germany. Long overmatched at sea and in the air, the Germans, by deciding to contract their lines of defense on land, made a most significant confession of inferiority.

The conquest of Sicily opens up new offensive possibilities for an Italian campaign, with a penetration into the Balkans or southern France following success on the peninsula. This drive might be undertaken in considerable strength, for the divisions used by Eisenhower were clearly only the spearhead of much larger armies available, of forces in the Mediterranean theater which the Germans estimated at fifty-nine to sixty-four divi-

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sions. These forecasts are based on the assumption that Italy will not escape the German yoke. Should it decide to capitulate, the outlook would be even more favorable for the Allies.

Of even greater importance than our military gains, striking as they have been, are the psychological effects on Hitler-occupied Europe. The satellite powers have grown increasingly restless and uncooperative, and conquered peoples everywhere are encouraged to continue and intensify their resistance. German man-power, already strained by the Russian war, is certain to prove ever more inadequate to keep subject peoples in control, protect against invasion at many points, and at least supervise and direct slave labor. For nearly two years people in western Germany have been promised protection and revenge on England "once Russia is disposed of." American aid was to be kept at arm's length by the U-boats. Goebbels in both cases has been forced to admit failure. Even a people as docile and well regimented as the Germans must sometimes recall unfulfilled promises. For an entire year all military news has been bad news. As the casualty lists lengthen, with only Nazi defeats to show for them, the time is rapidly passing when an intelligent German can expect anything but eventual defeat. No propaganda on earth can succeed under such circumstances. In terms of World War I, we have reached the July, 1918, stage, when the last great German drive fell short of victory and only an exhausted, bleeding homeland, sure of failure, starved by four years of Allied blockade, and ready for moral collapse, remained back of the German lines.

It is time for our war leaders to recognize the fact that conditions in Europe have changed drastically from the days when overwhelming Axis power made cautious, limited offensives advisable. A Germany convinced of defeat, inferior in the air, weakened by blockade, bled white by four years of war, with many industries, transport lines, and ports in ruins, is a far different antagonist from the Germany of 1939, 1940, or even 1941. As the Sicilian campaign showed, the number of enemy divisions under such circumstances is completely meaningless. If we wish to shorten the war, now is the time to strike. Propaganda, air power, sea power, military forces must all be utilized to the utmost and in locations vital to the Axis. Denmark, the Low Countries, northern France all offer more crucial battlefields than Italy, southern France, or the Balkans. It is, of course, hardly possible, unless such plans have already been made, to improvise a successful attack in these areas. What is to be hoped is that our war planners, remembering the maxim of Napoleon that "the moral is to the material as three is to one," have anticipated the present situation and are preparing to open a third front which will afford possibilities for bringing the war to an early end.

Italy and the Pessimists

BY LOUIS GRABER

MUSSOLINI'S fall has raised problems which go to the root of the peace and the future of European democracy. To recognize these problems and to solve them correctly is obviously the most urgent task of democrats everywhere. For on their farsightedness and political sagacity rests the decision as to who will pluck the fruits of our military victories—the forces of progress or a more or less disguised reaction. But the revolution in Italy, the first great crack in the structure of fascist Europe, has plainly caught world democracy off guard.

The liberals of America are pessimistic—too pessimistic. They have seen the forces of reaction conquering one stronghold after another, in part because of the cowardice of "realists" and their willingness to compromise. It is understandable that many liberals have in consequence become doubly suspicious of all maneuvers and compromises. But their fearfulness has been carried too far. To suspect, a priori, every victory gained by democracy, to make pessimism a political philosophy, is to undermine the forces of progress and sow confusion. This shortsightedness in the camp of the sincere liberals and the convinced anti-fascists may well have more dangerous results than all the intrigues and master plans that the various pseudo-Metternichs carry around in their vest pockets.

The weakness of the left has emerged glaringly in its failure to estimate correctly the present Italian situation. Many of our progressive columnists declared themselves disappointed. One called the fall of Mussolini "the first cousin of the recent Argentine coup d'état." Another found fault with the fact that Mussolini had not been overthrown by a popular movement, but merely by a palace revolution. A third complained that it was not the forces of anti-fascism, but rather the military defeats, that had forced Il Duce to abdicate. But on one point they all agree: that the King and Badoglio, far from being democrats, are accomplices of fascism.

About this last point no argument is possible. In analyzing a political situation, however, it isn't enough to observe merely the gestures and actions of the men who pass themselves off as the leading actors but who are in reality lowly extras. Was what happened in Italy only a palace revolution, provoked by our military victories? Of course; but it was the anti-fascist convictions of the Italian masses, their resistance to the Mussolini régime, which caused the military machine to crumble and made it ripe for defeat. No revolution has ever occurred out of a blue sky. Before the people can act it is necessary for the ruling régime first to document its own bankruptcy.

Naturally the ruling clique will try to divert the revolution from its path and save itself by means of compromises and intrigues, and to recognize and expose these deceptions is important. But it is equally important to preserve one's perspective and to place the Italian coup d'état in its true relation to the pattern of current events.

The two weeks that have elapsed since Mussolini's fall, we are assured from quarters that should know better, have substantiated the worst fears of the pessimists: "Nothing has changed in Italy!" This way of thinking shows a complete disregard of the real motivating powers of the Italian revolution. What, then, has changed? Only that Italian fascism has publicly announced its bankruptcy, shown itself incapable even of arousing itself to the empty gesture of a heroic exit. Only that in spite of a dictatorship of twenty years' duration, in spite of propaganda and secret police, in spite of jail and castor oil and concentration camps, the Italian masses dashed to the streets in the very first hour, shouting "Long live democracy!" Only that a mere four hours after Mussolini's resignation, manifestos, pamphlets, and newspapers appeared, testifying to the force of Italian democracy and the unity of the anti-fascist front.

I am not even mentioning here the *military* results of the overthrow and its possible effects on the future course of the war. Like *The Nation,* I believe that "the *political* results may be more valuable," though not just "for the Allied cause," but for the entire development of the anti-fascist battle in Europe. It is precisely this side of the question that is being completely overlooked by many spokesmen of democracy. And this seems to me a dangerous symptom, a symptom of the sectarianism and false radicalism that have come to take root in the ranks of the left, a symptom of its lack of self-confidence.

How else did people imagine the revolution in Italy would occur? And what preconceptions have they now concerning the coming revolution in Germany? Did they expect a democratic government to follow close on the heels of Hitler, the "black night of barbarism" to be succeeded instantaneously by the "resplendent dawn of liberty"? The revolutions that will follow the collapse of fascism and nazism in Europe will not run a straight course. And we must shape our strategy and tactics accordingly.

I hope that no one will conclude from these remarks that I have the faintest esteem for the Badoglio régime or even advocate our coming to terms with it. My contention is simply that this interregnum should prove an unwitting blessing to Italian democracy and the struggle against fascism.

From the first, Badoglio has had only two possibilities from which to choose: to capitulate or to continue the war on the side of Germany. Should he surrender unconditionally, his régime will be completely identified with the defeat. Italian democracy really has no reason to compete with the marshal for undertaking this nasty job of liquidation. How much better it would have been for the course of democracy in Germany if in 1918 Hindenburg and Ludendorff, rather than Ebert and Scheidemann, had formalized the capitulation!

Should Badoglio make the second choice, which he clearly appears to have done, who can doubt that his effort to carry on the fight must very soon end with his downfall and that he will drag the monarchy down with him? This course will in fact provide the best method for converting to the cause of democracy and a free republic even those conservative elements in the Italian population which for sentimental reasons still cling to the monarchy.

The parties that are united in the Italian anti-fascist front have seen the situation clearly. They did not rush to demand the fall of the King and Badoglio. In their very first manifesto they demanded a break with Germany, peace, guarantees of the basic democratic rights, and the liberation of all political prisoners. The Communists did not talk of soviets; the Republicans made no mention of a republic; and the Socialists said nothing about socialism. Instead, they found a common platform and demonstrated their ability to think and act with clear political judgment.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of some of our democratic theorists, whose attitude has been determined primarily by resentment and moral indignation over the personal histories of Victor Emanuel and Marshal Badoglio. It may be readily admitted that the sentiment of these liberals is praiseworthy and their indignation understandable, but the fact that our progressive columnists and the Italian exiles have no illusions about Badoglio and the King happens to be immaterial. The great majority of the Italian people immediately after Mussolini's fall thought that the King and his Marshal had freed them of fascism and would bring them peace. It is essential that they be cured of these illusions. They are in fact being cured, but after twenty years of dictatorship time is obviously needed for political truths to penetrate.

This loss of time—which in any case will be very limited—is more than offset by the fact that when the Badoglio government falls, no Italian will be able to say that the Allies wantonly overthrew "an upright man and a great soldier" merely because he did not suit their purposes. On the contrary, the downfall of the régime will clearly reflect its failure to fulfill the will of the Italian people.

It is true that Badoglio's hesitation has given the Germans time to consolidate their power in northern Italy, and it is good propaganda to hammer home that fact to the Italian people. But in reality no Italian government would have been able to prevent this development. The preparation and execution of adequate military operations to checkmate the Nazis would have required time no matter who was in control.

But, it is protested, is there not a grave danger that a Badoglio who *accepts* the conditions of the Allies and is in turn supported by them will stabilize his régime and the pro-fascist monarchy, thus barring the way to the construction of a true democracy? This fear, too, shows a lack of understanding. Even if it adopted a pseudo-democratic course, Badoglio's administration could only be temporary. The enormous problems posed by twenty years of fascism and by defeat will grow increasingly complicated. Only a genuinely democratic government supported by the entire population can solve these problems. Where fascism, which could embellish its dictatorship with a pseudo-social and pseudo-revolutionary ideology, failed, a naked military dictatorship is even less equipped to block the democratic process of rejuvenation. And a *beaten* military dictatorship has no chance at all.

I don't believe in the theory that the liberated nations will be confronted with a "political vacuum." The fall of the dictators will doubtless bring to the helm transient régimes *à la* Badoglio—generals in Germany, more or less reactionary politicians in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania. These régimes will attempt to save themselves by making concessions to democracy. The victorious powers will, out of pure self-interest and military necessity, occupy these countries, enforce disarmament, and liquidate the police machines. With the annihilation of the fascist and Nazi political structures and provision for the basic requirements of an expression of the popular will, the military governments and armies of occupation will have completely fulfilled their historic task. If public opinion in the democracies sees to it that they stop then and there, everything else can be safely left to the people of the liberated countries.

[*A conflicting view of the Allied handling of Italy is presented by J. Alvarez del Vayo elsewhere in this issue.*]

England Teaches Its Soldiers

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

"YOU will find the troops very critical," the educational officer told me, somewhat apologetically, as he ushered me into a cavernous assembly hall deep in the side of the cliffs. I was on a speaking tour of British army camps, and the assignment on the first day was a coast-guard battalion on the south coast. The topic was the reconstruction of Europe after the war. The British army has gone in not only for education, but for progressive education. I was asked by the officer to make the opening address brief so that there would be sufficient time for discussion. The discussion was lively and to the point. I did find the troops critical, sometimes to the point of deep skepticism about the possibility of any significant post-war reconstruction.

The first question in this discussion period came from a sergeant. "Do you think," he asked, "that white nations that allow conditions which produce Detroit race riots are capable of reconstructing the world in such a way that the colored nations will have their just place in the scheme of things?" The question led to some critical estimates of the virtues and capacities for world statesmanship to be found in the United Nations. I sought in the discussion to discover whether the remarks were primarily expressions of British resentment against color prejudice in the American army or an indication of a wholesome sense of the common guilt of all the white nations. I discovered that both moods were present in fairly equal proportions.

The British soldiers are not at all afraid to ask, and are capable of asking, questions which deal critically with the ideas and attitudes, the policies and program of their own nation. I was sometimes informed that the critical attitude of the British army was caused by the years of frustration spent in home camps, waiting and training for the invasion of Europe. It seems to me more likely that it is the consequence of the very wide and extensive program of social and political education conducted by British army authorities. The soldiers' questions invariably indicated a general background of informed opinion. In a week of forums, not a silly question was asked. The only irrelevant questions were those dealing with the wide differential in wages between British and American soldiers, an unfortunate source of friction between the two armies, which Canada has wisely eliminated by withholding a part of the troops' wages through forced savings.

The British army is prepared to let education leaven the lump of army discipline. Again and again educational officers told me that they began their work under a cloud of suspicion on the part of general officers, who were afraid that free discussion of the causes and probable consequences of the war might distract soldiers from that single-minded devotion to the immediate task which army discipline requires. But they usually reported that the field officers were ultimately converted by the improved morale of the troops. I did hear of some cases in which field officers were able to emasculate the educational program, making it both innocuous and uninteresting. Yet the fact is that, on the whole, the British army is not afraid of education for democracy, while our own army shows every indication of harboring such fears.

A part of the British educational scheme dates from 1920, when the Army Education Corps was organized on the basis of a special report issued by a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Gorell. The present educational program is carried on inside the army under the supervision of a Directorate of Education in the War Office, and the Education Corps has its special officers in every district, area, and divisional headquarters. The actual classes and forums are usually conducted by warrant officers in regimental and battalion units. A special premium is placed upon discussion, and the officers are asked to report the length of each discussion and the number of participants.

In 1939 a Central Advisory Council for Adult Education in His Majesty's Forces was organized, consisting of representatives of the universities, the Board of Education, and local educational authorities. The council, which is subdivided into twenty-three regional units, renders the best educational talent of the nation available for the task of army education. I know of no similar body in our own country; and I have the uneasy feeling that the failure of American educators to interest themselves in the problem of army education is responsible to a large degree for the comparative educational backwardness of the American army. The Educational Corps and the Advisory Council route a large number of lecturers through the army camps. The educational officers are also encouraged to make use of whatever talent is to be found within their respective units. Frequently, regular army officers are drawn into the educational program, and ex-journalists and teachers within the ranks are used according to their several abilities.

In addition, the Y. M. C. A. carries on a general, as well as religious, educational program. Frequently, in sections where there are many camps, the Y. M. C. A. provides a special educational center, different in atmosphere from the regular camp, and organizes special classes for soldiers. Part of the Y. M. C. A. educational program is conducted by women, who have for various reasons, some of them obvious, proved particularly acceptable to the troops.

The "textbooks" for the social and political education of soldiers are of two varieties. A series of pamphlets with the general heading, "British Way and Purpose," discusses all aspects of British democratic history, of present political, economic, and social problems, and of future prospects. A special Army Bureau of Current Affairs publishes a weekly bulletin in which current problems are analyzed and questions suitable for discussion suggested. The special problems of practically every nation and region of the world have been taken up by the A. B. C. A. While it was reported that some officers tried to discourage discussion of the Beveridge Report, I can testify that I visited no educational center which did not display a large graph illustrating the meaning of the Beveridge social-security plan. Many British soldiers asked me whether we had a similar plan and were surprised when I told them of the report of the National Resources Planning Board.

Aside from the general educational program, every kind of individual interest is encouraged and facilities are provided for constructive hobbies. I discovered a class in Esperanto in one unit, and in another an educational officer reported that special phonograph records had been provided for a group especially interested in chamber music.

Compared with this British program, the United States Army is culturally and educationally poverty-stricken, though it is not poor in any other respect. In Britain, the American Red Cross carries on the activities which are performed in the United States by the USO and there are Red Cross clubs in every part of the British Isles for our soldiers. There is no lack of entertainment. Moving pictures and theatrical performances are plentiful. American soldiers can get unlimited amounts of cigarettes tax free, while British soldiers are limited to five tax-free cigarettes a day. Naturally, chocolate bars are also more plentiful among our service men.

The United States Army in Britain publishes both a daily paper and a weekly magazine, both of which are very sprightly. The paper not only carries baseball box scores but has a daily photo of some glamor queen, usually a Hollywood star. The regular publication of these pictures is presumably for the purpose of providing "pin-ups" to enliven the bare walls of the barracks. In short, nothing is lacking in the United States Army except serious discussion about the meaning of the war and the best means of using the fruits of victory creatively.

Some American officers and soldiers who came to my public meetings in London told me that there was absolutely no opportunity in the army for serious talk about social and political issues. I discovered that this is not exactly true; but it is broadly true. There are, of course, the orientation courses given during the soldiers' training period, some of which are very good but most of which are mediocre. Moreover, the personnel of the Special Services division of the army, which is in charge of the activities that beguile a soldier's leisure, does boast two special officers in charge of education, as well as a number of officers who, impressed by the British program, are emulating the discussion groups of the British army, as are also some of the Red Cross clubs.

Nevertheless, these casual and individual efforts are piddling compared with the highly organized British system. An education program cannot be effective in the army if it is not launched under auspices that have indisputable prestige, if it is not carried through systematically to the various units, and if it lacks proper literature. There is no indication that our army contemplates such a program.

Perhaps it ought to be added that the British chaplains have been drawn into the educational program through the institution of a "padre's hour" in which the chaplain presides over an informal discussion in which no serious subject is barred. Our chaplains, on the other hand, are limited to formal religious services. Except for a few specially talented chaplains, this means that their contact with the troops is minimal. The British army is now initiating institutes in sex education and seeking to make the guidance of both chaplains and educational officers on this important subject more effective. I lack official data in regard to our own army, but such evidence as I was able to gather informally gave me the impression that there is little in the way of sex guidance between the chaplain's rather too simple prohibitions and the medical officer's rather too simple prophylaxis.

An army fighting for democracy without a full opportunity to discuss the meaning of the struggle in which it is engaged may easily become a peril to democracy. This is true because army techniques and procedures are highly specialized; and all highly specialized preoccupations are a potential peril to a form of government that requires for its preservation broad perspectives and an understanding of ultimate issues. It is natural for field officers to be skeptical of, and on occasion inimical to, democratic education in the army. They naturally fear any distraction which might beguile the soldier from his immediate task. But it is precisely because military discipline conduces to a narrow outlook that democracy insists upon the subordination of military to civil authority. In the field of education, this subordination has not been preserved in the United States Army. The American soldier has Hollywood, in both the literal and symbolic sense, to fill his leisure hours; but he lacks help in finding the spiritual and moral significance of the titanic struggle in which he is engaged. We may one day rue this neglect of the substance of democracy in democracy's army.

In the Wind

CHESTER BOWLES is doing a good job as head of the OPA, says *Printers' Ink,* a magazine devoted to "advertising, management, and sales." However, "he is having his troubles in trying to persuade competent business men to take over the key jobs. . . . It is a perfectly amazing situation when business men will, in effect, deliberately turn their Washington affairs over to the much maligned professors and the choice assortment of crackpots with which OPA is infested."

POSTERS announcing Leon Henderson's forthcoming series of talks on a radio program sponsored by O'Sullivan's Heels present a picture of Mr. Henderson directly above the slogan, "America's Number One Heel."

THE BRESLEE Manufacturing Company, which produces war materials, not only hires, pays, and promotes Negroes on the same basis as whites, but is encouraging its employees to think about the issues involved in the war by offering a $25 war bond for the best letter on the subject, "What I Am Fighting For."

GERALD L. K. SMITH, leader of the America First Party, on the split in the Republican Party: "If Congressmen Hoffman, Woodruff, Bradley, and Shafer have their way in shaping the policy of the Republican Party next year, there will be no need of an America First Party."

JO SERRA, editor of the Skokie, Illinois, *Press,* explains the Four Freedoms to people outside the United States: "The Four Freedoms, folks, is just a slogan—something to get our mind off of something else. . . . But, you folks in foreign lands, you should not take us too serious, anyway coming election year. We have some odd and unique ways of trying to intrigue our voters."

A FEW MONTHS AGO American Airlines was placing institutional advertising on the theme, "Either we will be dominant in the air or we will be dominated in the post-war world." Today, still over the signature of its president, A. N. Kemp, it issues the message: "Air Is International. . . . The post-war air program must be predicated upon agreements between nations."

FESTUNG EUROPA: On the evening of the bombing of Rome the Nazi-controlled radio station at Oslo canceled its regular news report and played musical recordings instead. The first record was a song, "No Sour Faces." . . . A number of articles written by Slovak Quislings have complained that many Slovak scientists no longer seem interested in publishing the results of their researches. The newspaper ***Slovak*** says, "We hardly know how to explain the strange silence of some of our scientists."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The Last Hour

THE sixth meeting between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill takes place in an atmosphere of unlimited confidence, with good news pouring in from every military front. If the conference has been greeted not with unanimous joy but with a general feeling of skepticism, it is because our deep satisfaction in the impending doom of the Axis cannot preclude our concern over the political developments of the war. Until now we have had a political setback for every military achievement, and the disparity grows more apparent as the victorious armies draw closer to their goal.

The Italian crisis is the most immediate issue facing the conference. Recently, perhaps in a mood of summer irresponsibility, a high Allied dignitary remarked that the Italian state of affairs concerned military staffs exclusively. It cannot be assumed that the President and the Prime Minister share this view. It would be interesting to know whether, in the intimacy of the conversations between the two leaders, Mr. Churchill has shown himself as well satisfied with the manner in which the Italian crisis has been handled in Washington and London as official circles would pretend.

Here in the United States we have indulged in a good deal of self-deception. Even commentators who did not spare their criticism in discussing the blunders committed in North Africa were prompt to say that no better action could have been taken in Italy, and that to speak of the creation of a free Italian government, opposed to the King and Badoglio, was both childish and dangerous. People in London seem to know better. Authoritative voices have revealed growing uneasiness as Italy has continued to play the German game, and they have marked the loss of a magnificent opportunity for the United Nations, with the help of the Italian people, to rouse the anti-fascist masses of Europe.

Judging by authentic reports which trickle out of Italy, the popular movement against the war and against the King and Badoglio, the reaction to the farce of dissolving fascism by law even while securing its power, has reached an extraordinary intensity. What would have been the effect upon the masses demonstrating in Milan and Turin if real anti-fascist Italians had addressed them from Sicily? Perhaps the leaders at the Anglo-American conference feel satisfied that their chief objective has been attained—the preservation of order and the avoidance of revolution. But not even Mr. Churchill's fertile imagination can make a political success out of a situation created by the lack of a clear democratic policy.

As in all the previous Churchill-Roosevelt conferences, Russia will be "kept fully informed" of all decisions, and that, regrettably, will be the extent of its participation. It was made to appear after the earlier meetings in Washington and Casablanca that everything pointed to a perfect agreement among the United Nations. After the landing in Sicily even the controversial issue of a second front seemed to be settled. But it is now evident that the only road to a genuine accord is acceptance of the Russian interpretation of a second front.

The differences between the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain may be slighter than they were some months ago. But it is not encouraging to hear the people who a year ago talked of the possibility of a separate Russo-German peace emerging again with the same argument. Nor is it a sign of genuine collaboration among the three great powers that the creation of a Free German Committee in Moscow has inspired diverse schemes to outwit the Russians in Berlin.

The Soviet Union has three complaints against its Western allies: military commitments made but not fulfilled; delay in the recognition of the French Committee of National Liberation; assumption that the military and civil administration of Italian occupied territories, beginning with Sicily, is a purely American-British affair.

Of the three problems, the second was the easiest to solve. The Russians simply served notice that if the Algiers committee were not recognized by Britain and the United States in the near future, the Soviet government would take such action on its own account. A belated victory was won—but not before the prestige of Washington had sadly fallen, and not before the status of General de Gaulle had become almost a question of American national honor.

Russia may eventually be fully satisfied on the other two issues. But there will be further problems out of which major divergencies among the United Nations may arise. As long as the problems are aggravated by mutual rivalry and distrust, we shall emerge from one crisis only to enter another. Now, at this advanced stage of the war, the London *Observer* finds it necessary to urge the creation of a political council of the United Nations and to warn that this is the last hour to unite. For two years this has been the constant plea of everyone with enough imagination to foresee a certain military victory and an almost certain political defeat. Every plea proved useless. The United Nations were strong. One day the irresistible force of Allied armies would force the Axis to its knees,

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and anything said in regard to the political aspect of the struggle was sheer impertinence and a hindrance to the war effort.

But the problems remained. They will either be accorded a politically adequate solution or all the 21 million tons of American shipping announced for 1944, all the fabulous production of planes and tanks, and all the richness of the arsenal of democracy will be insufficient to bring peace on earth. The status quo among the United Nations cannot be maintained indefinitely by intermittent smiles and reproaches. The choice is between an immediate unity of Russia, the United States, and Great Britain on political strategy and war aims, or eventual open conflict. J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Mr. Hull's Bad Dream

BY PAUL WINKLER

THE French Committee of National Liberation held a meeting in Algiers today, deliberating whether it should recognize the State Department as a body representing American interests. General Giraud defended the point of view that though there was no necessity for a so-called "full recognition," it should seriously be taken into consideration whether the State Department did not deserve a "provisional recognition," or at least a "de facto recognition."

General de Gaulle said that the State Department could not be recognized by the committee because, according to confidential information he had received, the source of which he could not reveal, "there was no State Department" and consequently it could not be said yet with certainty whether there was a United States of America at all. He added that according to Dr. Gallup 95 per cent of the Americans were not for the State Department and to regard as representative of American interests a body which has behind it only 5 per cent of all Americans was quite impossible.

General Giraud answered that, according to his figures, 95 per cent of all Americans were backing the State Department. Asked to explain where he got his figures, Giraud said he was not quite sure whether they were from the *Fortune* poll or the Gettysburg Address, and added that the latter document was, from what he had heard, of great importance for Americans and should always be mentioned by anyone speaking about American affairs.

The State Department, M. André Philip then proposed, should be told first to achieve unity among its own leaders before applying for any recognition. From reliable American newspaper reports, he could announce that Mr. Cordell Hull did not get along well with Mr. Sumner Welles and did not like Mr. Adolf Berle; Mr. Sumner Welles did not like Mr. Hull and Mr. Berle; and Mr. Berle liked only himself. M. René Massigli, speaking about Mr. Berle, said that a man who, according to American magazines, has two tubs in his bathroom cannot be regarded as a representative statesman anyhow.

M. André Philip then submitted to the meeting a confidential message which he had just received through underground channels from Washington. According to this message, it was certain that Mr. Roosevelt was either a Fascist or a Communist, but it was not yet clear which. Some Americans insisted that the OWI and the FCC were full of Communists, and others that the State Department was full of Fascists, and because these offices had been created by President Roosevelt there was a good chance that he might be both Fascist and Communist. M. Philip understood that a secret debate on this subject was just going on between Representative Martin Dies and Miss Elsa Maxwell.

M. André Philip then asked how the State Department could seriously ask for recognition so long as its policies were determined entirely by a man who is both Fascist and Communist. General Giraud intervened and said that he was surprised to learn that President Roosevelt should be described as determining the foreign policies of the State Department. He had always thought that the President and the Department had separate foreign policies, which fact he regarded as an outstanding example of that marvelous principle of "division of powers" which is so well defined in one of the basic charters of American democracy, probably the Gettysburg Address.

Mr. Arthur Krock was then cited by M. Philip as his source of information regarding the determination of State Department policies by President Roosevelt. M. Massigli asked whether the committee should not issue a statement that it looked upon such a situation as denoting "personal ambitions" on the part of President Roosevelt and refuse recognition on these grounds. General Giraud, speaking about Mr. Krock, who had been mentioned by M. Philip, proposed that his name should be acclaimed by the committee, together with those of Messrs. Harold Callender and Ernest K. Lindley, as those of three sincere friends of France and Franco-American collaboration. General de Gaulle said that he would have to think this over and suggested that the matter be discussed again at the next meeting.

General Giraud expressed regrets that such an important question should not be discussed immediately and said that he could categorically refute the accusation leveled against President Roosevelt that he pursued his personal policies in foreign political matters, because, as far at least as French matters were concerned, he was certain that the President listened to the advice of Admiral Leahy, a friend of France and a close friend of Marshal Pétain and of Harry Hopkins, a much-traveled gentleman. For all these reasons it was unjust to accuse

President Roosevelt of "dictatorial tendencies" and to refuse the recognition of his State Department on these grounds. He added that he knew for certain that wherever President Roosevelt went he left a "trail of Francophilia" behind him. As a source for this information, he quoted a confidential report by Mr. Churchill given to him for his exclusive personal use.

General de Gaulle then summed up the debate, saying that though he was not in favor of a "full" recognition, nor of a "provisional" recognition, nor of a "de facto" recognition, he would take into consideration a fourth category: recognition as an "ally," for which there was some precedent during the Thirty Years' War, which he promised to submit to the next meeting. He said that he would propose this recognition merely in consideration of the fact that General Eisenhower was being maintained as chief of the American army in Europe, but he still did not like the idea that President Roosevelt as commander-in-chief of the American army should unite in his hands both military and political powers.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ONE of Germany's troubles is its young people. There are fanatical believers in Nazism among them, but there are also those who oppose it. Professor von Gruneberg, a hundred-per-cent Nazi, seems to think the latter predominate. In an article in the *Preussische Zeitung* of July 20 he complained that youth shows an alarming "indifference." Over and over again he tolled the bell on this note:

> The younger generation lacks the balance of the older people, who know that the years since 1933 have been their salvation. Therefore, young people are necessarily quite indifferent to both the great successes and the present critical hours of the war. The rapid succession of important events in their early youth has made them less susceptible to enthusiasm.

But the Nazi professor is not always so circumlocutory. Of the university students he says bluntly, "They are tired of the political conception of life and are seeking private intellectual satisfaction." He confesses that it makes him "shudder to think that they will some day hold responsible positions in German society."

The scarcity of manufactured goods is illustrated every day by new examples.

On July 27 in Flensburg, a town near the Danish border, every household which rented an electric oven from the electric company was ordered to turn it in. A proclamation by the mayor said the ovens were to be given up without delay because they were "needed immediately" (possibly in the near-by city of Hamburg).

On July 31 the official news agency, DNB, released this announcement:

> The Reich Health Leader has issued an order that all members of the medical profession, especially doctors and dentists using X-ray equipment, must register their equipment with the Reich Defense Commissary.

Such registration is always followed by requisitioning.

On August 1 and 2 the Berlin correspondent of the Swedish newspaper, *Social-Demokraten,* announced that ration cards for textile products of all kinds had been annulled throughout Germany. This was done in order to reserve all supplies on hand for air-raid victims who have lost everything. Dresses, trousers, underwear, hats, sheets, etc., can no longer be bought in Germany. Exceptions are made—aside from air-raid victims—only for children and expectant mothers. Sentiment, however, is not forgotten. Relatives of those who have died in air raids and in battle are permitted to buy mourning.

A leaflet, of which thousands of copies were distributed in Berlin after the fall of Mussolini, has already been mentioned in dispatches to the American press. The Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm *Aftontidningen* reported on August 3 that the Gestapo was feverishly but unsuccessfully trying to track down the producers and distributors of the leaflet. The text, as published in *Aftontidningen,* is as follows:

> IMAGINE THIS!
>
> Goebbels's radio and press minimize the revolutionary events in Italy. They say that it is only a change of government, that it is entirely an internal Italian matter, and that the war will continue. We can, however, get a clearer insight into the events and be better able to grasp what happened if we try to project them on to the background of German conditions.
>
> Imagine workers in Berlin, Hamburg, and all other major cities of the Reich stopping work, filling the streets, and shouting, "We want peace!" Imagine Hitler trying to avoid catastrophe by resigning his post and withdrawing to Berchtesgaden. Imagine officers and soldiers declaring their solidarity with rebellious workers, all the offices of the party and of party officials closing down, and the extirpation of Nazism. Imagine Göring, Himmler, Goebbels, and all the others arrested and locked up, and excited masses breaking into the houses and palaces of the Nazi dogs and distributing their hoarded food stuffs among the people. Imagine the editor in chief of the *Völkischer Beobachter* arrested and the newspaper suddenly appearing as a democratic organ. Imagine hundreds and thousands of people asking the Gestapo to release prisoners, imagine this demand fulfilled and the members of the Gestapo taken to concentration camps.
>
> Imagine all this, and you will know what really happened in Italy.

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The Preacher Sought to Find Out Acceptable Words

They drop with periodic regularity
From the summit of their goodness, young, to death.
They leap to the blue
And it is out of the blue
Comes Death the Enemy.

Some young flier
When he least expected it slips,
Before he ever got into combat, in a training plane,
Before a backdrop of high-puffed, idealistic clouds,
Towering, still, complete, high, like all his dreams,
In luminous heat of sweaty Pensacola.

Closeness to machines going fast gives man brazenness,
Lags him back to brute-heart: who should be
Full of moral imperatives does what he is told,
Is cheerful, counts not the cost, gets in his licks.

The fine body needing no thought, working perfectly,
Has to be discounted, hands capable:
Least likely to do when
Seeing the superiority of the airman's eye
(Unsupplanted by scholarship)
Tools of justice high in the air!

One, to marry tomorrow, dead today,
Broaches the rude history of the world,
This descendant from the sky and man;

While we watched him pulsing with the others,
A painted ship upon a painted sky,
Diverted from swimming a moment when he dropped.

RICHARD EBERHART

Mr. Moult's "Majority"

THE BEST POEMS OF 1942. Selected by Thomas Moult. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

MR. MOULT, in an introduction that celebrates the twenty-first year of this annual series, declares that, in spite of criticism, he persists in the adjective "best." An editor, he says, must have the courage of his convictions. So far so good; and, of course, every man to his taste. Every man to his taste; but to exploit and advertise a certain kind of taste over two full decades may be not so much courageous as plain foolhardy. For the effort is nonsensical if the reader lacks confidence in the editor's judgment; this failing, neither years nor poets can be properly esteemed. It is pertinent, therefore, to subject Mr. Moult's competence to a little further inquiry.

The authors of what Mr. Moult claims to be the best poems of 1942 are approximately sixty in number, divided about evenly between British and Americans, with a sprinkling of Canadians and Irish. There are no South Africans, Australians, or New Zealanders. The best known English names are those of De la Mare, Masefield, Blunden, Shanks, Gogarty, and Spender. (The poems of the last two, by the way, appeared in American periodicals). The best known American names are those of David Morton, who appears three times, more than any other poet in the book, Babette Deutsch, Conrad Aiken, Richard Eberhart, and Oscar Williams. At the same time, there are a lot of poets like Joseph Auslander, Tom Boggs, Stanton A. Coblentz, Anderson M. Scruggs, and Harold Vinal. Not only a lot of poets like these, but also their very selves, in person.

On the other hand, T. S. Eliot, apparently, did not write one of the best poems of 1942. When were "East Coker" and "The Dry Salvages" first published? Neither did W. H. Auden have any such luck, nor George Barker, Louis MacNeice, W. R. Rodgers (whose book is advertised by the publishers on the reverse jacket), nor Dylan Thomas. Neither, in Canada, did Raymond Knister, A. M. Klein, nor A. J. M. Smith.

On our side of the border, it is easy to think of many others. Neither of the Benéts appears, nor does Frost, nor Sandburg, nor MacLeish. John Crowe Ransom is not here, nor is Allen Tate, nor R. P. Blackmur, nor R. P. Warren, nor Yvor Winters. Karl Shapiro is not here, nor is any of the four poets who were this year awarded Guggenheim fellowships. Neither is Randall Jarrell, nor Horace Gregory (both on the Harcourt list). Neither is Kenneth Fearing, nor Langston Hughes. Neither is Theodore Roethke, nor W. T. Scott. Neither is William Carlos Williams; neither is Marya Zaturenska. You will probably think of others, gentle readers. Is not all this something of a shock? And is not my list long enough to demonstrate that I am not merely caviling at the absence of my personal favorites?

Let us next consider the places where Mr. Moult has found the best poems. Most of the English poems are taken from London publications: Mr. Moult's favorite, by long odds, is a magazine called the *Listener,* from which he has taken nine poems, more than twice as many as he has culled from any other single area. The London publications include the Sunday *Times, Adelphi, English,* the *Observer,* the *New Statesman and Nation, Poetry Review,* the *New English Weekly, Horizon, Time and Tide,* and the *Nineteenth Century and After* (though not much after, I would risk a small bet). The *Queen's Quarterly,* in Toronto, has yielded two specimens, one the longest in the book; the *Canadian Quarterly* another. The *Dublin Magazine* is the source of two poems, and *Jongleur,* published in Bradford, Yorkshire, yields one.

Whereas in England Mr. Moult seems, in his eclecticism, inclined to be a townee, his American impulses are much more provincial. The *Lyric* (Norfolk, Virginia), *Wings* (Mill Valley, California), *Poetry Forum* (Baltimore), *Fantasy* (Pittsburgh), *talaria* (Cincinnati), *Prairie Schooner* (Lincoln, Nebraska), *Contemporary Poetry* (Baltimore again), the *Tramp* (Anacortes, Washington), *Kaleidograph* (Dallas)—these testify to his range. How he managed to miss something called the *American Weave* is a mystery to me. He could hardly have missed *Poetry* (Chicago), or the *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), though in each instance he came mighty close, taking one poem from each. He also got in something from the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia), and the *Virginia Quarterly Review* (Charlottesville). He did not find very much in New York: four items from *Voices*, his American favorite; two from *Spirit*, one each from the New York *Times*, the *Saturday Review of Literature*, *Decision*, and *Common Sense*. *The Nation* had a narrow escape, just getting under the wire with the last poem in the book, One Morning the World Woke Up, by Oscar Williams.

Mr. Moult found nothing to qualify in the pages of *Harper's* or the *American Mercury*; nothing in the *New Masses*, the *New Republic*, the *New Yorker*; nothing in the *Kenyon Review*, the *Southern Review*, the *Southwestern Review*, the *Yale Review*, or *Partisan Review*. He did not discover, in his continental roamings, either the poetry column conducted by W. T. Scott in the Providence *Journal* (which paid poets, by the way), or the extensive department of poetry edited by Alan Swallow in the *New Mexico Quarterly*. Perhaps this would be asking too much; but if a man can find *talaria*, and the *Tramp*, wouldn't you think—?

Now let us have a look at the best poems themselves, remembering that those published in 1942 were written some time earlier. You would have a hard time proving, from these pages, that there was a war on; the event is mentioned, described, or alluded to, in less than a dozen items. That the war neither scares nor interests poets might be a healthy sign; as it is surely one that neither the official line nor private bloodthirstiness do any loud shrieking in these pages. On the other hand, the trouble is, these writers seem to have no strong feelings, either for, against, or about the whole bloody business: Oscar Williams's poem, Stephen Spender's phrase, "where everything stops but the wishes that kill," and the sensitive remarks of David Morton in the sonnet entitled Lost Lexicon are exceptions to the general rule. For the most part, the treatment is casual or conventional: the familiar, the inevitable airplane-and-bomb make their appearance, of course. The men of the infantry and artillery are going to get little notice from literature this time, it seems.

If not the war in particular, do the anxieties, fears, doubts, confusions of our times in general, then, reveal themselves in the work of these writers? Oh, not at all; they are a most untroubled lot. What *do* they write about? They write about stars in their steadfast course in heaven; about horses ploughing fields; about hawks in the height of air, and other birds, preferably curlews, hovering around hedgerows; about quaint old people inhabiting houses; about harebells and all-heal; about beauty being memorable; about young girls sleeping, and the foam of dreams. In short, the best poems of 1942 might just as well be those of 1912, and who would be any the wiser? It is not a question of the subjects mentioned above being the timeless stuff of poetry, either; what counts is the insight with which they are seen, the emotion with which they are felt, the skill with which that emotion is communicated, the vigor and freshness with which their tradition is maintained, the music with which they are made anew. No, what we have here is not timelessness, but stick-in-the-mud Georgianism; and it is for this sort of thing that Mr. Moult's taste yearns. It is this sort of thing he has an infallible ability to discover, whether it has to be fished up from some curious little back-eddy in the heart of London, or from the shallow ponds of the American provinces.

No, Mr. Moult, no, no. Nobody, save yourself and a few, perhaps, of your less sophisticated contributors will believe, really, that these are the best poems of 1942. I am sure better poems were written, and published, in 1942 than most of these, and—let us be fair—so, no doubt, were many that were worse. And my own hunch is that during the forties better poems were and are being written than were and are being published, and that these will, eventually, come to light, though it may not be till some time after the duration.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Falange—An Axis Tool

FALANGE: THE AXIS SECRET ARMY IN THE AMERICAS. By Allan Chase. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

I SUPPOSE it was inevitable that the publishers of Allan Chase's "Falange" should stress the more sensational charges of this extraordinarily well documented study of Spanish fascism and the way it has served the Axis in its fight against the democracies. On the front of the book's jacket is the challenging statement that it presents "proof that over a million trained enemies of the United States are now actively engaged in undercover warfare in both North and South America." And on the back are twenty provocative questions, the answers to which, within the book itself, leave no doubt as to the role that Germany is playing in using the Falange as a powerful weapon against us.

And yet, detailed as are Mr. Chase's proofs of spying, sabotage, and anti-democratic propaganda in the Philippines, Latin America, and the United States itself, his story of the willingness of thousands of reactionaries everywhere to sacrifice the interests of their own country or people to their personal advantage or class loyalty is infinitely more sickening.

The importance of Mr. Chase's story lies not so much in why the Philippine Falange was decorated by Japan after the fall of Manila or who took photos of American naval bases in Panama and sent them to Germany as in the record of the complacency with which our diplomatic representatives abroad viewed the traitorous activities of those who financed and led the Falange.

In the Philippines it was the old Spanish aristocracy that stood back of it. "Sons of wealthy Spanish planters and colonial traders," says Mr. Chase, "they had, as boys or youths, emotionally or physically fought to keep the archipelago within the Spanish empire during the Spanish-American War. Trained from childhood to hate the freedom of peoples, the freedom of religions, and the freedom of education, they had within their own lifetime seen all three freedoms develop in the Philippines."

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containing the best and latest work of the important American and English poets, as well as the work of a number of new and exciting talents. As in the past, the 1943 book contains a section devoted to photographs of the contributors. Also many poems by such poets as Wallace Stevens, E. E. Cummings, etc., are here printed for the first time, making the book a fine 1st edition item. That Mr. Williams is an able editor with a high standard has been proven by the acclaim of leading critics for his last two collections in this series. The previous anthologies were listed by *The Nation* among the "notable books" for 1941 and 1942. The present volume, the best of the three, is a "must" for every lover of modern poetry.

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they should not, if you know anything about the education of an upper-class Spaniard. It was logical, too, that they were eager to support a fascist revolution in a republican Spain where their investments were threatened and their profits curtailed. That they understood the nature of fascism far better than our diplomats abroad was clearly shown by their eagerness to keep up the work of the Falange even after the Spanish Republic had been destroyed. What is not so easily understood is why we stood by and permitted them to build their Falange without let or hindrance.

In the Philippines, Mr. Chase reveals, it was the Falange which sabotaged civilian defense. In Puerto Rico, our Gibraltar of the Caribbean, he adds, "the Falange and its most important supporters appear in high places."

The story of the Falange in the United States is too familiar to need repeating. The tragedy was that so many Americans allowed their economic or religious loyalties to blind them to the threat that Spanish fascism held for America. Many among them today must squirm at the memory of how they were duped by such Franco apologists as Jane Anderson, once described by Monsignor Fulton Sheen of the Catholic University as "one of the martyrs" of history and today under indictment for treason as Berlin's "Lady Haw Haw."

The post-Spanish-civil-war Falange presents a problem that is peculiarly American. It has flourished in those countries where Spanish colonial influence was once dominant, countries which, in one way or another, touch us closely. Mr. Chase's charges therefore cannot be ignored. Basing his demand on Mr. Chase's book, Representative John Coffee has asked for a Congressional investigation of the Spanish Falange. It would be incredible if such an investigation should be refused by a Congress that has voted hundreds of thousands of dollars to finance the antics of Representative Dies.

Mr. Chase has an annoying habit of dramatizing events and conversations in a manner that strains credibility a little, but he can be forgiven this fault for his magnificent last chapter, which tears to pieces the miserable policy the United States has followed in Spain since the outbreak of the revolution in 1936. It is a curious fact that, though more than one high official in Washington will tell you that our refusal to sell arms to Republican Spain for fear of offending Hitler and Mussolini was a horrible blunder, still they do nothing to correct that blunder. Even today we continue to appease Franco, and Mr. Chase's wrath is a pleasure to anyone who saw the stricken look that came into the eyes of Spanish Republicans in Madrid when they knew, finally, that we had betrayed them.

His conclusion, therefore, is too sound to be missed:

> If it was dangerous to appease fascism in 1936, it is a thousand times more perilous today. For the fascist cancer has more than merely brought death to Spain itself; it has, in the form of Falangismo, spread to Manila, to Latin America, to the United States of America. Spain has become the base headquarters of the greatest Axis fifth column in the Western Hemisphere, a fifth column that will not be smashed until fascism is destroyed on the entire Iberian peninsula.

ALEXANDER UHL

The Making of a State

MASARYK IN ENGLAND. By R. W. Seton-Watson. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

SINCE the time of Protagoras, whose dictum, "Man is the measure," laid the foundation of humanism, there have been but few great Western philosophers, like Erasmus of Rotterdam or Janus Comenius, like John Locke or Tom Paine, whose political doctrine centered upon the humanistic ideal. Still fewer the statesmen whose policies were rooted in humanism rather than in religious or nationalistic ideas. Thomas G. Masaryk was incontestably an outstanding representative of both types. Unfortunately he stood almost alone in the nationalistic wilderness of Europe between two world wars.

Professor Seton-Watson, Masaryk's friend for a quarter of a century and, with Wickham Steed, his sponsor in British political life, sums up a masterfully terse biographical sketch in the following sentence: "Masaryk was a great thinker . . . a great patriot to whom patriotism was never enough in itself, and to whom the brotherhood of man was a legacy from his own national past; a constructive statesman . . . also the most human of rulers, who radiated dignity and benevolence."

In the first half of his book the author gives a full account of Masaryk's activities in England from April, 1915, when he arrived in London, traveling as an exile on a Serbian passport and exciting the suspicion of the British police, until November, 1918, when the Grenadier Guards gave him as President-elect the royal salute at Victoria Station. It was six months before this arrival that the sixty-eight-year-old ex-professor of philosophy was leading the anabasis of 70,000 Czech and Slovak legionnaires via Siberia to Vladivostok. All this time London, the political center of the Allies, was Masaryk's headquarters. Although it was due to his direct and indirect influence at the White House that "the Dual Monarchy crumbled before the impact of Wilsonian diplomacy," yet Britain was first to recognize Czechoslovakia as an Allied and belligerent nation. This dénouement was the result of Masaryk's manifold relentless agility, into which his letters to the author, first published in this volume, supply an interesting insight. Chapter III contains Masaryk's confidential memorandum on Bohemia to the Foreign Office, also hitherto unpublished.

While Masaryk was writing memoranda, contributing to the magazine *New Europe,* on the publication of which he insisted, and lecturing to the School of Slavonic Studies, his devoted follower, Dr. Benes, then in Paris, efficiently collaborated. Haters of democracy have developed a Czechophobia which leads them to contrast Masaryk, the "philosopher king," with Benes, who is portrayed as an incurable imperialist. Professor Seton-Watson aptly insists therefore "upon the absolute harmony of views, alike in the theory and the practice of foreign policy, between the two men." Benes's unique position for twenty years "was due in the first instance to Masaryk's resolute support against every intrigue."

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by the Allies. His case is being supported, however, by a new and strong argument: twenty years of Czechoslovak history have borne witness to the true democratic and social spirit of the republic. However, the weight and moment of this argument largely depend on the ability of the victorious statesmen to share Masaryk's belief that "Jesus, not Caesar, is the meaning of history." RUSTEM VAMBERY

Concerning the Peace

TOWARDS AN ABIDING PEACE. By R. M. MacIver. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

IN THIS summer of 1943, when post-war planning has become the daily fare of ad writers and platform speakers, a new book about peace finds the reviewer weary and suspicious. But "Towards an Abiding Peace" is not just another peace book. Far from it: it is probably the best book of this kind that has appeared in years. Dr. MacIver, who is neither a wild-eyed dreamer nor a self-styled expert—he is a Columbia University sociologist—goes at his subject with the wisdom of a trained social scientist and the fervor of an out-and-out democrat. In noble and hard-hitting prose, he tells us what peace is and how we can get it. With inescapable logic, peace is shown to depend upon international law, international law upon international police, and international police upon national disarmament. "So long as any state owns for its exclusive purposes a single cruiser or a single battery of heavy guns, the establishment of international law is still unattained."

Peace, then, means above all the gradual reduction of national armament. It means also, according to Dr. MacIver's persuasive analysis, the internationalization of colonies and strategic waterways, the quick readoption of defeated enemy countries into the family of nations, and the abandonment of the idea of independent national sovereignty. It means many other important and intelligent things that fill this short volume to the brim and make it something like a compendium of liberal post-war thinking. Between the two emerging schools of thought—political versus economic, international versus domestic, global versus regional solutions—Dr. MacIver takes a stand for political internationalism and makes an excellent case for it. Also, having the advantage of being late in the game, he can answer other writers before him: he has disapproval for Adamic, admiration for Ferrero, doubts about Carr, and a smile for Culbertson. To writers like Walter Lippmann he has this to say: "It should be the special role of America to make certain that calculations of future strategy . . . shall be banned from the next peace table."

In short, the book is proof that the problem of lasting peace is not necessarily an assignment for cranks. But does that mean that abiding peace is "a quite attainable goal," as the blurb assures us? Dr. MacIver insists that his ideas are not utopian but practical. But he himself says that "the genuine business" of the statesman and the economist is not with such questions as how private enterprise can be saved or how socialism can be achieved. It is rather with questions of this kind: "How can economic opportunity be more widely and more equally distributed? How can unemployment be avoided and at what cost? How can a minimum standard of economic welfare be assured to all? How can the disastrous cycle of economic advance and retreat be mitigated and controlled? How can the remarkable advances of technology be translated into greater general prosperity?" Very good. But, by the same token, is the question how world peace can be attained "the genuine business" of a statesman? Isn't this, too, one of the wrong questions to ask? Isn't it true, in politics also, that the great ideals are achieved by way of humble devotion to specific tasks? Maybe Dr. MacIver shouldn't have wasted his time and scientific training in writing this admirable book. RUDOLF FLESCH

Shakespeare's Text

THE EDITORIAL PROBLEM IN SHAKESPEARE: A SURVEY OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE TEXT. By W. W. Greg. Oxford University Press. $3.75.

SINCE 1900 a revolution has been effected in most departments of our knowledge of Shakespeare's work, but nowhere has it been more startling and decisive than in the traditional views of his text. When certain English scholars —A. W. Pollard, E. K. Chambers, R. B. McKerrow, W. W. Greg—began work about forty years ago, textual study appeared to have reached a dead end. It was thought that the great Cambridge edition of 1863-66 had done as much as was possible to recover what Shakespeare wrote from the early texts of his plays, so depraved and so far removed from his originals; lucky emendation might clear up for us a few more passages, but the damage on the whole had been done too long ago, the originals had disappeared, and the corruption was irreparable. Into this gloom came men with new methods, the methods of what is called critical bibliography. The Quarto editions of plays published during Shakespeare's lifetime, long depreciated, were classified into "good" and "bad" groups, and most of the "good" ones, as well as the eighteen plays first printed in the Folio of 1623, were shown to rest on authority—on autograph manuscripts or on prompt-copies from the company for which he wrote. Untiring research accumulated knowledge concerning theatrical conditions, manuscripts, companies, methods of abridging and "reporting" plays, publishers, the printing house, the descent of editions, Elizabethan spelling and punctuation, Elizabethan handwriting. An addition in the manuscript play "Sir Thomas More," in the British Museum, has even been proved—one can now say—to be in Shakespeare's hand. The essential integrity of his text has been vindicated. An editor's judgment must be based henceforward on a decision as to the nature of the copy which was used for the Quarto and Folio texts before him; since materials for a decision are available, despair has given way to a spirit of "restrained optimism." The importance of this knowledge to the reader of Shakespeare will be clear when he is told, for instance, that his copy of "King Lear" is riddled with readings from the inferior Quarto of 1608 and even from the worthless reprint of 1619, some four-fifths of which are almost certainly wrong. In nearly all modern editions, critical and casual, a single passage of nine lines (1:1, 151-9) contains five or six or seven of which perhaps one is justified.

To all this work Dr. Greg has contributed heavily, and his Clark Lectures of 1939, here printed with documentation and commentary, form the best record of its results that has appeared. Indeed, a more authoritative exposition is inconceivable. If it can be proper to discriminate between the general attitudes of scholars and bibliographers, all so cautious, and if a political analogy is permissible, the pioneers might be ranged as follows: McKerrow, Royalist; Chambers, right center; Pollard, left center (were Dover Wilson admitted to this rare company he would stand still further to the left). Greg stands, I believe, directly in the center. His scholarship for forty years has been as ambitious and original as it has been careful, and his accuracy is proverbial among Shakespearean students. This book would be indispensable if it merely assembled his main conclusions from his other books and essays. But it displays some of them as altered; the whole problem of editorial decision is studied at length; the principal work of his colleagues is passed in scrupulous review; much new evidence is presented; and stage directions especially are pressed everywhere for their last suggestiveness—at this sort of analysis it is doubtful whether Greg has a peer even in Chambers. One instance of altered opinion is characteristic. In 1910 he brought forward an explanation of the "bad" Quarto of "The Merry Wives of Windsor": "Greg has shown," I quote from Chambers's standard "William Shakespeare" (1930), "that in 'Merry Wives' the reporter was almost certainly an actor who played the Host, and reconstructed the play from memory." This view has hardly been challenged, and it has been very influential in studies of the other "bad" Quartos. Greg, however, a man difficult to satisfy, now says, "I formerly suggested that the report was made by the actor of this part. It may be so, but there are difficulties"; and after packing the difficulties into a sentence, "Perhaps it would be safer to assume an independent reporter relying generally on mine Host's assistance." In the substantial agreement of Greg and Chambers, by the way, where they have handled the same subject, can be found a handsome index to the reliability of modern textual scholarship.

The fifty pages of Prolegomena to this volume, On Editing Shakespeare, can scarcely be discussed here, but I may record my opinion that, of proposals at all similar which I have read (all, I think, now generally held to have significance beyond their immediate objects), none will sustain comparison, for justice and fulness, with these. Although they are offered by Greg as an "interpretation and development" of McKerrow's "Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare" (published in 1939 shortly before his death), and are phrased throughout with Greg's habitual modesty, they in fact correct the rigidly conservative proposals of McKerrow in very important respects, amplify them in others, and break new ground at half a dozen points. Greg's experience and insight have never been better employed. The certainty that no critical edition of Shakespeare can be undertaken in the future without reference to these Prolegomena sharpens one's regret that Dr. Greg has not himself been given an opportunity to edit the plays; perhaps no one else, in the long history of Shakespearean study, has been so well equipped. We might have got that phoenix, a sound and standard text.

JOHN BERRYMAN

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Fiction in Review

ALTHOUGH John P. Marquand's "So Little Time" (Little, Brown, $2.75) is his best novel to date and the most interesting coming-of-the-war novel I have read, there is a disconcerting discrepancy between the quality of its first two-thirds and its last third. It is not only that the last 200 pages are tedious in themselves; they cast a dark shadow over the freshness and charm of the 400 pages that precede them, making it difficult to recapture the original glow.

For instance, if I had written this review before I had to take into account the effect of Mr. Marquand's book as a whole, I should have liked to use its simplicity and relaxation and visuality as an object lesson for all earnest young writers who think of fiction as a form of intellectual exhibitionism; certainly it is not the conscious intellect but creative energy that writes a novel, and for a good stretch of the way "So Little Time" is a fine lesson in naturalness. But then Mr. Marquand spoils my case for me; or rather, he puts me in the unhappy position of having to switch from my author-as-model to my author-as-bad-example. For in the last 200 pages, when creative energy fails Mr. Marquand and nothing is left but a mind at work, one could indeed wish that his thought processes were more stimulating. Or I should have liked to say of "So Little Time," before I had gone its full length, that here was fiction which, in contrast to the over-formulation of so many current novels, effectively makes its point by simply never making its point—were it not that the tediousness of the last section of Mr. Marquand's book must surely result in large part from his effort to point up the meaning of a novel whose meaning was never particularly in question until he undertook the job of clarification.

In the sense in which "The Late George Apley" was a novel "about" Boston, "So Little Time" is not a novel about anything. Very loosely constructed and ranging over twenty-five years of time, it is the emotional history of a man who fought in the last war and who has a son just the right age to fight in this war. Mr. Marquand's hero, middle-aged in 1940-41, wants to know what his life adds up to in the light of the fact that his son is about to have to fight—this is the serious point of departure for Mr. Marquand's novel, but actually what makes the story interesting is Jeff Wilson's success as a play-doctor and movie-writer and his position in society, which allows Mr. Marquand to roam, with the freedom that only money can buy, over such a wonderful variety of places, from theater rehearsals to Park Avenue apartments, from Massachusetts to Hollywood to Washington to suburban Connecticut, exhibiting to excellent advantage his limited but very shrewd talents for observation and satire. The important relations between characters in "So Little Time" may always be a matter of confusion and one may be forced to conclude that its author is novelistically comfortable only with what has actually met his eye, but Mr. Marquand's novel is full of wonderful satiric set pieces, including people, such as the description of the Connecticut home of a young middle-aged couple who live on tax-exempt bonds, or the description of lunch at an exclusive club, or the description of a publisher's cocktail party, or Mr. Marquand's own clean version of a Hollywood script conference. And there is an account of the changes that the years have brought to the Boston Post Road which is better than the best of Mr. Marquand's satire, as well as one scene, at a private riding lesson, which rises so far above his usual level of vision as to achieve something reminiscent of greatness.

Of course, even so early in the game Mr. Marquand is not the first novelist to use the outbreak of the war as the precipitating or resolving agent for the casting up of an individual's score. But at least one thing that distinguishes "So Little Time" from a novel like, say, Michael Blankfort's "A Time to Live" is its refusal to treat a world-wide catastrophe as if it had been especially devised to accomplish the author's personal salvation—and all on the highest moral and intellectual grounds. I find it a crude relief that Mr. Marquand's hero, veteran of the last war, hates the idea of a new war because he loves his son and fears for his safety but still can envy the boy the adventure of war and himself wish to enlist again for no higher reason than that it might help him recapture his lost youth. "So Little Time" obviously misses the stature of tragedy because its chief characters lack stature, and yet, if only because it stays with the individual in his full commonplaceness and without the trappings of cosmic virtue, it achieves some small measure of tragic import. And paradoxically, despite its limitations, it becomes a valid social document exactly because it is not intended to be a social document.

I may be mistaken in thinking that "A Man of Malice Landing" by Dorothy James Roberts (Macmillan, $2.50), being written by a woman, should have had a woman for its protagonist. It is not that I think women novelists incapable of creating male heroes. But I was constantly struck, in Miss Roberts's account of the education of Marius Robinson and especially in the major sections which deal with Marius's return to Malice Landing (Ohio), by how much more accurately it seemed to trace the emotional pattern of a certain kind of self-conscious, "sensitive" woman than that of her male counterpart. Miss Roberts writes with taste, education, and directness, and she has a nice point of departure for a novel—not that I put much stock in points of departure for novels—in the notion of a man who leaves his small town to make his way in the big city and then, when he returns, discovers that any cross-roads may be the world but that his own small town is too small a world and that he still prefers the big city. It is a nice double turn on the current sentimentality about life and freedom and self-fulfilment being all a matter of discovering the gold in the heart of your rural neighbors. Still, I prefer fiction which projects itself either through bigger people than Marius Robinson or over a more complex canvas than Miss Roberts has attempted.

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MUSIC

TOSCANINI'S July broadcast of another Verdi program offered a number of familiar pieces—*O don fatale* from "Don Carlos," *Pace, pace, mio dio* from "La Forza del Destino," *Eri tu* from "Un Ballo in Maschera," the entire last act of "Rigoletto" with its famous quartet—in performances which molded and integrated vocal line and orchestral context in a style that made their dramatic expressiveness and power breath-taking. These performances made it especially fascinating to follow the course of each piece—the powerful introductory passage and accompaniment figure of the orchestra, the beautiful and expressive melodic line of the voice, the single woodwind joining the voice at a salient point in this line, the other wind instruments entering to create a texture around the voice in its further progress (these instrumental counterpoints were things one heard in the studio but not over the air, where microphone placement caused them to be blanketed by the voices). Following in this way one was aware of magnificent pieces of dramatic music taking shape in those arias, that final act, that quartet; and one marveled again and again at the evidence of Verdi's feeling for his medium, his skill and taste in its use, in the service of the dramatic situation.

Of the singers two were already well known—Jan Peerce, who has a beautiful tenor voice, and whose authenticity of style includes the tenor sob; and the young baritone Alfredo Valentino, whose singing has a fine sonority and authority. And two were young newcomers—Ann Merriman, with a superb contralto voice which she has under technical control and employs with good musical understanding; and Gertrude Ribla, with a beautiful soprano which—to judge from occasional unsteadiness and tremolo and stridency—she uses with imperfect and insecure method of production, and which she will harm if she continues to sing without learning how.

Webster Aitken's performance of Beethoven's Diabelli Variations at a Frick Collection summer concert proved to be one of the great events of the year. The performance at his debut about seven years ago left one astonished by the manifestations of maturity in the playing of so young a man; but this time one was even more astonished by the evidence of greater maturity of understanding and emotion in a performance at once more expansive and more integrated—by this in combination with the youthful verve that manifested itself right at the start in the rhythmic incisiveness, the buoyancy, the glints of humor in the statement of Diabelli's waltz. At a later Frick Collection concert the same expansive and integrating shaping produced a magnificently powerful statement of the first movement of Schubert's Sonata Op. 78; and while I do not share Aitken's conception of the subsequent movements—I feel them to be easy-going and relaxed, which he does not—I enjoyed the superb things he made of them in accordance with his own conception, especially the verve, the strength, the humor that he put into the last movement. At this second concert he also played a number of pieces by Debussy; and as one of those who used to think of Gieseking's miraculously achieved pastels as the last word in Debussy performance I was amazed again to hear how much more Aitken's imagination discovered in those pieces and conveyed through his more robust and rich-sounding sonorities. And these were pieces and performances which demonstrated his superb mastery of his instrument. As our musical life is organized his playing may be heard by a handful of people at the Frick Collection, but it is nevertheless among the greatest there is to be heard.

Victor has issued a set (943, $5.50) of D'Indy's Symphony No. 2 in B flat Op. 57, performed by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony; and Victor's press division has been kind enough to send with it the set (913, $3.50) of D'Indy's Symphony on a French Mountain Air Op. 25, performed by Monteux with the same orchestra and the pianist Maxim Schapiro, which failed to reach me when it was issued about a year ago.

The Symphony No. 2 begins with germinal motifs, out of which come the themes of the movements; and cyclical unity is achieved further by the recurrence in later movements of themes from earlier movements. But from the first germinal motif to the last grand combination of themes it is an arbitrary, mechanical progression unmotivated and unmitigated by a grain of genuine poetic impulse or creative talent, producing in the end a mere illustration for D'Indy's "Cours de Composition Musicale" and one of the dullest, dreariest, and most unattractive pieces of music I have ever heard. The performance seems good; its recorded sound is excellent; surfaces range from fair to poor.

The earlier symphony has the advantage of being made out of the French mountain air and other tuneful themes which work out less elaborately into a more engaging work—though it is not one that I care much about. The performance seems good; its recorded sound is excellent; surfaces range from fair to poor; and a few sides of my copy waver in pitch. B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Why the Secrecy?

Dear Sirs: May I suggest that your magazine criticize the secrecy and lack of democracy with which our government is handling the Italian affair?

Must Americans hear, via the German radio, the terms offered to Italy through a puppet ruler disguised as the people's choice, when actually he is as much a Fascist as Mussolini? (What went wrong with that coup d'état anyway? It didn't pan out the way it was intended.) America's honor is at stake. It can be redeemed, if we offer to negotiate openly and honestly with a chosen representative of the Italian people on the basis of the Atlantic Charter.

The Italian people do not relish another dictatorship backed by our Gauleiters. They want an opportunity to choose their own government, and if we as a nation act nobly and generously with these people we can expect an early peace in Europe. Other people will be impressed by our fairness, and they will force their dictators to abdicate so that they too can have an honorable peace.

Can it be we have lost sight of our objective, as is so often the case when nations become drunk with power? Peace and a return to civilization should be our only aims. We do not wish to rule, and we did not accept the war on those terms.

All eyes are upon us now. We cannot afford to go back on our promise.

JO CANTINI

Woodstock, N. Y., August 3

What Soldiers Think About

Dear Sirs: I read with interest the letter of Ellsworth Barnard, in your issue of July 3, on the subject of history—and education in general—in our high schools. To my mind most of his contentions are definitely valid, and his letter is all the more important because it touches the root of the entire matter.

However, I was particularly interested in one aspect of his presentation, namely, his account of Drew Middleton's report in the *Times Magazine.* Although I did not read the full report, the small part of it which I did read (in Mr. Barnard's letter) echoed some of my own observations and opinions, gathered in my year of service in the United States Army. Mr. Middleton is one of the very few commentators or correspondents from whom I have heard any comment upon this question. Vague antipathy, vague benevolence, indeed! Vagueness, in fact, sums up the entire attitude of the large majority of our soldiers of democracy. Hardly a thought, or at least no expression of that thought if such exists, is given to any sort of political or social problem that the world faces—and that includes our own country.

Where such expression does come to the fore, it usually displays prejudice, ignorance of facts (with very blasé, impersonal overtones), cynicism, smugness, and an utter lack of understanding as to the basic issues of the war. Post-war peace conferences, post-war planning, reconstruction, adjustment to an America that will not be as they left it—these and other equally important questions are rarely subject matter for an evening's discussion. Opinions (prejudices, more accurately) do exist, to be sure.

Common among them are: "Watch out for Russia after this war." "Beat the Japs first and then forget about the other side, since Britain would do the same." "Our kids will have to fight another war in twenty or so years, so what does it matter?" "This war will end when the big shots have made enough money on both sides." "If we had kept our noses clean we wouldn't have been in this in the first place." Etc., etc., ad infinitum, ad nauseam. Any thirst for discussion is fulfilled by long, pornographic "bull sessions," devoted chiefly to sexual matters, merits and effects of one type of inebriation as compared to another, and other intellectual food on a similar plane. Middleton very succinctly summed up the "intellectual curiosity" of our soldiers with regard to the comic strip and sports pages. In our barracks, which has quite a fair-sized number of men, I know of but one interested enough in political and social matters to read anything more progressive or politically mature than *Life* magazine, a sad commentary on the state of mind of the men fighting to build a better world.

It is very distressing, to say the least, that of our hundreds of war correspondents, news commentators, and reporters, only a handful have seen fit to comment upon this unfortunate situation, one with which most of them are surely acquainted. Perhaps it is better for civilian morale to leave such things unsaid, perhaps it is consciously blinding ourselves to a damnable situation, but surely this blot is of enough importance to warrant public discussion, the better to cope with the problem, the better to preclude its assertion in the future. Instead, our correspondents write of how Jim Smith of Main Street, Hicksville, Ohio, has conquered the water problem in his outfit (verily, a tribute to American ingenuity), or how John Doe has impressed the natives of Africa (a forward step, no doubt, in international relations). Yes, the folks at home want that stuff, but how about telling them some of the more important truths, even if it does hurt?

A noted American thinker and editor wrote, from London, that our troops were equipped with obsolete psychological equipment, particularly in comparison with that of some of our Allies. He stated it inaccurately. Our troops are equipped with *no* psychological equipment; only with a superficial understanding of the issues involved, expressed in "Let's get this damn thing over with so that we can go home and back to normal." Agreed, Mr. Barnard, "this is the result of our boasted system of education."

PFC E. W.

Somewhere in Canada, July 29

They Want Books

Dear Sirs: Out in the swirling sand storms, dust, and terrible heat of the Middle East, Sicily, and the Mediterranean coast, British soldiers and sailors, with our men and Canadian and Australian troops, are sweating and bleeding and dying that the cause of freedom may live. We here at home, many with our sons, husbands, brothers, sisters, and sweethearts in the armed forces, follow the struggle day by day, hour by hour, doing what we can to help in the battle for humanity. Either we are engaged in war work or we take a hand in civilian defense or in one of the agencies which give aid to our fighting men here and abroad. We buy bonds or grow victory gardens or help in other ways.

There is one important way, though,

in which we can do our part to make life easier for the boys who are facing the enemy, and that is by sending them books and magazines. When these men have a few moments of rest and respite they want something to read. Thousands of books and magazines have already gone to them, but the need grows.

The British War Relief Society, a member agency in the National War Fund, is endeavoring to help meet this need. In the past it has confined its appeal to New York City, where the response has been so gratifying that the campaign is now being broadened to cover the whole nation.

The society forwards the books and, from the many appreciative responses already received, the Book Committee of the B. W. R. S. knows that they are read and read again until they are worn to tatters. Novels, detective and mystery stories, and romances are much in demand. Pocket-size books are particularly desirable.

We should be grateful if your readers would send books and magazines, quickly, to the nearest headquarters of the British War Relief Society. (Its New York address is 745 Fifth Avenue, fifth floor.) The sooner they are in our hands the sooner they will reach the men overseas.

WINIFRED BARUCH,
Book Committee Chairman,
British War Relief Society

New York City, August 5

Not Exempt

Dear Sirs: In the interesting, well-written article Advertise for Victory, which appeared some time ago in *The Nation,* there occurred the phrase ". . . since advertisements aiding the war-bond drive are tax-exempt." This statement is not literally correct.

The author doubtless meant that an expenditure made for such advertising is deductible as an expense under the income-tax law. However, even this version would not be correct as an invariable Treasury Department rule. In other words, there is extant no formal ruling by the Internal Revenue Bureau, as far as I know, differentiating war-bond advertising from all other advertising and giving it blanket tax deductibility.

WILLIAM G. COBB

New York, July 1

Right

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JOHN BUCHANAN

Berwick, Nova Scotia, July 31

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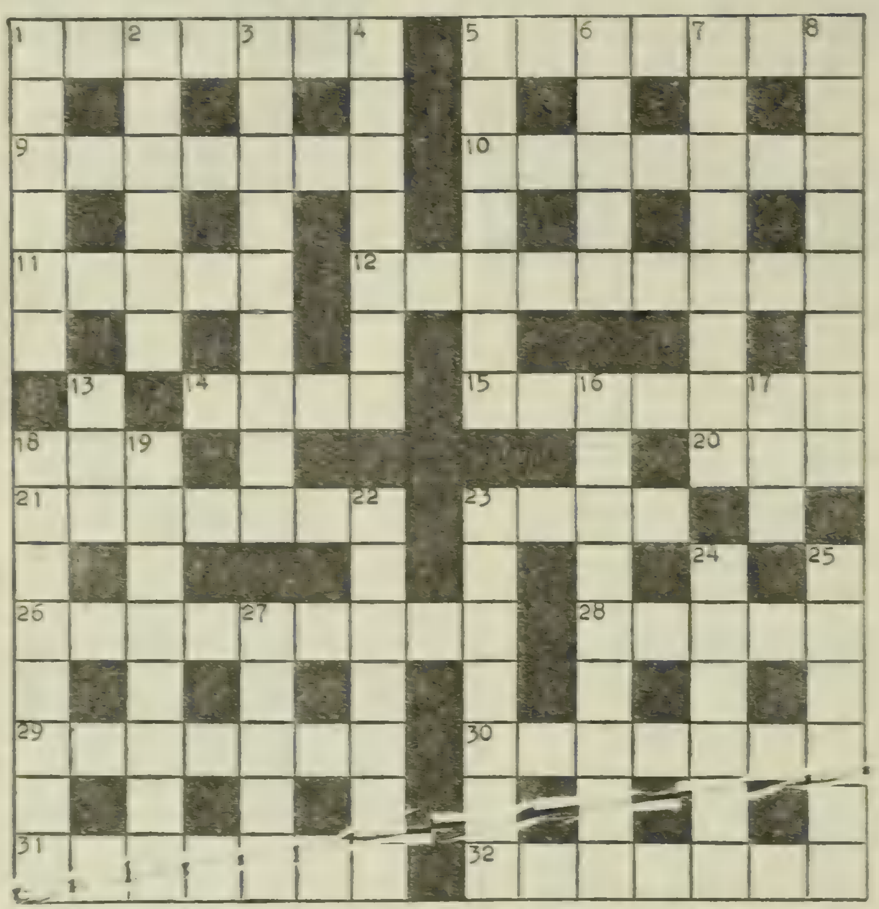
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 26

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 A political reactionary is what most traditions do
5 This country became great in 1707
9 The first Scot?
10 Confinement (hyphen, 5 and 2)
11 It might be unlit
12 Narrow avenues of escape
14 Consumed, but not necessarily eaten
15 Putting color in a Levantine ketch has devilish results
18 As far as (L.)
20 Comes in flashes
21 A bare mug gives offense
23 Merry wife in a book
26 XXUVIII?
28 Mother Earth
29 Wandering about gazing vacantly at nothing in particular
30 I'm finished, or to be more correct - - - - - - - - -
31 Weight-lifter's plaything which sounds as though it might be useful in a hotel (hyphen, 3 and 4)
32 Wanted, a title in deed

DOWN

1 One of the less bright features of the war (hyphen, 3 and 3)
2 Stir up
3 The "Garden of Spain"
4 Like your cheek, madam!
5 Sick in the fo'c'sle, and you'll see the reason when you get it!
6 These miles are a mile and a bit, and the bit's the bigger
7 Feminine name
8 An extraordinary thing/this; practically non-existent you might say
13 A peculiar drink
16 That's where the shoe pinches
17 One thing that is common to Fascism and Communism
18 "The fairies' midwife" (two words, 5 and 3)
19 Steers should steer clear of this, if they want to die a natural death
22 Good news
23 What sort of horse is like a dish without a cover?
24 A dealer in Red art
25 "The whitewashed wall, the nicely - - - - - - floor" (Goldsmith)
27 Ingenuous

◆

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 25

ACROSS:—1 PARSIFAL; 5 ARNICA; 10 ELVER; 11 CRITICISM; 12 THRONES; 13 OTTOMAN; 14 PIPERS; 15 NERVOUS; 18 ENEMIES; 21 SNIPER; 24 TRACHEA; 26 IN STATE; 27 VANISHING; 28 ADIEU; 29 ROLLER; 30 CRETONNE.

DOWN:—1 PRESTO; 2 RIVERSIDE; 3 IN RANGE; 4 ACCOSTS; 6 ROISTER; 7 IDIOM; 8 ADMONISH; [illegible] SIMOON; 16 OPERATION; 17 LEFT OVER; 19 IN HASTE; 20 STALIN; 21 SNIGGER; 22 INSTANT; [illegible] PERUKE; [illegible] ANNAL.

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To Stem This Tide: An Up-to-the-Minute Study of Racial Tension and Conflict Areas and Conditions in the United States Today. By Dr. Charles S. Johnson. Pilgrim Press. Paper, 50 cents; cloth, $1.

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The Shape of Things

OUR WAR OF NERVES AGAINST FIGHTING France continues unabated as this issue goes to press. With the inevitable gesture of recognition postponed week after week, indications leaked out to the press that when it does come it will be a wretched formula which in the end will do General De Gaulle more harm than good. Surprise is expressed in official quarters that anyone should expect recognition of the Committee of National Liberation to outlast by a minute the arrival of United Nations troops on continental French soil. That would be undemocratic, it is suggested, since the Committee has not received the mandate of the French people. At which point it is pertinent to inquire whether a military dictatorship under General Giraud would come closer to the expressed wishes of French voters—not to mention rule by Amgot in collaboration with Axis-sponsored leftovers from the Vichy regime. Both possibilities have figured in the spate of rumors that stream from Quebec. Some sort of recognition of the Committee by the time this issue reaches our readers is taken for granted. The acid test of our democratic intentions lies in the provision to be made for the Committee's status during the period following invasion and preceding a general election. The agency that governs the country during these politically fluid months will have a powerful voice in determining the fate of France. American permission to Alexander Bogomolov, Russian envoy to the free governments in London, to proceed at last to Algiers is a hopeful sign that we are being forced into a saner position with regard to the Committee. But the fact that this mission of an Allied diplomat was blocked for weeks by American intransigence is one more symptom of the pathological state of our diplomacy.

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THE REVISED VERSION OF THE TREASURY'S plan for stabilizing world currencies is more satisfactory in many ways than the plan submitted last spring. It is still, however, definitely inferior to Lord Keynes's proposals for achieving the same objective. The new plan provides for more flexibility than the original one, particularly during the first three years of its existence. During this period the exchange rates of the various currencies can be adjusted by a majority vote of the managers of the International Stabilization Fund, provided the country whose currency is being adjusted agrees to the change. After the three-year period such a change would require a three-fourths majority. But since the United States has agreed that no one country shall have more than 20 per cent of the total votes, we no longer insist on having a veto power over such decisions. Changes in the gold value of the "unitas," the proposed unit of international currency, still cannot be made, however, without an 85-per-cent vote—which means without American consent. Moreover, the Treasury insists upon its own formula for voting power instead of accepting the more convenient British suggestion that participation be in direct ratio to the volume of a country's international trade. Another weakness of the Treasury's plan is its failure to provide for the active use of the world fund as a means of financing international reconstruction projects in countries devastated by the war. Finally, it continues to dodge the problem of discouraging the pursuit of those economic policies which frequently are the real cause of exchange disequilibrium. The most the managers of the fund will be able to do to a nation which persists in hoarding gold will be to shake a warning finger at it.

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PRESUMABLY JOHN L. LEWIS REALLY HOPED to lead the United Mine Workers back into the American Federation of Labor and expected to receive a warm welcome; otherwise he would hardly have risked a rebuff. And, undoubtedly, many A. F. of L. chiefs were more than ready to kill the fatted calf for an organization which would contribute $90,000 in affiliation fees to the treasury. Even Daniel J. Tobin, the most influential friend of the New Deal in the Federation, had gone on record as approving readmission of the miners. But Lewis's arrogance defeated his own purpose. He tried to bully the executive council of the A. F. of L., insisting that his union was to be taken in "as is" and not "as was" at the time of its suspension eight years ago. Consequently he ran afoul of one of the most cherished articles in the Federation's constitution, which states: "No charter shall be granted . . . without a positive and clear definition of the jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions without the written consent of such unions." Lewis, however, was not prepared to restrict his ubiquitous District 50, which he values highly as a means of raiding C. I. O. unions. On the other hand, the A. F. of L. could not afford to accept his proposal that this question be dealt with after the miners were back in the fold. That would have meant setting an awkward precedent in the event of later negotiations with C. I. O. unions. The upshot was an unmistakable rebuke to Lewis in the form of a reference of his application to the annual convention, without recommendation. In some quarters this decision is described as "a New Deal triumph." No doubt the New Dealers are pleased, but we suspect that Lewis has no one to thank but himself.

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THE WAR DISPUTES ACT, BETTER KNOWN AS the Connally-Smith Act, made provision for the prosecution of strikers and their leaders in the case of work stoppages called contrary to the procedures it laid down. It also gave statutory authority to orders of the War Labor Board, but it left to the executive the methods by which these were to be enforced. Hitherto, the problem of applying sanctions has not often arisen; compliance has been refused in only seven cases out of a thousand. But the exceptions include the notorious recalcitrance of John L. Lewis as well as the less publicized obstinacy of certain corporations. And, so long as it was unable to crack down on Lewis, the WLB was reluctant to recommend government seizure in the case of the corporations. Now the President has issued a directive providing for sanctions against both employers and employees. Non-compliant corporations may have their plants taken over and operated by the government or be denied contracts or priorities for materials and transport. As the act itself prescribes, plants may also be taken over in the event of a strike, but the executive order amplifies this provision by directing that in such circumstances dues may be withheld from the offending union and held in escrow—if a checkoff is in effect. Other contract "benefits, privileges, or rights" may similarly be denied. This order has been criticized by R. J. Thomas of the United Automobile Workers as diminishing the standing of the WLB in the eyes of the workers. The President, however, cannot be blamed for refusing to nullify the act by failing to implement it. Responsibility rests on Congress and there the remedy must be sought.

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THOUGH CHESTER BOWLES IS PURGING OPA of its professors in accordance with the instructions of Congress and bringing in "practical business men" to take over price control, he himself is showing "professorial" twinges. Faced with a practical job to do, Bowles is beginning to see that there was some sense in the measures which got his predecessors into trouble with Congress and the press. Two off-hand remarks at a press conference last week reveal his difficulties and his state of mind. Bowles said that present restrictions on grading and standardization made it very hard for him to "keep a chocolate bar from becoming half chocolate and half its former size and still sell for the same price." This, from a famous advertising man, must seem almost impious to Congressmen who attacked grade labeling as a first step in the Sovietization of American industry. When a reporter asked Bowles whether he thought OPA should control profits, Bowles replied, "Very definitely not. . . . Profit control is up to the Treasury." This was orthodox. But Bowles was honest enough to add that when sellers appeal for a higher maximum price, it is necessary for OPA to take the appellant's profit position into consideration. That's all the professors were trying to do when they were accused of trying to undermine the profit system.

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THE THIRTY-FIVE-CENT-A-BARREL BOOST IN crude-oil prices, for which Secretary of the Interior Ickes and the oil industry have been campaigning, would cost consumers an extra billion and a quarter dollars a year. The Labor Policy Committee of the Office of Price Administration, made up of Julius G. Luhrsen of the Brotherhoods, Boris Shishkin of the A. F. of L., and J. Raymond Walsh of the C. I. O., is to be commended for its forthright report attacking the increase for the steal that it is. Leon Henderson, as Price Administrator, consistently refused to permit an increase in the price of crude oil "to encourage more production." On oil, as on copper, he believed quite rightly that the sound way to get more production was to pay a premium for new output rather than allow an over-all price increase. The profits of the big oil companies are booming; National City Bank reports that fifteen leading oil companies showed profits, after taxes, 20 per cent above those of last year. Despite the assertion that higher prices are needed to encourage the finding of new fields, the labor committee quotes experts "in Mr. Ickes's own Department of the Interior who have said that 'exploratory work is at an all-time peak.'" If necessary, let's offer government aid for wildcat operations and a premium price for new production. But why fatten the oil trust with additional profits?

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THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS, THE LEADING Catholic lay organization in the United States, have adopted a resolution urging that nothing be done to offend the religious susceptibilities of the Italians during our temporary administration of their country. "It is essential in the choice of persons to administer such temporary functions," the resolution continues, "that care shall be taken to avoid entrusting those functions to anyone who is professedly or generally known to be opposed to the general views of the Italian people in the matter of religion." If this advice is followed and only approved Catholics permitted to collaborate with Amgot, most of the present leaders of the opposition to Badoglio will be barred. So, indeed, would Garibaldi and Mazzini if they were still alive. It must be remembered that there is a strong secular tradition in Italy carried over from the days when the country was struggling against Austrian and Papal tyranny. For while Italy is a Catholic country, not all Italians are professing Catholics and many professing Catholics are thoroughly anti-clerical. Nor are they likely to forget that the church was willing enough to strike a profitable bargain with Mussolini and that it has done little to curb Fascist abuses these last twenty years. All the same, we do not think the Knights of Columbus have much need to worry so far as our military and civil authorities are concerned. The church has too many good friends in the State Department and other high places, and the Administration has always been keenly alive to the weight of the Catholic vote. In fact, as the one mass pressure group in this country which has a definite foreign policy of its own, the Catholic church exercises an altogether disproportionate influence in our international affairs.

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THE SLOW WAR OF ATTRITION AGAINST THE Japanese in the South Pacific yielded rather remarkable results this past week. In the occupation of Vella Lavella some thirty-four Japanese planes that sought to prevent the landing were destroyed. A few days later a light American naval force intercepted a Japanese attempt to retake the island, seriously damaging three destroyers and sinking an unspecified number of landing barges loaded with Japanese soldiers. Meanwhile, some 225 Japanese planes were caught on the ground at Wewak, New Guinea. All but ten of these were destroyed in a series of devastating raids which cost the United States only six planes. During the same period American Liberators carried out three record-making 2,500-mile attacks on the great oil port at Balak Papan, Borneo, destroying refineries and ships in the harbor. Progress was also achieved in ground fighting in New Guinea, while in Burma, American and British flyers have defied the monsoon to make several large-scale raids on important enemy installations. Although Japan clearly cannot be destroyed by air power alone, there can be no question that the recent stepping up of United Nations air strength in the Pacific is bearing fruit. The evacuation by the Japanese of their battered forces on Kiska frees the Aleutians of the enemy and strengthens the northern arm of the pincers that are slowly tightening on the "co-prosperity sphere."

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CAPTAIN EDWARD V. RICKENBACKER, IT IS now revealed in a dispatch to the New York *Times*, "swept over India during May and June like a fresh breeze, bringing a wealth of news and cautious optimism, and leaving with unorthodox views on the China-Burma-India theater of war." Now the "fresh breeze," blowing in from Russia, has swept over New York and deposited some more unorthodox views. Bolshevism, Captain Rickenbacker reports, has been much maligned in this country. Not by the Dies Committee and the

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National Association of Manufacturers, but by the Communists. They have tried to make Americans think of Russia as the fountainhead of radicalism, when in fact the Soviets "have been constantly turning to the right"—so much so that "if they keep going on as they are you'll find Russia coming out of this war the greatest democracy in the world, while if we keep going on the way we are we'll be where they were twenty-five years ago." Rickenbacker doesn't content himself with vague interpretations; he cites facts to illustrate Russia's strides toward democracy. He was particularly impressed, according to one of his interviewers, with "the iron discipline in industrial plants, severe punishments for chronic absenteeism, incentive pay, and compulsory overtime work." Russia puts up with "no labor difficulties." Then, too, "nowhere in the world have I seen so much respect for progressive rank in the army . . . which is in the direction of capitalism and democracy." In his actual observations Rickenbacker sounds almost like a Trotskyist. But then the boundless admiration of the man breaks through; the wistful hope that Washington might model itself on Moscow. He has seen the future, and it works.

Work or Fight!

SO FAR there has been little response to the new order of the War Manpower Commission directing pre-Pearl Harbor fathers to seek jobs in essential industries if they wish further draft deferment. The order is clear and sensible. It extends the list of essential pursuits which offer prospect for deferment, and adds to the previous list of non-deferable occupations. Since the procedure is simple, the United States Employment Service expected to be swamped with applications for war jobs from fathers who wished to remain home with their families as long as possible. It was hoped that there would be sufficient applications to alleviate the critical man-power shortage which has been crippling some of our most essential war industries. For the order was, in a sense, an offer of blanket deferment for fathers—provided they accepted war jobs. Fathers who want deferment can obtain it; those who prefer to enter the services, and there are doubtless many, will be subject to eventual induction.

The failure of any large number of men to respond to the order seriously imperils the entire man-power program. If men cannot be persuaded to fill the gaps in essential industries by this new "work or fight" order, it is obvious that a national service law will have to be enacted. We do not regard the passage of such a law as something to be avoided at all costs. For years we have argued that the same principles of service should apply on the home front as on the fighting front. But as a means of meeting the immediate emergency, the WMC order has many advantages. Requiring no cumbersome new administrative set-up, it should have yielded maximum results in a minimum of time. For however convinced one may be of the justice of national service in theory, it is evident that there is at present no agency capable of putting it into effect quickly and efficiently. The setting up of such an agency would involve a serious loss of time.

Why, in view of its many advantages, has the recent WMC order failed to yield immediate results? There appear to be several reasons. For one thing, many men hesitate to give up good civilian jobs for temporary war jobs. They are apparently relying on the thirty-day period of grace usually granted registrants to change jobs after classification in 1-A. United States Employment Service officials point out, however, that this provision does not apply to men who have not registered with the Employment Service. But the main reason why draft-age fathers are not flocking to the employment offices is to be found in the widespread impression that Congress will put an end to the WMC's program as soon as it reconvenes in September. Responsibility for this impression rests with a handful of opportunistic Congressmen who have rushed into print in recent weeks with angry denunciations of the WMC's plan for "disrupting the American home." It is doubtful whether these Congressmen represent a large section of Congressional opinion, but their statements, and the wide publicity given to them in the newspapers, have served to sabotage efforts to divert draft-age men into essential industries.

Assuming that men like Senator Davis and Representative May, who have been among the leaders of this Congressional opposition, would not deliberately wish to interfere with our war-production program, we can interpret their actions only as an ill-considered bid for the votes of draft-age fathers and their wives. Surely no one would seriously maintain that dependency status or family relationship should take precedence over contribution to the war effort as a basis for draft deferment.

Actually, the Congressmen who are so concerned about protecting fathers from the draft may in the end open the door to measures more disturbing to civilian life. For if the present work-or-fight order fails of its purpose, a national service act is inescapable, and such an act would allow much less freedom of choice than is now available to draft-age fathers. Furthermore, if the present arrangements for permitting fathers who wish to do so to enter military service rather than accept war jobs are superceded, the time will most certainly come when young fathers will be drafted regardless of occupation or choice. It may be that we shall have to have both national labor service and stricter Selective Service regulations before the war is finally won. Meanwhile, it is to the interest of every American to see that the recent WMC order is given a fair trial.

"Strictly Confidential"

ON JULY 31 a subcommittee dealing with policy for the allocation of American food made a report to the Food Advisory Committee headed by Secretary of Agriculture Wickard. The report was marked "strictly confidential," in the way beloved of officialdom, but fortunately its contents leaked to the press. We would like to see it obtain wide circulation, for it is the best and most constructive criticism of the Administration's food policy from a progressive point of view that we have seen. The authors include some of the best younger officials in the capital. E. W. Gaumnitz, formerly of the Department of Agriculture, is chairman of the subcommittee which prepared the report. Collaborating with him on it were Abe Fortas, Under Secretary of the Interior; Dewey Anderson, of the Lehman relief organization; Bernhard Knollenberg of lend-lease; Brigadier General Carl A. Hardigg of the War Department, and J. M. Cassels, secretary of the War Food Administration. Unfortunately, their recommendations run counter to the tide in Congress and the farm lobby, as well as to the ndividualistic habits of the American farmer.

Most of the pet ideas of the farm lobby are stepped on in the report. The subcommittee directs its fire particularly at the politically sacrosanct concept of parity. An attempt to restore the relationship which existed beween the prices of farm and factory products before the ast war is a hindrance rather than a help in obtaining he maximum nutritive production for present war purposes. The price of wheat, under the parity formula, as he subcommittee courageously points out, is much too high, that of milk too low. The lesser shibboleths of current farm-problem discussion are treated with equal emerity. The subcommittee does not find either lack of man-power or lack of machinery a major factor in hampering increased food production. Reports of both have been greatly exaggerated by the farm bloc. And one of he report's principal conclusions collides head on with he dominant attitude in Congress toward agencies which would help the agricultural underdog. "The greatest opportunity for more efficient production in American griculture," the subcommittee says, as the friends of arm security have been saying, "is the small and medium-ized farm whose resources are partially wasted for lack of credit and good management."

The subcommittee is heading straight for a fight with hree of the most powerful agricultural interests in this ountry—the beet sugar, cotton, and tobacco farmers. It would cut sugar-beet acreage one-fourth in irrigated areas nd eliminate sugar beets entirely in non-irrigated. It would reduce the planting of tobacco, a crop which is a heavy consumer of fertilizers that could be used to better dvantage elsewhere. It would cut production of short-staple cotton, which we do not need, and provide an increase in the planting of long-staple. In passing, the report sideswipes the cotton-textile industry by suggesting a reduction of 25 to 30 per cent in the civilian use of cotton goods because "cotton-mill capacity cannot meet present military requirements as well as current civilian consumption levels."

The subcommittee not only is for subsidies but would stamp out black markets by having the government control all wholesale buying operations. It believes that because of increased production by smaller farmers and the decline in the number of itinerant truckers, the government must itself "assemble" food in each region. It sees this as one method to prevent a scandalous waste of food in areas where "flash" surpluses develop. Thus the subcommittee points out that in 1942 one-third of the Texas cabbage crop went unharvested, and this year a bumper crop of carrots in California's Imperial Valley was saved only by dehydrating them. The subcommittee suggests special feeding facilities in factories and revision of the rationing system to iron out certain inequalities, and it even jogs the housewife by declaring that "a shocking percentage of the food which comes into the American kitchen is wasted."

It is easy enough to understand why officials were anxious to keep this bold report "strictly confidential." It may yet raise a storm in Congress. But it is a pity that its explanations of fundamental food policies cannot be broadcast to every farmer, housewife, and processor. For if we are to feed ourselves and extend some help to others, we shall all have to change our habits as the war continues and the need for more efficient utilization of farm land, labor, and crops becomes apparent.

Politics Won't Wait

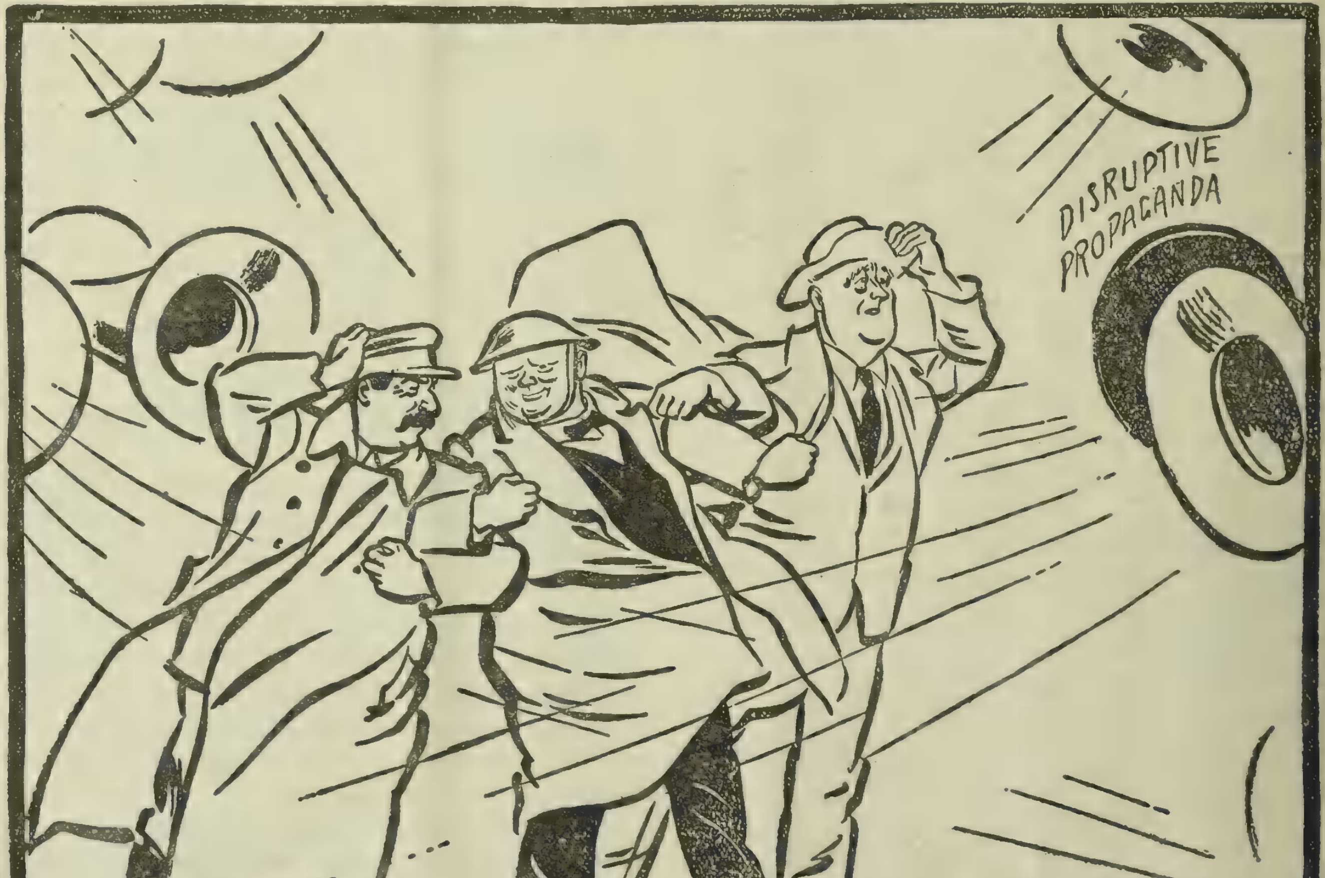
SECRETARY HULL, in recent months, has frequently rebuked any concern with international politics by saying that the only thing that matters is to get on with the war. Consequently, there is something symbolic about his journey to Quebec to consult with the President, Prime Minister Churchill and Mr. Eden, for it is an open acknowledgment of the fact that political decisions are essential to getting on with the war and that military and political strategy are inextricably mixed.

Take the matter of the second front, for instance. On purely military grounds there may be good arguments for waiting until next spring. By then Germany will have been more thoroughly softened and we shall have had time to take full advantage of the victory over the U-boat by concentrating an unbeatable weight of material in Britain. Invasion, under such circumstances, might mean far fewer casualties than an attempt to storm Fortress Europe today. That is an immensely important consideration, but we should try to understand why, to the Russians, it does not seem paramount. To them, the most important thing is to finish off the enemy quickly. And now that they have bled the Reichswehr white and started to turn it back, they see the opportunity to secure victory, provided that we bring to bear the full power we have assembled in Britain and the Mediterranean.

We need not fear, perhaps, that if Russia is forced to fight on through the winter without relief it will be defeated. But while we are saving our men's lives, they will be losing theirs—and their losses have already been stupendous. We have to consider also the fact that Russian food supplies are dangerously low and delay will exact the price of many civilian lives. Nor must we forget the growing toll that starvation and disease are taking of the peoples of occupied Europe. We cannot assess the costs of victory only in terms of our own losses.

It is true that Anglo-American operations in Europe, particularly in the air, are doing something to reduce the pressure on Russia—more, perhaps, than Moscow appreciates. But unless we can do something more to force the removal of a significant fraction of the German strength employed in the east, it is to be feared that Russian bitterness will increase and with it a suspicion that the reasons for our delay are political as well as military. We have to remember—for the Russians have not forgotten—that there were powerful forces in America and Britain which sought to bring about a situation in which Germany and Russia would rub each other out, and that even today there are voices which mutter about the necessity of barring Russia from Europe. No doubt, Moscow exaggerates the influence of such voices but they add their quota of poison to an atmosphere already heavy with suspicion and serve to increase the fear that we are planning for a Russia too exhausted to interfere with our peace plans.

Writing in this issue of the *Nation,* Blair Bolles in Washington and Frederick Kuh in London agree that, in the words of the latter: "Around the planetary second front difficulty revolves a chain of satellite troubles." There is no need to enumerate these troubles, which are dealt with fully in the two articles, but they are nearly all matters which could be disposed of, given mutual confidence and goodwill.



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FULL BLAST

The question of the German Committee in Moscow, which has so agitated the American press, is a case in point. Set up without consultation with the western powers—just as they failed to invite Russia's views on Italy—it has been widely discussed here as a possible move towards a separate German-Russian peace. Goebbels, taking his cue from such fears, has used it as a weapon in his campaign to split the Allies. But as William L. Shirer has pointed out in the New York *Herald Tribune,* his domestic propaganda line indicates his awareness of the true import of the Moscow Committee —a skilful Russian attempt to enlarge the fissures beginning to appear in the Reich. For, so far from telling the German people of hopes for peace with the Soviets, he warns them that Allied unity has been achieved by America and Britain, giving Stalin a free hand to "Bolshevize Europe." He dare not inform them that the precondition for peace proposed by the German committee in Moscow is the liquidation of Hitlerism.

Some American commentators have complained that, whatever the propaganda worth of this committee, the manifesto it has been allowed to publish indicates that Russia is prepared to make a "softer" peace than we are. This criticism would have more force if America and Britain had definite plans for dealing with a defeated Germany. So far their only published program is "unconditional surrender," which leads inevitably to the question: "After unconditional surrender, what?" A political question again, but one which we can neither safely thrust aside until the end of the war nor answer satisfactorily except in agreement with Russia.

We write before the end of the Quebec Conference but, whatever is decided there, the next move seems plain. There must be an invitation to Stalin to join with Roosevelt and Churchill in coordinating immediate strategic plans and laying the foundation of a common peace policy. For the recall of Ambassador Litvinov—a development on which we will comment more extensively next week —suggests that we have reached a political crisis with grave military implications.

Why Stalin Didn't Come

BY BLAIR BOLLES

Washington, August 20

THE Quebec conference is a conference on Russia, even though the Soviets are not represented. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill arranged to meet on the St. Lawrence in order to discuss a military problem the solution of which holds the key to a greater political problem, the future course of relations between the Soviet Union and its two Western allies. The question at Frontenac is simply this: how shall the United States and Great Britain manage their share of the European war from here on?

Shall the war be short and bloody? Or shall it be long and so managed as to save a maximum of Anglo-American lives? The short and bloody war is the war with a western front, opened by attack from English bases against the strong defensive line put up by the Nazis along the coasts of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The short and bloody war, in other words, is the war of the "second front," as the Russians define that term. The White House, the State Department here, and the Foreign Office in Whitehall are convinced now that the whole Russian question turns on the opening of a front—call it second, third, or fourth—which will draw half a million Axis troops from the eastern battlefields.

The White House, the State Department, and the Foreign Office are convinced also that the alarms raised during the past few weeks about the state of the Atlantic democracies' relations with the Soviet Union lack validity. Josef Stalin holds aloof from Quebec mainly because there is, in his opinion, no second front; if he maintains his aloofness after a second front becomes a fact, there will be warrant for despair about his disposition to make common political cause with Britain and the United States. For Stalin the second front alone can be proof of the Western allies' good will toward his country; and conversely, a second front would put to the test Russia's good will toward us.

Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have developed in a disturbing fog of suspicion and fear, which have so beset both countries that one is tempted to dismiss the diplomats and call in the psychiatrists. The Soviets fear that capitalistic nations want nothing more than to assist in Russia's downfall; sections of the American population, on the other hand, see a menace to their way of life in the doctrine of world revolution which they still imagine the Soviets hold in store. Captain Rickenbacker is one of the few old-guard American reactionaries who rightly note Stalin's disinclination toward world revolution.

In view of these suspicions, illuminated occasionally by a flare of criticism on one side or the other, it is remarkable that the two countries have made the diplomatic progress they have since 1941. Slowly the bases of a lasting friendship are being laid.

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American policy toward the Soviets during the past two years has stemmed from the White House. Secretary of State Hull spoke honestly last week when he said he was ignorant of plans made for Russian participation in the Quebec talks because such matters were handled by the President. Mr. Roosevelt monopolizes the Russian question, and Sumner Welles encourages him to believe that Russia can be won over; on this point Judge Hull is a skeptic. The President has worked earnestly to let Russia know that toward the Bolshevik state this capitalistic government has only good will, and Stalin is gradually becoming impressed by this determined effort. It is notable that in the same week which brought the Tass announcement that the Soviets had not been invited to Quebec, the Russians indicated their trust in us by taking Ambassador Standley on a tour of Soviet factories.

The first evidence of this country's favorable disposition toward Russia came on June 2, 1941—three days after the German attack. It is understood here that the Russians suspected that Great Britain might turn on them when the attack came and that the United States might help the British; this was a suspicion born of the orthodox Bolshevik notion that the capitalistic powers must of necessity want the Soviets' destruction. Instead, Sumner Welles on June 25 announced that the neutrality act would not be invoked for the U. S. S. R. The Russians could buy war goods in the United States. We were not going to help destroy the Soviets but were going to do what we could to keep them going.

The second evidence of good will was the extension of lend-lease assistance. These two actions confounded Germany. The Nazis believed with the Russians that the capitalistic powers would welcome a chance to destroy the Soviets, and with this thought in mind they sent Rudolf Hess to Britain as special legate with an invitation to the English to ally themselves with Germany for the Russian kill. The British declined and today Hess languishes in captivity, the British have a twenty-year alliance with Russia, and the Germans are being ground to defeat on the fields of the Ukraine.

Errors have been made in our relations with the Soviets during the past two years. The War Department in the summer of 1941 tended to confirm the Russians in their suspicion of American hopes when one of its spokesmen told newspapermen the Soviet Union could last only two months. Jesse Jones aggravated the situation by withholding the petroleum-refining equipment which had been promised the Russians. But the patience of Roosevelt and Welles obscured those irritants, and the Kremlin, abolishing the Comintern, continued to creep closer to full faith in its Atlantic allies.

Sometimes the President's good will has found rash expression, and the consequences have not been happy. When Foreign Commissar Molotov visited Washington in June, 1942, the White House issued a communiqué which appeared to promise a second front that same year. Actually, it promised only that the United States would do its utmost to make arrangements for a second front. But it was a document of dubious wording, dashed off in a moment of exuberance by the President. The result was that the Russians subsequently charged us with breaking our promise.

For all his good will, President Roosevelt has underestimated the difficulty of the Russian problem. Thinking that it was primarily a matter of supply, he appointed Admiral Standley as ambassador to Moscow; and Standley, a good naval officer and a good distributor of war materials, has been consistently inept in dealing with the major political and psychological phases of Russo-American relations. Then again, Mr. Roosevelt welcomed the appointment of Maxim Litvinov as ambassador to the United States without understanding that Litvinov was far less a power in 1941 than he was in 1933, when Roosevelt and Litvinov exchanged the letters which brought about American recognition of the Soviet Union.

The shortcomings of Standley and Litvinov underscore one of the great obstacles in the way of cementing friendly relations between the two countries, namely, difficulty in communication. Standley has been unable to convey to the Russians any idea of the handicap which our participation in the war against Japan gives us in any effort to help Russia directly by a strategic operation. He has failed to impress the Russians with the problems involved in transportation across the Atlantic, with the result that the Russians last winter complained that they were getting less American war material than they should.

To overcome this difficulty the President sent Joseph Davies and Harry Hopkins on special missions to Moscow. But the normal channels for exchange of views are simply inadequate. Litvinov has been called home, probably to stay, and an obscure chargé now manages Russian diplomacy on Sixteenth Street.

Even more fundamentally, Mr. Roosevelt underestimated the Russian difficulty by his failure to evolve something specific in the way of a post-war foreign policy for the United States. What do we want to do about Germany? We don't know; we have no policy. Russia knows, and not caring to wait for us to act, it encourages a Free Germany Committee. As long as we have no policy for Europe's reconstruction beyond the Atlantic Charter's pious wishes, we can expect the Kremlin or *Pravda* to make known the Soviets' unilateral policies from time to time.

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill could put the relations of the Western powers with Russia on a better footing by announcing their faith that the Soviets will not make a separate peace with Germany. Perhaps it is forgotten that Russia's alliance with Britain is attended by a Russian commitment not to make peace alone. Russia in the main has honored its treaties. Perhaps it permitted the American recognition agreement to be violated by Comintern agents, and it seemed to repudiate the treaty with Finland which settled the winter war. But aside from these two instances, its diplomatic record is clean. It consistently upheld its commitments in the League of Nations. It abided by its treaty with Turkey. It maintained a strict observance of its 1939 agreement with Germany. And—to our hurt, but to its own honor—it has remained faithful to its neutrality pact with Japan. Britain, therefore, has reason to trust that the Soviets will observe the Anglo-Russian treaty.

Russia sees the world realistically. Above all, it wants security in which to reconstruct a shattered country and proceed with its socialist experiment. That security calls for a quick finish to the war and a peaceful world after it. For the quick finish Russia wants a second front. After the finish we can take up the difficulties of the Baltic States and Poland, the problems of Persia and China, and all the other differences which exist between Moscow and Washington. As long as there is no second front Stalin will continue to hold aloof from Allied conferences.

Let's Look at Labor

VI. WORLD STRATEGY FOR UNIONS

BY ADOLF STURMTHAL

FROM the viewpoint of European labor the question of whether or not it will be possible to establish close collaboration with American workers after the war is a matter of historical significance. Subject to pressures from Washington and London on the one hand and Moscow on the other, European labor will anxiously look to the American working class for assistance both in resisting American conservative influences and in frustrating Communist efforts to dominate post-war developments on the Continent. Without such aid it is possible that Europe will be the victim of a conflict between American-led reactionaries and revolutionary forces under the control of the Soviet Union. Such a development would threaten not only to split the United Nations into hostile camps but also to nip in the bud any democratic and progressive forces that might emerge from the downfall of Hitlerism. Only if American and British labor can at least neutralize reactionary intervention in Europe will the European working-class organizations have the strength to resist the powerful attraction of Moscow and thus obtain that freedom of action which must be their primary peace aim. For American labor, Europe will be either a threat or a guide, according to whether reactionary régimes succeed in imposing sweatshop conditions for the purpose of international competition or whether European reconstruction is firmly used as a great experiment for obtaining full employment and rising living standards.

Persuasive as the case for international cooperation is, neither the history of American-European labor cooperation nor the present situation warrants any great hope that the need for closer understanding will be universally recognized. Indeed, the record of what happened twenty-five years ago is a warning against excessive optimism. The relations between American and European labor organizations in the somewhat similar situation at the end of the last war were such that an able historian of that period, Austin Van der Slice, was led to speak of "the wide rift" between the movements during 1918 and 1919. Samuel Gompers and his followers were full of contempt for their colleagues overseas. In his autobiography, Gompers, describing a conference with French Socialists, recalled that he "listened to their fantastic and irrational proposals as long as I could endure them." As president of the Commission on International Labor Legislation at the Peace Conference, Gompers cooperated with the employers' delegates from the United States in deleting from the British plans for the International Labor Office of the League of Nations a clause which would have given the conventions of the I. L. O. the force of international law. It was only with the greatest effort that an open clash with the European labor delegates could be avoided. The European labor leaders reciprocated in kind. Sidney Webb requested a member of the American Embassy to keep certain American labor delegates out of England and France, because, as he put it, "they had a disturbing influence on labor and Socialist circles in France."

It is, perhaps, encouraging to recall this sad period in the history of international labor, for it tends to show that, after all, some progress has been made. During the last five years the American Federation of Labor has been affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and although contacts between American and European delegates are far from being frequent, a certain amount of practice in the field of international cooperation has been acquired. Within the framework of the International Labor Office, American labor delegates have formed part of the Workers' Group, which is under the general direction of the I. F. T. U., and Robert Watt, the main American delegate, has made many friends among European labor leaders. Some American unions are members of the International Trade Secretariats, which organize the workers of the same trade on an international basis. All in all, these contacts have probably served to eliminate the most glaring misunderstandings on both sides, which made the attempts at cooperation twenty-five years ago so painfully unsuccessful. Both sides know each other at least to the extent that they are aware of the divergencies that exist between them and the difficulties in the way of effective cooperation.

First among these difficulties is the matter of organization. The American labor movement is split into five parts: the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers and their District 50, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the independent unions. Only the A. F. of L. is affiliated with the I. F. T. U. and thus has direct contact with European centers, such as the British Trades Union Congress. The bulk of American labor does not belong to any international organization and has little understanding of the problems involved. Under John L. Lewis the C. I. O. did less than nothing to establish contacts with European workers, preferring to find in Latin America affiliations that would make up for the increased stature which I. F. T. U. membership has given the A. F. of L. (More recent efforts on the part of the C. I. O. are making up for this neglect of international relations.) Unofficial offers on the part of the I. F. T. U. to mediate between the two American factions were scorned by both. British unions in recent years have felt a need to approach American workers in industries vital to lend-lease and the war effort, but an I. F. T. U. ruling stood between the British unions and those Americans who were members of the C. I. O. For according to well-established tradition only one trade-union center in each country can be affiliated with the I. F. T. U., and the A. F. of L.'s monopoly position prevented the establishment of liaison between the British and the C. I. O.

It might be argued that in the interest of more intimate international cooperation the rules of the I. F. T. U. ought to be modified so as to admit the C. I. O. in addition to the A. F. of L. It is possible that this solution will finally be adopted in some form, but one should not overlook its dangerous implications. For the "one center only" tradition was built up in a period of internecine strife within the trade-union movement in Europe and has been one of the most powerful preventives of internal splits. To abandon this rule might give encouragement to factional strife at a time when the unity of the labor movement may well be the prime condition for its resurrection and survival.

Another difficulty arises from the undeniable fact that not all parts of American labor are committed to a policy of international cooperation. Isolationist views are held by labor groups as well as by others. For the time being, however, it seems probable that at least a majority of organized labor could be won over to anti-isolationism.

The problem of the Russian unions is another disturbing element. I shall point out later how I imagine that this could be settled in a way satisfactory to both the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee and American labor. Few observers will doubt, however, that, today at least, the Russian question is probably the greatest stumbling-block to closer American-European labor harmony.

Closely connected with this is the fourth great difficulty involved in such collaboration—the divergencies in aims and general outlook between the labor organizations on the two sides of the Atlantic. Most American unions continue to regard only a small range of problems as their real concern, disregarding altogether or relegating to the second rank all wider issues. Their attention is focused upon wages and hours to the almost complete exclusion of the more basic questions of social and political structure. This, as I have shown elsewhere, was also the attitude of European labor, even in its political organizations, during much of the period between World Wars I and II. But it is unlikely that it will be the attitude of European labor leaders at the end of this war. In a much deeper sense than the United States, Europe will face the task of reconstruction. In most countries on the Continent the problem will consist in building a new society out of the chaos left by the collapse of Hitler's overlordship. In England, the basic changes of an economic and social nature that have already occurred or that are inevitable at the end of the war are of such a magnitude that the job will not differ essentially in scope from that faced by the Continent.

The European unions will continue to devote their attention to wages and hours, social insurance, and similar matters. But they will be compelled to see these questions against the background of the needs of a reborn nation, and they will therefore have to understand that wages and hours form part of much wider issues, such as the general institutions, the policies, and the structure of their new society. A few American labor leaders have begun to adopt a similar point of view and to look at labor problems from the broader standpoint of general policies. But the great majority are still alien to such attitudes and remain committed to a narrow interpretation of their members' trade interests. I fear that they will show little understanding of the peculiar needs of their European colleagues and will react with the same impatience Samuel Gompers displayed in 1918. John L. Lewis's reception of the National Resources Planning Board program for a developed system of social security could not fail to remind one of his once close association with the anti-political stand of Sam Gompers. It is the political attitude of European labor and its interest in issues which American labor leaders consider outside the legitimate field of action of trade unions which will constitute one of the main divergencies after the war.

In spite of these difficulties, I believe that effective cooperation can be established, provided both sides abandon the illusion that all parts of the international labor movement must be patterned according to the standards of the organization in one particular country. It is impossible to hope for full identity of views between, let us say, Soviet and American labor. But once it is admitted on all sides that the international organization of labor will have the job, not of standardizing the movements in the various parts of the world, but rather of expressing the highest common denominator of their interests and objectives, some measure of cooperation will be possible and will probably not be fruitless. The European organizations must learn to accept American traditions as a fact and pin their hopes on the gradual but unmistakable change in practice which has become patent in the last decade. American labor will have to endeavor to understand the peculiar situation of the European labor organizations and the state of mind of their membership during a period of unprecedented turmoil. American and Soviet labor organizations could coexist only in the framework of such a loose, world-wide federation, which would include labor groups of the most diversified nature. Within such an organization a closer tie could be established among those member groups willing to accept stricter rules.

At least, some of the undeniable differences between American and European labor—and also among the European labor organizations themselves, which are far from being uniform in organization, thought, or action—could be evaded if the program of joint action were to stress concrete objectives rather than general ideologies. It might be possible, I believe, to obtain agreement among the trade unions on both sides of the Atlantic on action in favor of such objectives as these:

1. The establishment of democratic régimes in postwar Europe.
2. An international organization which would guarantee peace by collective action.
3. The establishment of institutions and the adoption of policies tending toward full employment everywhere and the expansion of international trade.
4. The development of the I. L. O. as an instrument to coordinate the international advance toward higher standards of living and high levels of employment.

Closer contact between the leading personnel of American trade unionism and European labor figures now in exile might contribute to prepare both sides for working together in the future. Not only would the American labor leaders discover the types of problem with which their Continental colleagues have to deal and their ways of looking at them, but a basis for mutual action on specific issues might be found. Together these groups could obtain the assistance of the I. L. O. in preparing their plans for the future and thus act as a joint labor group within the framework of the international parliament of labor, which might have an invaluable part in the reconstruction if a unified labor movement existed to take advantage of it. Nothing would better prepare for future cooperation than common action now.

[This is the sixth article of a series of seven on the problems confronting the American labor movement. The seventh will appear in two weeks.]

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE CABLE of 1866 breaks down again, but opportunely, so far as public news is concerned, during a general lull in politics, owing to the adjournment or dissolution of the chief legislatures of the world.—*August 6, 1868.*

THE PASSAGE of the Corrupt Practices Bill occurs simultaneously with some promising symptoms that the old mode of soliciting votes for candidates is to pass away together with bribery.—*August 6, 1868.*

NO NEW campaign stories about the candidates worthy of mention have appeared since our last issue. . . . Grant has committed no new crime, but his cotton and other frauds increase in magnitude and variety, and the depravity of his father and brother are gradually being revealed. As described now day by day in the *World*, he is probably the vilest man on earth.—*August 13, 1868.*

THE PUBLIC MIND in England is occupied mainly . . . with the canvass preparatory to the coming election. . . . Lord Bute, a young man at college, has undertaken to decide who shall be returned by the great borough of Cardiff which lies in his estate, and the Duke of Portland has written a most comical letter of admonition to his tenantry, showing an extremely defective education and mental powers of the lowest order. The outcry against hereditary peers, and the talk of life peerages, in the meantime grow stronger, and such incidents as these of course stimulate them.—*August 13, 1868.*

PARIS, JULY 31, 1868.—The wind of opposition seems to be blowing all over France, and it may increase to a hurricane which will sweep away not the Imperial government itself, but its blind supporters. . . . The editorial offices of the Paris and Lyons newspapers resound daily with blows and fights; writers are spit upon, revolvers are drawn, and duels are of daily occurrence.—*August 13, 1868.*

TO ANY PERSON interested in lies and liars the Presidential campaign offers an opportunity for successful investigation that is rarely met with. At no other period do liars show themselves so fearlessly and are the lies to be seen in such abundance and variety. . . . The interest of the occasion to the scientific observer may therefore be imagined.—*August 27, 1868.*

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY Burlingame, Calif.

Private Hargrove's Army and Mine

BY WILLIAM H. JORDY

Camp Grant, Illinois

A RECENT copy of *Publishers' Weekly* in one of the surprisingly good regimental libraries at this army post assures me that Sergeant Marion Hargrove's opus is still dispatched in carload lots to corner drugstores. By now it has become a kind of Bible of Basic Training. That is probably due to the fact that it says what most people want it to say. It tells about the fly-on-the-nose while standing at attention, about the halting manner of inexperienced sentries, about innumerable hard-boiled sergeants, about stupendous quantities of K.P. All these hoary truths and fables concerning the ignorance and irresponsibility of the rookie are of course considerably gilded by the colorful speech which seems to be characteristic not only of Hargrove but of all privates at Fort Bragg.

This elaborate verbosity only emphasizes the fact that the army into which a civilian is drafted today is not quite Hargrove's. It's the difference between beginning and end, between dipping in at the top of the man-power barrel and scraping the bottom, between pre-Pearl Harbor training for "defense" and post-Pearl Harbor training for actual combat areas. It's a subtle difference, but real.

The Manhattan contingent leaving Pennsylvania Station on June 25 for the reception center at Camp Upton, for example, might have sensed this difference as it walked a ragged double file down steps that led to a slat-seated troop train as old as the last war and maybe older. Quietly entering another stairway, almost unnoticed in the clamor of roped-off relatives, a well-disciplined file of boys, bronzed from maneuvers, lugged duffle bags toward some port of embarkation. The difference between the two files was only six months. The new recruit would never debate the problem of whether or not he would again don "civvies" at the end of a year's training, as Hargrove and his buddies had debated. His officers would never preface a gas-mask drill with "If some enemy . . ." but rather with "When you go over. . . ." And when he'd finally been outfitted and classified and shipped out of Upton to a basic-training unit to learn the A B C's of soldiering, he might ask, "What happened to the other boys?" (Meaning of course those who had slept in his tent before he arrived.) Some non-com would answer, "Almost every damn one of 'em went to permanent units, and then overseas."

Few of them stay in training camps a year or more as they used to. Six months—that's the average. This makes for a soberness that suddenly interlards even the noisiest horseplay, affecting all but those few who want action at any cost. The Chicago papers are sold outside the mess hall, the Allied inroad into Italy is carefully noted, and it is commonplace for someone to remark futilely, "Hope they keep right on advancing so we won't have to go." The older training films were obviously made on the fields of North Carolina, or Kentucky, or New Mexico; the latest ones show the real thing. The battalion bulletin board includes, along with notices of USO dances, detailed instructions for "Disposition of the Dog-Tags of Deceased." Just as casually, talk of death creeps into conversation.

"If I die, it's two casualties. My father's got a coronary collusion, and the slightest shock . . . Know what a coronary collusion is? It's a clot in the heart. A blood clot in the heart! Now come on, soldier, dig down into those cookies. Go ahead, help yourself."

The older men are especially apprehensive, and nostalgic too. There are many more of them in the army today than the average citizen thinks. It's a far cry from Hargrovean days, when oldsters of twenty-eight were mustered back into civilian life. Our lieutenant says, "When they ask me, 'Are they drafting fathers?' I tell them to visit my platoon. I'll bet a fourth of the men in it have children." And these are by no means all post-Pearl Harbor births. One draftee, twenty-nine years old, children four and six, complained at Upton: "So I asks my draft board, I asks them, 'Now I thought they wasn't draftin' fathers.' And they were nice, very nice, but they says to me, 'We're sorry, but we have quotas to fill.' " Someone suggested he appeal to the Red Cross. Maybe he did.

However, by far the largest number of fathers only became such some time after December 8, 1941. And, as far as Selective Service is concerned, these fathers are as eligible for the draft as single men, which is in fact the only possible legal solution. But no law can prevent a father of however few months from pulling snapshots from his wallet every chance he gets. No law can keep him from being wistful or make him less fearful of his possible destiny. And no USO mixer can pry him from a nightly letter back home or force him to enlarge his circle of friends beyond certain limits. He tends to find a few cronies, and, except for them, to remain aloof. Usually he is resigned to his fate; sometimes he is unhappy as hell.

Take the six who live in my tent. They're probably a typical lot, and they epitomize what has happened to the man-power supply since the lush days when Private Hargrove really was a private. Two are married, and one of these has a baby. One, twenty-seven years old, is unmarried but psychologically "settled." And, since it is a June contingent, three are fresh out of high school. What has happened? The man in the middle army age bracket (roughly twenty to twenty-five)—single, more experienced, surer, more sophisticated than the average high-school graduate—is not here. He has either passed through his basic training or is still in a war plant. And while it may be true that the boy of eighteen makes the best soldier, there can be little doubt that the men of twenty to twenty-five are the leaders in Hargrovean horseplay and army rah-rah. The older men are usually too preoccupied, while the high-school graduate will generally be a better follower than leader for the greater part of his basic training. And the high-school graduates take on more of the apprehensiveness of the older men than you might expect.

Even as he reads of new beachheads, each man realizes that in all probability he will be part of the swelling tide six months from now. If he is ambitious, he realizes that it is becoming increasingly difficult to climb up through the ranks, because of the large number of officers commissioned last year, and because many of those still required are justifiably being selected from men who have distinguished themselves in foreign service. Many of the special training programs have been completely filled. And he realizes that, as he starts his basic training, headquarters companies are already being formed in Washington for new divisions. He realizes that they will be "activated" in ninety days, and maybe activated with him—him and his ninety days' training. Maneuvers. Then overseas.

It's not that he isn't courageous. It's just that—well, his friends "hung around" for a year or a year and a half in training camps. A year is a lot of living. Six months just isn't. He's no coward, and he'll end up a good soldier—he'll *have* to. But beneath the traditional burlesque of rookie training—fly-on-the-nose, sentry jokes, hard-hearted sergeants, K.P.—the swiftness of training, the contraction of opportunities for advancement, the dwindling supply of man-power, the impact of total war, and the inescapable fact that he'll be in it within a few months—these, taken together, make for an underlying tension that Private Hargrove never knew.

Why Teachers Leave School

BY MICHAEL PACA

WORKING as a file clerk for a federal agency here in Washington, and earning a salary of $1,620 a year, is May Dobman. Before this "big money" lured her to the Capital, May was a school teacher in South Dakota, at $900 a year.

Among May's classmates at State Teachers College was Agnes Morse, who gave up teaching for a job in an aircraft factory at $33 a week, twice what she made in the schoolroom.

John Hunter, social-studies instructor, who also doubled in English, was drafted from his teaching job, and at a private's pay of $50 a month, plus bed and board, is financially making out a trifle better than he was.

Add up the May Dobmans, Agnes Morses, and John Hunters in every state, and you have a measure of today's crisis in education—more than 75,000 teachers lost, to industry or the armed forces, during the 1942-43 school year. This is in addition to the normal loss of 58,000 through such causes as marriage, retirement, illness, and death.

"Our teachers are quitting so fast it is difficult to keep a record of their resignations," says an Idaho school superintendent. Resignation rates are at unprecedented peaks in all parts of the country.

The inevitable result is that "Closed" signs are being hung on many a classroom door—20,000 is a conservative estimate of the number that will be shut this coming school year because "teacher is absent." Classes that remain open will have to resort to overcrowding, lowered teaching qualifications, and other doubtful expedients. In Breathitt County, Kentucky, for example, twenty-eight teachers will operate fifty-six schools, spending the first three days of the week at one school, and the last three at another. Other crisis measures include the granting of 37,000 "emergency certificates" to teachers who in many cases have no more than a high-school education.

But even these and similar steps are not sufficient to save some schools. Fall River, Massachusetts, has shut up two primary schools, closed eight rooms in five different school buildings, and discontinued a boys' and a girls' industrial-arts shop. One district in Missouri will not open any of its schools at all this year. In countless places essential services are being eliminated.

Some officials are trying to avert the collapse of their school systems by pressing into service married teachers who have been discharged within the last few years, by calling out of retirement elderly teachers, and by urging college-trained home-makers to teach part time.

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When these barrel-scraping measures are exhausted, however, the schools will hit bottom as far as their supply of teachers is concerned. The problem will be worse next year, because teacher-training institutions which ordinarily supply about 65,000 new teachers each year are today one-third empty. Selective Service has taken more than three-fourths of the men enrolled for training as teachers, and the young women who in peace looked to teaching as their only hope now look elsewhere.

We shall probably feel until 1950 the results of today's falling enrolments in teacher-training institutions. We know for certain that few teachers will be graduated in 1944, 1945, and 1946. Unless many more new students enroll in pedagogy classes next year, we shall have only a handful of newly trained teachers in 1948 and 1949—years which according to present birth-rate indices will see unprecedented numbers of children crowding into the primary schools.

The effect of these conditions upon the lives of the young may not be evident for years, but the price will be high, in delinquency and in incompetence to assume the responsibilities of democracy. Apparently we—or at least those who are supposed to represent us in government—prefer to pay that deferred toll rather than to forestall it by putting out the requisite cash now.

For all diagnoses of the crisis in education boil down to this basic fact: teachers are forsaking their profession because of low salaries. Selective Service is taking a certain proportion of male teachers, to be sure; but the greatest losses are among those who cannot or will not live on a teacher's pittance while prices are rising and more adequate salaries are available in almost every other field.

Living costs have risen 20 per cent since Pearl Harbor, teacher salaries only 8 per cent. Forty teachers in every 100—about 360,000—were paid less than $1,200 last year. Nearly eight in every 100 received less than $600. The low salaries are not confined to any one section of the country, as witness the fact that twenty-six states employ teachers at less than $600 a year.

The problem is nation-wide, and we are making no progress in solving it for the same reason that we made no progress in meeting the problems of unemployment or old-age insecurity until 1933. Up until that year we refused to recognize those issues as of national concern. We left them for the local community to handle. Today, we are leaving it up to 119,000 different school districts to meet their own problems of education. Some of these districts are wealthy and provide excellent school services. The vast majority are totally unable to provide adequate services even during peace; under strain of war, they have collapsed completely.

A national attack on our educational problem is called for, but there is no sign that such an attack is even being seriously considered, so inextricably are the public schools caught in the web of states' rights, local autonomy, local prejudices, and local politics.

The wonder, however, is that an Administration that has fought for recognition of unemployment, old-age insecurity, and other social problems as national issues has "been adamant against federal aid to education." The words in the quotation marks are those of Senator La Follette. They were spoken at the Senate hearings on the "Keep the Schools Open" bill. This bill, which was sponsored by Senator Thomas of Utah, called for $300,000,000 of federal funds to be apportioned among the states to raise substandard teacher salaries and to bolster the poorer states in their efforts to pay the costs of education. Senator La Follette pointed out that federal-aid-to-education bills have been studied and reported out of Congressional committees and calendared for consideration in the Senate since 1934. But they have all died on the calendar because of Administration opposition, always with the promise, as Senator Thomas added, that such a bill would be considered at the "next Congress."

"The question is, when are we going to get to that next Congress?" asked Senator Hill of Alabama.

"*Mañana,*" answered Senator La Follette, throwing up his hands figuratively and literally.

Manaña certainly never dawned on Capitol Hill during the last Congressional session. In fact, education is still reeling from the slaps that Congress gave it. Washington is only now assessing the damage, which includes cutting out OWI's education division; abolishing the educational activities of OCD; refusing to grant funds to the High School Victory Corps, with its physical-fitness activities; and weakening the United States Office of Education by cutting its funds. And, of course, it did not even take up Senator Thomas's federal-aid-to-education bill.

Perhaps this record isn't surprising from a Congress that took a swing at "college professors" in OPA. The surprising aspect of this battle for a minimum of schooling for our people is the gap between word and deed in the record of the Administration.

Thus, President Roosevelt has told teachers that they are "performing a great service to their country," adding that "children must not be allowed to pay the cost of this war in neglect or serious loss of educational opportunity." Paul V. McNutt has said several times that "teaching is war work," and his War Manpower Commission has declared teaching an "essential" activity. The Budget Bureau, however, which is the President's mouthpiece on appropriations, has ruled that federal aid to education involves a "non-essential war-time expenditure of funds," and that enactment of the Thomas bill "would not be in accord with the program of the President."

Dr. Howard Dawson of the National Education Association, which is the chief sponsor of the bill, has said:

"To speak of expenditures on education as 'non-essential' reflects a callousness toward a public service which is a foundation stone of all we are fighting for."

Other examples of the same "callousness" might be cited. About a year ago the National Education Association asked the United States Employment Service to set up a nation-wide placement service for teachers similar to that provided for farm workers, veterans, and the handicapped. Such a service would at least have utilized the 1,500 USES employment offices for recruiting teachers in those areas where some potential teaching personnel might be found. John Corson, who was the director of the USES at the time, offered "all support" for this plan, but nothing happened, presumably because the USES had to concentrate on recruiting industrial war workers.

With this record of official callousness in mind, the teacher who reads government literature proclaiming "teaching as war work," "the classroom as a citadel," and "education as a weapon," and hears appeals to "serve America nobly by remaining at your post," is likely to respond coldly. Such appeals have been heard in the House and in the Senate and from national officials over the radio, but no reason has yet been offered the teacher why she should remain at a $600 post when she can serve America just as nobly at twice that salary.

Federal aid may not prove the complete answer to education's ills. The issue involved in this battle is more than a matter of $300,000,000 or the question of "federal control of schools," that bugaboo against which the Thomas bill has taken every possible precaution. The issue is whether as a nation we can afford to let our schools remain in the grip of local poverty; whether we can allow them to turn out half-literate, undereducated citizens—unfit to serve their nation at arms. The issue is also whether public schools shall lag behind every other public service; whether school budgets shall be the first to be cut in time of crisis and the last to be restored in time of prosperity. It is also whether teachers shall receive the rewards due a profession or whether they shall waste their teaching skills by taking routine or menial jobs that pay more. The issue, in short, is whether public education has any strength at all—whether its voice can have any meaning in the nation.

These questions may well be answered during the next session of Congress. Organized labor has already informed Congress that it intends to fight for a minimum salary of $1,500 for teachers. Another group, too, is girding its loins. Supported by a war-and-peace fund of $50,000, the National Education Association is at last out to wage systematic, Congressman-by-Congressman battle for the Thomas bill. Some say that the N. E. A. is at last serious on this issue because it needs a victory. Certainly the teachers of the nation, after years of being kicked around, need a victory. There is no reason why the Thomas bill cannot be used to achieve it.

In the Wind

IT WILL BE SIMPLE to overthrow the present American dictatorship when the boys come marching home, says the Laguna Beach, California, *Post:* "If a sufficient number of men in uniform read Pegler regularly it means they will reestablish democracy in America, on their return from the wars, even if they have to kill every political trickster in the country to do it."

A SIGN on a bus in Charleston, South Carolina, bears this message under a large red "V": "Victory demands your cooperation. If the peoples of this country's races do not pull together, Victory is lost. We, therefore, respectfully direct your attention to the laws and customs of the state in regards to segregation. Your cooperation in carrying them out will make the war shorter and Victory sooner. Avoid friction. Be patriotic. White passengers will be seated from front to rear; colored passengers from rear to front."

ROANE WARING, national commander of the American Legion, gave the recent annual convention of Wisconsin Legionnaires a lesson in semantics. Thus: "I am no isolationist. I don't believe in isolationism. Modern science has made this world too small for an isolationist to exist. I am a nationalist. I am not in favor of placing the destiny of this America of ours in the hands of any international organization of any kind under any circumstances."

VANCE MUSE, secretary of the Christian American Association, has notified his lieutenants in the field that the Association plans a drive to outlaw the closed shop in twelve Southern states. Its success in getting the legislatures of Arkansas, Florida, and Texas to pass anti-union legislation leads Muse to believe the drive will succeed in those states. The other nine are not named in his memorandum. The object will be to use the initiative laws to get the voters in each state to pass a Right-to-Work Amendment to the state constitution at the elections in November, 1944. The amendment would become law without legislative ratification.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Rome radio under Badoglio's dispensation maintains the Fascist tradition of accuracy in its broadcasts. The C. B. S. Shortwave Listening Station picked up this account of the glider crash in St. Louis: "Ten persons, including the mayor of the city, have been killed in St. Louis in a riot between troops and striking stevedores." . . . The Nazi authorities have forbidden the Czech Bible Society to publish or distribute Bibles. . . . A Bratislava newspaper complains that people who never employed Jews before are employing them now. . . . Anton Mussert, the Quisling of Holland, outfitted his personal bodyguard with fine leather coats. The Nazis have taken the coats for themselves.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

BURLINGAME

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Two Wars or One?

BY FREDERICK KUH

London, August 19, 1943, by Cable

THIS article is written before the conclusion of the Quebec conference, and before the achievement of that gathering can be estimated. Will it reconcile the immense discrepancy which exists between the clarity of our military purposes and the obscurity of our political objectives?

In 1917, we conducted a lucid political war. We demanded that democracy replace absolutism. Our ideas stirred millions of people within the Central Powers, and it made them waver or turn against their autocracies. When sailors at Kiel mutinied and the Germans shouted for peace, we did not reprimand anyone for speaking discourteously of Wilhelm II, nor did we commend Hindenburg when he advised the Kaiser to abdicate. But today, when Italians, especially in the northern industrial cities, are demanding peace and the popular revolutionary temper is rising against Badoglio's militarist dictatorship, what encouragement do we give them?

We say that our future military operations require an orderly Italy. Any popular uprising in favor of democracy is likely to involve dislocation or upheaval of our well-laid plans. Do we prefer an autocratic Italy, undisturbed by any breeze of progress? And if this is our notion of expediency in Italy, does the same policy hold for smaller Axis countries, for Germany itself, and even for Japan? If this is our political-warfare platform, will it ease the tension between the Western Allies and Russia? It is true, as the weekly *Economist* cunningly points out, that "the practice of dealing with fascist or autocratic governments as an incident in a developing military strategy is not unknown at the Kremlin." But are we making any attempt to render such dickerings either by the Soviet Union or by ourselves unnecessary? Or do we, on the contrary, plan to allow the political war to drift until Europe crumbles, only to find that our ideas then openly collide with Russia's?

The post-war settlement is bound to involve conflicting principles of political philosophy. But to assume that the divergence of our outlook and Russia's is irreconcilable is to embrace absolute defeatism and to admit that the end of the war must bring new and greater conflict. United Nations leaders have repeatedly declared that the differences in our social systems are no barrier to friendship with Russia, and Russia has echoed that statement. But how do relations stand with Russia today?

The Soviet is resuming its agitation for a second front which will divert about a million German troops from Russia. Stalin has publicly recognized the value of British-American air raids on German industries, harbors, and communications. He knows that our invasion in the Mediterranean has prevented Hitler from drawing additional forces from his reserve pool to send to Russia. But he is also aware that during the coming winter the Red Army will again have to cope with the great bulk of the German army (the British say two-thirds; the Russians say four-fifths). The Soviet wish for a more equal American and British share in the war on Germany is, by far, the sorest spot in our relations today. Some British officials consider it shockingly bad form to dwell publicly upon our differences with the Soviet Union. But any doctor will confirm the fact that antiseptic treatment of wounds is essential, if indecorous.

Around the planetary second-front difficulty revolves a chain of satellite troubles. In June the Russians were prepared to grant full recognition to the French Committee of Liberation in Algiers. But the Washington and London governments asked Stalin to wait. Reluctantly he agreed. The Russians believe that one of the main factors in the American fondness for Giraud is his "safe" anti-Soviet bias. Before Giraud left France last November he visited a number of French garrison towns, including Toulouse, where he addressed French troops. He expressed the view that weakening Russia was in the best interest of France.

Early in June Eduard Benes, President of the Czech government in exile, was to leave for Moscow to sign a twelve-year Czechoslovak-Soviet military alliance. There is a difference of opinion as to whether any agreement exists which obliges Britain and Russia to secure one another's consent before concluding a treaty with a third power. In any event, as Benes was preparing to leave, the British government persuaded him to postpone his visit, according to the conservative weekly *Spectator*.

Recently, too, the British and Russians were on the verge of signing an agreement to regulate air travel between the two countries through the Middle East. Divergencies arose. Air traffic between them has now been suspended because the Russians, pending a settlement, refuse to permit entry into the Soviet Union of passenger airplanes from Britain. This is a minor incident which would never have arisen had there not been greater underlying differences.

Relations between Soviet Russia and the exiled Polish government, broken off nearly four months ago, are still ruptured. The United States and Great Britain have been trying to patch things up, but the breach remains—just one more rift between Russia and the United Nations, revealing again the larger unsettled problem of all Eastern Europe.

The Allies created AMGOT without consulting the Soviet government, and then Moscow went its own way by establishing the Free Germany Committee. That Committee, although certainly not intended as a government to be imposed upon defeated Germany, is nevertheless the rallying point for opposition in the Reich. The American and British governments showed no marked degree of pleasure when the Russians called this German committee into existence without first informing Washington and London. If the establishment of AMGOT suggests that we want to put an Allied military government in charge of Germany, then the emergence of the Soviet-sponsored German committee seems a Russian answer—an invitation to leftist elements in the Reich to take over the management of their own country in alliance with the Soviet Union. The entire development of relations with Russia—from the major second-front issue to the recall of Maisky from his valuable ambassadorship in London—explains the *Economist's* conclusion that "the outlook is not encouraging."

It is conceivable that we and Russia, while both fighting Germany, are waging two different wars. Are we both engaged in an anti-fascist struggle? Take Spain. Lately, Franco has reinforced the Spanish Blue Division, which is fighting at Germany's side in Russia. Meanwhile we are considering giving tangible support to Franco. He has asked America and Britain for armaments, planes, tanks, and machinery. American Ambassador Hayes presented Franco's request to the State Department sympathetically. When I told one of Spain's most celebrated republican leaders about this, he laughed. "Fine," he said. "That just means that when we inherit those arms from Franco we won't have to pay for them." But if the British and American governments grant Franco's request, their purpose will hardly be to bestow a gift of second-hand weapons on the Spanish revolutionaries.

It may be granted that we might obtain certain advantages from Franco as we did from Darlan, and as we conceivably might by a deal with Badoglio or Schacht. The Iberian Peninsula is Germany's only source of tungsten, the mineral used for hardening steel and producing armaments. We certainly have a stake in persuading Spain to reduce or halt its exports of tungsten to the Reich. Germany also receives sheepskins and goatskins from Spain with which to clothe its troops more warmly during the Russian winter. We should be happy to see Spain offering less warmth to the Reichswehr. Then again there is the Iberian air line between Madrid and Stuttgart, sometimes used for smuggling contraband to Germany and for even more sinister purposes. Until recently, 65 per cent of the shares in this company were in German possession, 35 per cent in Spanish hands. Now Franco has purchased a 51-per-cent control of the air line. He is in a position, if he wishes, to bridle German abuses of that traffic.

LOST OPPORTUNITIES

"We have permitted the Badoglio government to gain time for the Germans in preparing the defense of northern Italy and we are in danger of losing touch with our chances of bringing over to the Allied side those very considerable elements amongst the Italian population whose sympathies, like those of the Sicilians, are anti-German and anti-Fascist. This seems to have occurred very largely because we have concerted with our Allies no such combined strategy of offensive political action as we have done in the field of military strategy. There exists no political agency comparable to the combined chiefs of staff and no comparable understanding with the Russians to that which so clearly exists between our military authorities and the Russian high command. Until we do have a thoroughgoing offensive program in which military and political factors are jointly considered and coordinated, we are constantly open to surprise in the political field. We shall see more lost opportunities in the future, and perhaps of worse effect, for the political problems facing us will tend to grow in importance, just as the political problems of Italy already exceed in importance those of French North Africa."—MAJOR GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT in the New York *Herald Tribune*, August 17, 1943.

Readers of *The Nation* know that we have been saying this week after week. We cite Major Eliot's comment as a military man's testimonial to the interdependence of the political and the military.

Such tactical advantages are doubtless in the minds of those favoring the delivery of Allied arms to Franco. They would admittedly fit in with our economic-warfare tactics. But one must weigh them against the immense political price of supporting Franco. Against whom would the Spanish dictatorship use our arms? Against its German and Italian friends? Or against a revitalized republicanism in Spain? Are we this time to hear of the necessity of supporting the Falangist order against democracy, rechristened "anarchy"?

Our political aims must be as clear as our military targets. We are not sending our men into battle and compelling fascism to abdicate in order to enthrone another brand of absolutism.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

SINCE the end of July the polemics of the German press and radio have shown that the curve of morale, already declining for some time, has taken a sudden sharp drop. Three new notes, never touched before, are now being played with great vigor: (1) exhortations not to lose faith in Hitler; (2) complaints that "demoralization" is not exceptional but universal; (3) outbursts against the heresy that Germany has come to the end of its road and has no strength left.

On July 30 Friedrich Hildebrandt, Gauleiter of Mecklenburg, told a mass meeting:

> There are situations in which even strong characters may be temporarily discouraged. Let us summon courage. This struggle is not being fought for the maintenance of a régime. We acclaimed the Führer when he turned the tide for us in 1933—why should we forget to be faithful now? It is not his fault. The fact that the Führer does not speak now is not a sign of weakness but of strength. . . . There is no way to victory except under Adolf Hitler.

On July 29 the "leader" of the farmers in the province of Carinthia, one Herr Huber, warned: "A party member must now have courage, even in the face of unpopularity."

A Pomeranian newspaper wrote on August 1:

> We should not make the mistake of considering this situation more serious than it really is.

And on August 2:

> Every German who loves his country and is convinced of the Führer's historical mission is now enduring a spiritual inferno. Where is the way out?

A Württemberg paper on July 29:

> Anyone who thinks we no longer hold any trump cards in our hand is quite mistaken.

A Baden paper on the same day:

> Most deplorable are the Don Quixotes who drop their ears like donkeys before a precipice. There is no reason why we should deny that just now a great number of such asses are suddenly appearing around the corner.

The same paper on August 1 protested against the rapidly increasing number of Nazi Party members who either hide their party badges or leave them off altogether:

> Down with all those spiritual swine who are willing to break their oath to the party, and who now, by withdrawing from politics, are trying to prepare an alibi for any eventuality.

The Swiss *Appenzeller Zeitung* on August 3 published Impressions of a Swiss Traveler in Germany. The first "discrepancy between official German reports and the facts," the traveler noted, appeared while he was still on the train. Eastbound trains are "filled beyond capacity. Trains are so crowded that passengers have to get on and off through the windows." The hotels are just as bad. "In Berlin I had to stay with friends because the hotels were booked for weeks ahead. There is no bed linen and one has to sleep on a tablecloth or an uncovered mattress. Hotel sheets and blankets have been requisitioned for the bombed areas."

There has been much talk lately about the fact that privations and even air raids have not aroused hatred of England. A German correspondent of the Stockholm *Aftontidningen,* in a story published August 1, reported that the most astonishing phenomenon in Germany now is "an immense wave of Anglophilia." People speak English with foreigners at every opportunity and discuss England with barely concealed enthusiasm. "Especially on the upper levels of society sentiment is frankly pro-British."

These observations seems to be borne out by a new theme that has appeared in German newspaper articles and radio commentaries: warnings not to expect any help from England in preventing the Bolshevization of Germany. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,* for example, declared on August 1 that England would not play an important part in framing the peace under any circumstances. Roosevelt and Stalin, it said, would brutally trample the little Churchill underfoot. And in any case the Anglo-Saxons "have resigned themselves to the fact that Europe will fall victim to Bolshevism, regardless of whether they or the Bolsheviks predominate in the rest of the world."

"Canceled Victory Monuments." Thus the caption of a photograph published August 6 in the Stockholm *Aftontidningen.* The picture showed a giant pile of granite blocks marked "Property of the General Building Inspector, Berlin." The accompanying story says that 550,000 cubic meters of the most beautiful Swedish granite were ordered by Germany for the construction of so-called "victory temples"—one, for example, at the Nazi Party stadium in Nuremberg and another near the Soldiers' Hall in Berlin. But after 50,000 cubic meters had been taken to Germany a counter-order came from Berlin to discontinue deliveries, and the Nazis tried unsuccessfully to cancel the agreement. Since then stockpiles of granite have risen in various parts of Sweden—canceled victory temples.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Fascist Network

UNDER COVER: MY FOUR YEARS IN THE NAZI UNDERWORLD OF AMERICA. By John Roy Carlson. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

CYNICAL Americans who have been the least willing to believe that the domestic fascist movement is more than a crackpot fringe of small-time racketeers should be moved out of their complacency by John Roy Carlson's book, "Under Cover," the most complete and documented exposure of the totalitarian and "nationalist" network I have seen in ten years of reporting the activities of homespun fascists. It is the democratic counterpart of Elizabeth Dilling's spurious "Red Network," and if it were widely enough read it could be the antidote to the campaigning of the McCormick-Patterson newspaper axis for an isolationist America.

Most sinister of Carlson's revelations is the detailed reporting of the intimate relations existing between important Congressmen and the large bloc of fascists operating anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi propaganda mills across the country. Most of this material was gathered by Carlson, when, as George Pagnanelli, he became one of the small band of reporters and investigators who joined the Bund, Ku Klux Klan, Christian Front, and other subversive organizations and conspiracies to obtain first-hand information for future exposés.

He discovered these high-ranking Congressmen working with the "nationalist" network in order to defeat President Roosevelt, or to smash Wendell Willkie's career, because these men are the vivid symbols of international cooperation with Britain and the Soviet Union. Because the subversives' ranks include scores of thousands who hate England and wish to see her destroyed, and because many, many thousands more blindly hate the Russians and would prefer to see them defeated by the Nazis, these Congressmen have found energetic recruits for their "crusade" against all who advocate domestic and international liberalism. Even today some fifteen to twenty Congressmen lend their prestige to the "nationalists." These legislators have not hesitated to travel hundreds of miles to speak at rallies called by men whose anti-Semitism is very thinly veiled and attended by hysterical audiences, principally made up of women, who still boo President Roosevelt and all Jews and are silent when Herr Hitler's name is invoked.

This fascist rank and file is said to number 1,000,000. There is good reason to accept the figure. Carlson became a professional joiner. He watched, up close, the German-American Bund, the Christian Front, the National Workers League, the Mobilizers, Flanders Hall, Joseph McWilliams, and Gerald L. K. Smith in action. All this activity is reported in detail. He was frightened at times, as were newspapermen who sat in, secretly, on rabble-rousing Nazi demonstrations in the hearts of our big cities. But he was more concerned over the gnawing of these totalitarian zealots at our simple freedoms. He became even more frightened when Senator Nye, "nationalist" hero, told him that "a third party is the only solution." And when Senator Wheeler said of the thirty-three fascists recently indicted that "all these men are guilty of is anti-Semitism."

Carlson-Pagnanelli could have written more effectively. His recital of the activities of Americans who unwittingly or for some payment have been dangling on the strings of Axis agents here is too episodic and loses force because Carlson felt he had to eliminate from his book mention of those men and movements that he did not observe at first hand. The result is the almost complete absence of Father Coughlin and his minutely organized following in Brooklyn and Boston. The fascist movement has centered around the radio priest, who is now awaiting the moment for a resurgence from silence. The Royal Oak parish is still Mecca to the entire "nationalist" network, as is evidenced by the excursions there and the celebrations in his name. Carlson also fails to tell the story of the America First Committee. This, too, is unfortunate, because what Coughlin was, spiritually, to the fascist movement, the A. F. C. was politically.

However, Carlson has provided liberals with the first detailed blueprint—with names and addresses—of American fascism. The attacks upon the book and the recent efforts to suppress it and to frighten dealers into removing it from their shelves are sufficient evidence that Carlson has spent his Pagnanelli years well. His series of indictments have hit home.

VICTOR RIESEL

Coils of the Past

AT HEAVEN'S GATE. By Robert Penn Warren. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

WHAT with the clamor these days for a home-grown literature to feed the national ego, I am afraid that Robert Penn Warren's new novel may not get the critical attention it deserves. For like his first novel, "Night Rider," it does not exploit any popular or literary current, nor does it have any of the rhetorical fanfare, any of the shock-effects, that served to arouse interest in many recent pieces of writing. Yet "At Heaven's Gate" achieves a combination of intelligence and narrative pace all too rare in contemporary fiction. For Warren has worked the tragic symbols of the Southern mind into a fast and highly charged story.

In a sense, "At Heaven's Gate" is a regional novel, drawing its material and its pathos from the strains of Southern life. But it should be immediately distinguished from those regional tintypes that make a cult of the hinterland, with the hope of finding some deep human meaning in the simple and the primitive. For the South takes shape in Warren's novel as a kind of national entity, working out its fate on various levels of existence. Like Faulkner and other typical Southern writers, Warren reproduces that characteristic mixture of timeless ennui and compulsive, almost aimless, violence. But in Warren the ennui is a little more con-

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scious and the violence a little less aimless, as he takes the lid off the tense and pent-up life of the South, baring its traumatic memories, its stunted ego, its straining to uncoil its social and cultural past.

The brunt of the meaning, however, I should hasten to add, is borne by the narrative itself; and except for the obvious fatality of the end and the device of a parallel folk tale, which I take to represent the folk-conscience of the South, the values of the novel are yielded by the tensions of the characters. Significantly, the pace-setter of the action is a taut and wilful girl, Sue Murdock—a creature of her passions, which she can neither control nor comprehend, and which in the end necessarily destroy her. Obsessed by a father image, Sue catapults herself into several affairs, going from one masculine extreme to another, in a fevered search for her identity. She leaves home in order to break the hold of her father, Bogan Murdock, a successful, power-driven symbol of authority and calculation. She breaks her engagement to an upright and simple-minded fellow, whom she had seduced and tried to mould to her needs, but who has been sucked into her father's career world. Finally, Sue goes slumming in the bohemian, radical quarters of the town, and becomes the mistress of a kind of provincial Gidean character, a young poet and pugilist, thriving on his sensations and the immorality of his art. When she discovers that he is a homosexual who cannot give her any moorings, she turns to a strong-willed and unimaginative labor organizer and strike leader. But in his routine sense of order and purpose her new lover recalls once more the hated father symbol, thus completing the cycle of Sue's impulses, leaving her utterly selfless and drained of even her instinctive urges. As Murdock's financial empire collapses, and he looks to the heroic martyrdom of the South to nourish his stamina, we are left with the tragic image of an unfulfilled culture, without hope either in tradition or revolt, yet seeking spasmodically some kind of community.

Evidently Warren has turned his back on the agrarian movement among Southern writers, with its pining for the past and its will to recreate the Southern tradition. And to this, it seems to me, one can trace much of the power and some of the weakness of his book. It is apparently the source, for instance, of the novel's clarity of structure and its note of finality. At the same time, "At Heaven's Gate" lacks something of the energy of unfoldment, the moral drive, that usually comes with the involvement of the author in his story. None of the characters is able to carry the accents of the author: certainly not Sue or Murdock, and Slim Sarret, the intellectual dandy, is too immature and pretentious. And while Warren commands a prose of unusual elasticity and modulation, it plays too often on the psychological margins of the story, creating at times a poetic rather than a dramatic intensity. As a result, some of the more crucial moments are muted and almost lost in tonal effects.

But there is no point in harping on these shortcomings in a work that is at once so conscious and so brisk, and that sustains, for the most part, the level of its large human subject. And in the present state of the novel, "At Heaven's Gate" has the special value of demonstrating that unconsciousness is not a prerequisite for the writing of fiction.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS

Moscow Diary

TWELVE MONTHS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD. By Larry Lesueur. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

LARRY LESUEUR of C. B. S. has added a very interesting diary to the goodly number of correspondents' books about the Soviet Union. Lesueur's title leans on John Reed, the style and concept of the book are reminiscent of Bill Shirer's "Berlin Diary," the ground covered has been trodden into a fine dust by the feet of a score of Anglo-American newsmen, most of them authors of books, yet Lesueur's 345 pages of personal observations are well worth reading, not only for the student of contemporary Russia, but for the average intelligent American interested in going a little deeper into the subject than the daily press takes him.

Like most of his colleagues in Moscow during the last two years, Lesueur spoke little Russian, knew little of the history of the country. If he has studied the complex political theories of Marx and Lenin on which the Soviet system is based, he leaves such material out of his book. He confines himself almost entirely to what he saw and heard, and to how he and other Americans felt about it. His regular contacts with Russians were limited to a dozen secretaries and several girl friends, but in addition he managed to have many interviews with Soviet functionaries.

One of the most interesting of these was an interview with the People's Commissar of Education—scholarly, white-haired Vladimir Potemkin. In his remarks the commissar gave advance notice of one of the most significant developments in the Soviet Union, namely the abandonment of coeducation which was to take place some months later and the official recognition of the necessity of giving girls courses in household economy and the rearing of children while teaching boys the art of war.

In another interview the head of the cinema industry told Lesueur that in 1942 more escapist films would be made in order to help the Russian people relax from their titanic labors. Like Eve Curie, Lesueur interviewed General Andrei Vlasov, later to become Russia's only noteworthy Quisling.

Lesueur's descriptive powers are considerable. He manages to create an excellent picture of the Arctic port of Archangel in a few tightly written pages. Several descriptions of Soviet children stick in the memory: little tow-headed Vassily, who reflected soberly that the like of him are put in the infantry, not in the air force; and, in a newly liberated district, ten-year-old, one-armed Ivan, who had blown up a German munitions dump and had blown his arm off at the same time.

Lesueur arrived in the Soviet Union in October, 1941, from Britain. On his nerve-racking voyage aboard a freighter full of TNT he was worried for fear Russia would collapse before he got there. He and his companions made plans to evacuate via the Trans-Siberian Railway. When he landed in Archangel, his fears were confirmed by the first impact of Russian confusion and primitive backwardness. By the time he reached Kuibyshev via the Urals, however, he had changed his mind, and was confident of Russian victory. He was sure, likewise, that America would need Soviet Russia as a post-war friend.

Like most correspondents' books on war-time Russia, Lesueur's diary does not answer any of the great questions about the Soviet Union: what makes it tick, where it is going, how the people feel and live. I cannot help comparing these contemporary accounts with one written a century ago—"La Russie en 1839," by the Marquis de Coustine, a French monarchist. This traveler managed to find out in a few short months what the Russian people were thinking, what made them the way they were, and in what direction their development was taking them. He managed, moreover, to write all this down clearly and readably, in excellent prose studded with political and philosophical comments, many of which are as true today as when they were written. The work remains one of the best books on Russia. American correspondents tend to be fast, earthy, reasonably honest and accurate, but we somehow have not yet been able to produce a single book about Russia like De Coustine's, though Larry Lesueur's is one of the best attempts. JOHN SCOTT

Mobilizing an Empire

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AT WAR. Edited by William Yandell Elliott and H. Duncan Hall. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

THE shape of American relations with the British countries in the future is one of the keys to the future of the world. It is not the only key, for Soviet-American and Chinese-American relations will bulk large, not to forget relations with Latin America and with the numerous small nations the world around, whose case is today being overlooked in our obsession with size and the power associated with it. But the mere statement of fact about the British is a long way short of an enunciation of policy. It is over what the policy should be that disputes will come, not over the need for having one. On both sides—British and American—there is altogether too much idle chatter about the need for keeping together and too little concrete discussion of what the two peoples are to keep together *for.* Even Mr. Elliott, an Anglophile of long standing, is not enthusiastic about the pre-war leaders of the United Kingdom: creatures of "a complacent old Empire," "a smug ruling class that nurtured up its own destroyers," and so on. Emanuel Shinwell, from an English point of view, the other day expressed skepticism of satisfactory collaboration with any America other than that of Roosevelt and Wallace (though he did not pause to resolve the ambiguities within that America). In short, there are forces and traditions within both communities which are regarded as inimical to satisfactory collaboration by groups in each. Of course this is because neither is a monolithic community. The antagonism which Mr. Elliott feels for the appeasers of England he also feels for their opposite numbers here at home, and similarly with Mr. Shinwell and his hostility to the economic imperialists he sees lurking behind Roosevelt and Wallace. Both would willingly collaborate to realize what they are *for,* but they both fear collaboration that might advance what they are *against.* They do not stand alone. They merely symbolize the fact that international collaboration is a catch phrase, the content of which is x until it is worked out in practice.

Even though Professor Elliott says that his symposium is a "tract for the times" in favor of American-British collabo-

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Black America

New World
A-Coming

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"He writes a vigorous prose, mingling history, humor, irony, drama and sober reflection in a work that explains the wholly reasonable demands of the Negro as no other book does . . . Should have the widest possible reading. The Negro today is on the march. Mr. Ottley tells us both how and why."—*John Chamberlain, New York Times*

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"A shrewd, lively and often surprising interpretation of the present state of mind of Negro America."—*Lewis Gannett, New York Herald Tribune*

"Roi Ottley is a Negro, a highly articulate and intelligent one. Into his book he packs a wealth of facts, historical, economic and social, which tells a story America cannot afford to ignore. He writes with a directness that holds an implicit challenge to the world of tomorrow."—*New York Herald Tribune Books*

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ration, the worth of the volume does not arise from any brilliance of argument to that end. Even his own contribution, a short introduction, is calculated as much to offend skeptics as to convert them, and the more lengthy contributions of the junior editor, H. Duncan Hall, are of even more decisively negative worth to "the cause," with their hypertrophied moralism, fierce invective, and perfervid imperial patriotism. The worth of the volume, by a stroke of irony, is almost exclusively found in the excellent chapters contributed by the numerous collaborators.

These ladies and gentlemen did not feel it necessary to "sell" anything but information. Their essays are uniformly calm, careful descriptive analyses of the several British countries and their war-time problems. In spite of the fact that the articles are now mostly historical, in that events move faster than printers and binders, they are consistently valuable. Unfortunately, no single outline was followed in preparing them and comparisons and contrasts are difficult to make. The best the reader can do, save when he is in a position personally to supplement the text, is to make his comparisons and contrasts with the American scene. On this basis the United States comes off very well indeed.

Generalizations suggest themselves nevertheless. All the British countries were as reluctant to go to war as the United States. We are subject to no reproach on that score. Their pre-war armament programs were, when existent at all, either too limited in extent to matter, as in the United Kingdom and Australia, or not executed to the full extent authorized, as in South Africa. When war came, its prospective magnitude was universally underestimated and the respective contributions of the dominions were therefore misdefined. To a considerable extent this was the fault of the Chamberlain government of the United Kingdom. That government aimed to fight the war "on the cheap" and to base industrial war production on the United Kingdom factories, drawing on the dominions for men, raw materials, and food—that is, a planned reassertion of the pre-First World War pattern. Everything was calculated by Chamberlain to disturb business-as-usual as little as possible—industrial mobilization, labor control, foreign trade, finance. A somewhat similar line was followed in every dominion.

The fall of France transformed the picture. It stepped up every aspect of policy toward the level of total war and it brought the dominions into the picture in a fashion dictated by their true economic character. Their importance as industrialized countries was at last recognized. This was particularly true of Canada and Australia. But the stark and terrible fact was quickly revealed that no British nation, nor all of them in association, could hope to fight anything more than a defensive (perhaps merely delaying) action against the enemy, no matter how ruthlessly resources of men, money, and materials were exploited. Far from being a cheap war it was now shown to be an incredibly expensive one, beyond the resources of the British Empire-Commonwealth to win standing alone. This harsh conclusion underscores the immense significance which now had to be attached to the policy of the United States. From being a matter of guaranteeing a free flow of *purchased* goods and services from the United States—largely a case of operating within the neutrality laws and hoping for sympathetic administration and advantageous changes—it became a matter of gaining direct access to American supplies. The British financial resources in this country were rapidly being exhausted. The lend-lease law of March 11, 1941, nine months after Dunkirk, was the *ad interim* solution of this problem. Pearl Harbor, nine months later still, was the final solution. (I do not mean to imply that lend-lease was a British policy; it was an American policy which met British necessities.)

It was between Dunkirk and lend-lease that the British countries really began mobilizing their resources for war in a serious way and, on the evidence given here, they have intensified the exploitation ever since. Pearl Harbor caused a further and rapid intensification, especially in Australia and New Zealand.

This book is chiefly concerned with the "how" of that mobilization. It is an institutional study in its more rewarding phases. And within its limitations, it is an excellent and important job. The sections on the United Kingdom and Canada are the fullest and best, those on South Africa and India are fair, that on New Zealand good in so far as F. L. W. Wood supplied the text, and Part I of the Australian section, by Fred Alexander, is solid and informative, but Part II by Editor Hall is poor stuff. The tone is strangely at variance with the analytical approach of the other essays, and the handling of controversial matters is marred by moralizing and inept defenses of the United Kingdom which displace candid surveys of what happened. The unnecessary gaps in the information offered I must pass by for lack of space to detail and fill them in. But the worst section, also by Mr. Hall, is Fighting Ulster and Neutral Eire. This was certainly written under what Mr. Elliott calls "the compulsion of war emotions." Here Mr. Hall appears, not as the explicative scholar, but as the compleat scold and propagandist. To balance this curiously inappropriate performance I suggest a reading of the excellent essay on the same subject by Hugh O'Neill Hencken in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1943.

I have reserved to the end a mention of the opening essay, The British Commonwealth of Nations in War and Peace, by Mr. Hall because while I think intra-Commonwealth relations are vitally important to Americans, few can be persuaded to be interested in them. Toward the end of his essay Mr. Hall remarks of the writer on the subject that "private family pattern may play a part in determining just where he fits into the general supernational family pattern—whether he exaggerates or underemphasizes a particular trend such as the independent status of his dominion in relation to the Mother Country," and so on. It is a pity that he did not bring this bit of insight to the level of consciousness before he sat down to his typewriter. He might then have explained the many attitudes toward, and theories about, the Commonwealth, instead of writing a sententious, but brilliant, defense of his own particularistic point of view, which is that of an imperialist with no sympathy for (or understanding of) those who emphasize the "independent status" of the dominions. Mr. Hall gives a distorted explanation of his subject by overemphasizing and arguing fiercely in favor of the forces of unity and identity under United Kingdom leadership and ignoring and even scoffing at the efforts of dominion spokesmen to give reality to the phrase, "equality of status," by achieving a reasonable semblance of "equality of function." Mr. Hall, of course, represents one school of thought about Commonwealth affairs—it flourishes most luxuriantly in England—but I do not think it is at all fortunate that a strongly partisan view should find such fulsome expression in a book of this character. It makes the book lopsided. Luckily the writers on the dominions make incidental mention of other points of view which will lead curious readers to go beyond Mr. Hall's essay in their efforts to understand this fascinating and important matter. Americans, after all, must be prepared to evolve correct attitudes and policies toward the dominions severally as well as the British countries collectively. In this task Mr. Hall's essay offers no help whatsoever. C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

A Priest's View of a Poet

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS, PRIEST AND POET. By John Pick. Oxford University Press. $2.75.

WRITTEN completely from the Catholic point of view, this little book presents, but for the agnostic or merely non-Catholic reader can scarcely illumine, what Hopkins himself might have called the "inscape" of his poetry—its essential distinctive nature, inextricably linked with that of the poet. At the very outset one is confronted with the problem that continues to tease the minds of those who delight in Hopkins's performance and personality but cannot accept his theology: exposed as the young university student was to such diverse influences, and living as he did in a period when religious controversy was exacerbated by the announcement of the Darwinian theory, how was it that so thoughtful a man, a rebel at heart, was converted to Catholicism rather than, let us say, to socialism?

In his discussion of Hopkins's spiritual development Dr. Pick is hampered by the lack of important material. As is well known, Hopkins destroyed his most intimate notebooks and also the poetry written before his entry into the Jesuit order—the latter act, which he apparently committed because he felt his verse to be "non-professional," is itself a commentary on the life-sapping atmosphere in which he labored. But it is less the want of sufficient documentation than it is his unquestioning adherence to the faith that Hopkins professed that prevents this biographer from making explicit to the outside world what the inner springs of the poet's conversion were. One closes the book with a sharper sense than ever of the gulf between the Catholic and the non-Catholic view. If, on the one hand, the non-Catholic finds it difficult to enter into an attitude which assumes that the "test" of literature is whether it is in "harmony [with] the dogmas of the Catholic church," on the other hand the man who finds that test sufficient cannot analyze a literary work in a manner satisfactory to one who rejects those dogmas.

There are, nevertheless, passages that address themselves to those who do not see eye to eye with the author. Dr. Pick has a good deal to say about Hopkins as a Scotist and is able to speak on the subject with authority. His discussion of Hopkins as a mystic is also valuable, and is of especial interest in view of the recent publication of T. S. Eliot's "Quartets," a religious work by a poet who has evidently made a study of St. John of the Cross but who is, more certainly than Hopkins, no mystic. For the sake of these chapters this little book should find its way to the shelves of all those concerned with poetry, though it will undoubtedly please only those whose definition of literature is as strictly limited as the author's. BABETTE DEUTSCH

"GENESIS"

GENESIS is one book which no reader of *The Nation* will want to miss. It is a remarkable long narrative poem with prose interludes — a true "new direction" in American writing. It tells the story of the making of an American (Hershey Green, a young Jewish boy growing up in New York) as it has never been told before, exposing with brilliant insight the manifold forces which condition a modern life. *Genesis* combines the story interest of a good psychological novel with the appeal of finely wrought verse.

The critic R. P. Blackmur has this to say of *Genesis*: "Mr. Schwartz is moving in the direction of Dante's type of sublimation, and upon much the same type of philosophical conviction. The difficulty he has had with his subject matter has been enough to demand of him the maximum poetic response, so that he has made a poetic, a living order. The hope expressed in his preface is here richly and variously gratified: 'There is in this work some truth about all human beings.'" (*Kenyon Review*)

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IN BRIEF

AMERICAN DECADE. Edited by Tom Boggs. The Cummington Press. $3.50.

Decades mean very little in themselves, except as convenient markers or rulers; the decade of the thirties is supposed to be the limit of this anthology edited by Tom Boggs but, as a matter of fact, it spills over at both ends. Which is just as well. There is no particular reason for this anthology, at least none is evident. It does not purport to give a representative selection of work written or published in America during the thirties; it is doubtful that the sixty-eight poems printed would give anyone an adequate idea of the pain and sorrow of that period, or our real accomplishments and progress. Just the same, it is an interesting collection that Mr. Boggs has put together, edited with considerable discretion and taste. He has brushed aside the sterile and obscure and fashionable verse and put his finger on poems which are generally good and sometimes excellent. Some old friends, worth seeing again, are included: Karl Jay Shapiro's acid The Poet, Kenneth Fearing's Beware and Agent No. 174 Resigns, John Wheelwright's A Funeral Pall in Cellophane. Others worth noting are Robert Clairmont's The Wheelgoround and Reuel Denney's A Chiffonier with Glass Flowers. Impressive indeed is Words for Leadville, the longest poem in the volume, by Thomas Hornsby Ferril. The book is, except for one overcrowded page, a model of good printing.

DRAMA

Neither Folk Nor Art

FOLK art, it seems hardly necessary to say at this point, is art that is distilled out of a common and long-drawn-out experience by a process that goes on largely below the surface of consciousness. The process by which it is crystallized into expression—story, music, drama, design—is also long drawn out and not attributable to any single individual.

American Negroes, held in a slavery of two and one-half centuries which imposed both homogeneity and a common experience, constituted the nearest thing to a folk, strictly speaking, that we have ever had in this country. But Negroes can no longer be so classified, and any attempt to perpetuate the classification or to reproduce the forms of expression growing out of their experience as a folk can result only in sentimentality, condescension, and bad art. It is not possible, for instance, for a contemporary composer to write an authentic Negro spiritual, for the simple reason that the conditions which give rise to the true spiritual no longer exist.

It seems unnecessary to say all this. Yet it is clearly not understood by anyone connected with the latest "folk drama" to make its appearance, namely "Run Little Chillun" (Hudson Theater).

I don't know whether Hall Johnson, who wrote the book and lyrics, describes the piece as a folk drama, but everyone else does; and the internal evidence suggests that the author too has very confused ideas of what he is up to. "Run Little Chillun" is, indeed, worth writing about only because it exhibits so well the anomalies that are bound to rise from misconceptions of "the folk" and in particular of Negroes as a folk.

It is possible, of course, and often fruitful, for an artist to use folk materials; but the quality of the result will depend not on the particular materials but on the talent of the artist who employs them. In "The Green Pastures" Marc Connelly created a charming extravaganza based on Marc Connelly's conception of the Negro's idea of Heaven. He may have thought he was writing a folk play, though I doubt it; but his imagination knew better and overrode any such solemn and mistaken intention.

The solemn and mistaken intention is all too apparent in Mr. Johnson's opus; and unfortunately his imagination is neither strong enough nor creative enough to overcome it. The central situation is dramatic and plausible, and has nothing to do with folk. Jim, the son of the pastor of the Hope Baptist Church, has been seduced away from his church-going wife by the attractive and frankly carnal Sulamai. But Mr. Johnson turns this simple human situation into a grim, lumbering struggle for Jim's soul—and the community's soul as well—between the New Day Pilgrims, a nature cult which has set up shop across the river, and the Hope Baptists. There is a pompous note in the program on the "theology of the New Day Pilgrims," and the spectator gets the impression that Mr. Johnson is really going to tell him something about this strange Negro cult. The faithful presentation of the doings of any cult might be both entertaining and interesting. But what suddenly emerges, in the scene which purports to show the Pilgrims in full swing, is a typical Hollywood spectacle with pretentious and costly costumes and the kind of South Sea writhing which is Hollywood's stock prescription for ritual dancing (primitive) whenever the script calls for it.

The second big scene is a revival meeting in the Hope Baptist Church. It is much better, though it also is infected with Hollywood's notion of such scenes and with the more general notion of the Negroes as quaint, "touching," and funny. It does permit the Hall Johnson Choir to sing a few genuine spirituals with happy effect. The congregation also sings some compositions by Mr. Johnson which are, as they must be, rather dull and sentimental imitations of the real, bright thing.

Both Mr. Johnson and the director, Clarence Muse (he is definitely not one of *the* Muses), have labored for some time in the vineyard of Hollywood; and the combination of fake folk and Hollywood make of "Run Little Chillun" a tiresome and often embarrassing hodgepodge in which a promising situation is quite wasted—it is "solved" when the personable Sulamai is removed by lightning induced by the New Day Pilgrims—along with a good deal of talent and a great deal of money.

MARGARET MARSHALL

MUSIC

FOR many years I knew only Ravel's orchestral version of Mussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," and took for granted that it must be more effective than the original work for piano—accepting too uncritically the prevailing idea that the orchestra did this sort of thing better than the piano. Then about seven years ago I heard Frank Sheridan play the original, and was amazed to discover that Mussorgsky achieved with the piano everything that Ravel achieved with the orchestra. After that I heard only Brailovsky's ineffective recorded performance; but a couple of weeks ago a friend played the work; and the impact of the experience was even stronger than it had been the first time.

An observation of Tovey on Schubert is relevant here: "Neither Shakespeare nor Schubert will ever be understood by any critic or artist who regards their weaknesses and inequalities as proof that they are artists of less than the highest rank. Even if a great artist can be 'written down by himself,' one work of art cannot be written down by another; and even if the artist produces no single work without flaws, yet the highest qualities attained in important parts of a great work are as indestructible by weaknesses elsewhere as if the weaknesses were the accidents of physical ruin." It doesn't matter how many poorer works Mussorgsky wrote; the composer of "Pictures at an Exhibition"—of the musical translations of "Goldenberg and Shmuyle," "Catacombs," "De Mortuis in Lingua Morta"—was a musical artist of the highest rank. That is evident not only in the imaginative impulse and insight, the conception of end and of means for the end, but in the actual execution of the conception: it doesn't matter where and when Mussorgsky was awkward and ineffective; in this work of his maturity—it is dated 1874 and is therefore of the same period as "Boris Godunov"—he writes at every point, in every detail of melody, harmony, figuration, with the unfaltering sureness of a man who is absolute master of his style.

But listening this time with sharpened awareness of Mussorgsky's achievement, I also became aware for the first time of what Ravel had achieved. I had always appreciated the insight and finesse of his orchestral translation of the work; what I realized now was the fact that in every detail it is the exact equivalent in orchestral terms of the piano original. I had thought the use of the saxophone for the melody of "The Old Castle" was the one exceptional instance of a desire to shock; but when the passage was played on the piano, there, to my amazement, was the timbre that called for the saxophone. I have no use for Ravel's qualities as a composer; but I have the deepest admiration and gratitude for the imaginative understanding and sympathy and the artistic rectitude that make his version of "Pictures at an Exhibition" unique among orchestral translations.

With increased appreciation of Mussorgsky's and Ravel's achievements came increased realization of the phonyness of Stokowski's statement accompanying his own orchestral version—his usual statement about merely having fulfilled what was implicit and only partly achieved in the original, which in this case he called a mere sketch for piano, and about having "aimed to preserve and express the Slavic character" that Ravel's "Gallic manner" had destroyed. If there were not the evidence of Stokowski's actual "fulfilment," which slashes out whole sections of the work and destroys the meaning and character of the rest with fussy and lush and lurid orchestral sonorities and effects, and if there were not the additional evidence of all his other performances, then his characterization of Mussorgsky's original work as a mere sketch and his reference to the "Gallic manner" of Ravel's translation would be enough to establish the fact that he is a "musician" without understanding of music—which is why he can make no other use of his gift for manipulating an orchestra than the equivalent of going into a museum and daubing gaudy paint over the Rembrandts, the Corots, the Cézannes. (Somebody once argued that Stokowski could not put any fever or melodrama into Bach or Mussorgsky that Bach or Mussorgsky had not put there first. In other words, since Bach and Mussorgsky had written the notes which Stokowski distorted, they were responsible for the effect which this distortion produced—which was like holding Shakespeare responsible for the effect of an actor's distortion of his lines.)

I should add that it is not only the orchestrators who commit such crimes. My friend played Mussorgsky's work from the edition of the original text published in Soviet Russia; but the clerk in the music-store had first offered him a re-arrangement of the work for piano by Harold Bauer, which, my friend said, defaced it as outrageously as Stokowski's orchestral horror.

Hearing the original piano version of "Pictures," finally, brought home to me more sharply the outstanding crime of this sort—Rimsky-Korsakov's revision of "Boris Godunov." For the assurance and mastery that I heard at every point in "Pictures" were the assurance and mastery with which Mussorgsky wrote at every point in "Boris," with only one difference: they extended to his writing for the piano in "Pictures," but not to his writing for the orchestra in "Boris." Not a note of the melody and harmony in "Boris" should have been changed, therefore; but the miscalculations in orchestration should have been corrected by someone as scrupulous as Ravel. Instead Rimsky-Korsakov changed not only the scoring but the melody, harmony, phraseology, and structure unscrupulously; and even in Soviet Russia, where Mussorgsky's original "Boris" was published and produced some years ago, the orchestration recently has been newly coarsened and vulgarized by Shostakovitch.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

BLAIR BOLLES, who writes a column on diplomacy and international affairs for the Washington *Evening Star*, has recently returned from a tour of England and several neutral countries.

ADOLF STURMTHAL is director of the Institute for Economic Education at Bard College, Columbia University. For many years he was head of the Research and Publications Department of the Socialist International. Columbia University Press recently published his study, "The Tragedy of European Labor, 1918-1939."

WILLIAM H. JORDY, before he entered the army, was a free-lance writer and artist in New York. He has contributed articles to *The Nation* and *Common Sense* and drawings to the *Saturday Review of Literature.*

MICHAEL PACA has contributed to the *Woman, Parents' Magazine,* and other publications.

FREDERICK KUH has been a reporter for the Chicago *Herald* and *Evening Post,* and has covered London, Berlin, Moscow, Central Europe, and Manchuria for the London *Herald* and the United Press. He is now London correspondent of *PM* and the Chicago *Sun.*

VICTOR RIESEL is labor editor of the New York *Post.*

WILLIAM PHILLIPS is one of the editors of the *Partisan Review.*

JOHN SCOTT, former Moscow correspondent of the London *News Chronicle,* worked as a welder in Magnitogorsk for several years. He is the author of "Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel," and "Duel for Europe: Stalin Versus Hitler."

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN is an American of Canadian descent. He has visited all the British dominions except Eire, and has written extensively concerning them. He is the author of "Introducing Australia."

BABETTE DEUTSCH is a well-known poet, critic, and translator. Her books include "One Part Love," "This Modern Poetry," and "Walt Whitman."

Letters to the Editors

An Offer to Readers

Dear Sirs: The Breakdown of Internationalism by Irving Babbitt was published in two successive issues of *The Nation* in June, 1915. It occurred to me to reprint the essay in pamphlet form because of its timeliness, in spite of the fact that it was written twenty-eight years ago, and to make it available to all who are interested in the subject. And who is not?

If any of your readers, individually or in groups, care to know what the author of "Democracy and Leadership" thought about international affairs or foreign relations, I shall be glad to give them copies of the pamphlet for the asking. DORA D. BABBITT

Francestown, N. H., August 5

News for the Services

Dear Sirs: For some time I have been disturbed by the fact that so many service men must form their opinion as to what is going on at home in a virtual vacuum of information or in an atmosphere of misinformation and half-truths gained from brief news broadcasts and mimeographed news sheets. The navy has recently taken some steps to meet the need for news of current affairs. These steps will do more good than harm, I think, but they need to be supplemented.

The editors of the *Leatherneck,* the magazine for and about the marines published in Washington, D. C., has announced that each of its subscribers will in the future receive a copy of the "pony" edition of *Time.* Query: who is absorbing the cost of these issues—the subscriber, *Time,* or taxpayers through use of public funds? I have also been notified recently that from now on my squadron will receive *gratis* 156 copies of *Newsweek.* We and other navy units are already receiving a few copies of the "pony" edition of *Time* free. Are public funds used for these periodicals or are the publishers being big-hearted?

I grant that these two magazines probably have wider appeal than any other two that could be selected. But if public funds are being used to provide them, or if scarce cargo space is used to transport them, then steps should be taken to see either that the news is fully and accurately reported in these publications or that publications such as yours, which carry the news that other publications suppress, are given distribution on equal terms. I like to read *Time, Life,* and *Newsweek,* but it seems to me that there is often a slanting of their news under the guise of a spurious objectivity. The ambitions of Henry Luce, the resentments of Raymond Moley, the underlying attitudes of Ralph Robey are such as to render the setup described very disquieting, to me at least.

There has already been some beefing about the broadcasting of the President's speeches to the armed forces. How about handing over a virtual monopoly to Henry Luce and Raymond Moley as far as the services are concerned? I write you all this in order that you may try to find out just what is up, if you are so inclined. I don't mean to imply that there is bad faith on the part of the navy officials responsible for this situation. They doubtless have acted on the basis of surveys which show that these magazines are the favorite news magazines of the men in the services.

FIRST LIEUTENANT, USMCR

Somewhere in the U. S. A., August 8

[We are reliably informed that both *Time* and *Newsweek* furnish their "pony" editions to the government at "cost price," so to that extent it is the taxpayers who pay the piper while Messrs. Luce and Moley call the tunes. —EDITORS THE NATION.]

What Are We Fighting For?

Dear Sirs: Many times I have been stirred to wrath by the fascist-reactionary groups in this country, but never before to the point where I have actually written a "letter-to-the-editor." However, this time I feel that mine is not a lone voice, for what I have to say is echoed by many service men. There must be thousands who feel the same way as I, for I am average-ordinary.

While in school I took an active part in the peace movements (1935-37), not because it was the thing to do but from a deep-rooted antipathy for war and a cynical attitude toward the last war and all the mess afterward.

With the rise of fascism I, along with others from both sides of the tracks, took a determined stand against fascism and flirted with communism. I say flirted, for we were never wholehearted in our support and in reality were only a socialist group that believed in the objectives of the New Deal. However, in our school we were considered analogous to the wildest bomb-throwing radicals.

For a long time I have found the viewpoint of *The Nation* and the *New Republic* to be very satisfactory—and still do.

However, this is the point. What are we fighting for? For the Washington Gestapo? For the treatment given General de Gaulle? For the race riots in Detroit and Texas? For the privilege of buying *The Nation* from the newsstands when one can get it (for I have been told it is not wise to have it come through the regular army mail channels)?

Everywhere I see the rising tide of reaction—ten potential Dieses for every *Nation* reader. I find (while on leave) that many Americans of French descent in New Orleans are in open sympathy with Vichy.

Sometimes I wonder just what in the hell I am fighting for, and at times I feel sick at heart.

Perhaps you can answer me—and others—in *The Nation.*

SERGEANT

Somewhere in the U. S. A., August 1

Poor Teachers: Poor Teaching

Dear Sirs: The letter from Ellsworth Barnard in the issue of July 3 is penetrating and provocative. He is correct in saying that poor teaching is primarily due to poor teachers, but he does not carry his analysis far enough to explain the unusually poor teaching which is all too common in the social studies. It is true, as Professor Barnard points out, that the less capable students turn to teaching as a career. Now my contribution is to point out that the least capable of this less capable group teach history and the other social studies. What can be done about it?

In the first place, the salaries of all teachers must be increased, a step which would almost automatically raise the level of competence within the whole profession. Second, teachers of all subjects, and especially those in the social studies, must be admitted to community citizenship; they must be socially and economically enfranchised. Third, protect the social studies by barring from the class rooms those who have had no training therein. The football coach, the bandmaster, and the home-economics teachers are not really prepared to teach American history. To allow them to do so is a mockery and a futility. The person who shies away from French, physics, and algebra will brazenly assume the responsibility of trying to teach civics and history. Certification laws in nearly every state need to be changed in order to prevent this desecration.

In educational matters Professor Barnard seems to be quite ungrounded. He refers to "education" courses as being the cause of poor teaching. Such courses require only one-seventh of the time of a four-year program, and education professors do not teach the "subjects" to prospective teachers; that is done by the professors in subject matter. For years I have been hunting for that man who believes "that education is primarily a matter of method." Professor Barnard surely knocked this straw creation flat, and with a mighty wallop. He refers to the terminology in education as "unintelligible jargon." When I stood on the street corner and heard two Greeks talking, I felt like saying, "What dumb jargon! I don't understand it." I did not yield to the impulse; Professor Barnard did.

EDGAR B. WESLEY,
Director, Committee on American History in the Schools and Colleges
Minneapolis, Minn., July 7

For a Free World

Dear Sirs: "After this war, we'll have to fight Red Russia for the domination of Europe-America. After that, we'll have to fight Yellow Asia for the domination of the world." Such ominous predictions make table talk all over the country. Already we see emerging the frightful features of future wars.

Today this country—and the world—are torn between two factions. On one side, neo-isolationism, determined to emasculate every proposal for an effective and enduring peace; arrayed against it, and challenging it, the belief that effective democratic world organization can prevent future wars and give peace and justice to all nations and races. International anarchy versus international order—which shall prevail?

One thing is certain: mere wishing for the right cannot make it prevail. Another thing is certain: sporadic individual action is equally futile. As individuals we are like leaves in a hurricane.

Only organized mass action can enable us to prevail—organized action on a mass basis, on a nation-wide scale, under coordinated leadership. Only by such concerted action can we hope to exert pressure on obstructionists in Congress; uphold the hands of President Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, and the liberals in the State Department; and defeat neo-isolationism.

The American Free World Association requests you to enlist in such an organized, nation-wide campaign for world order and world peace. We are projecting local branches in every community in the country, mass letter-writing campaigns to key neo-isolationists in Congress, pressure campaigns against them in their own Congressional districts, and educational campaigns in every community.

The scales are so delicately balanced that your individual effort may help to decide the future. And your failure to act—now—tips the scales against us.

JACOB E. HELLER, Treasurer,
American Free World Association
New York City, August 1

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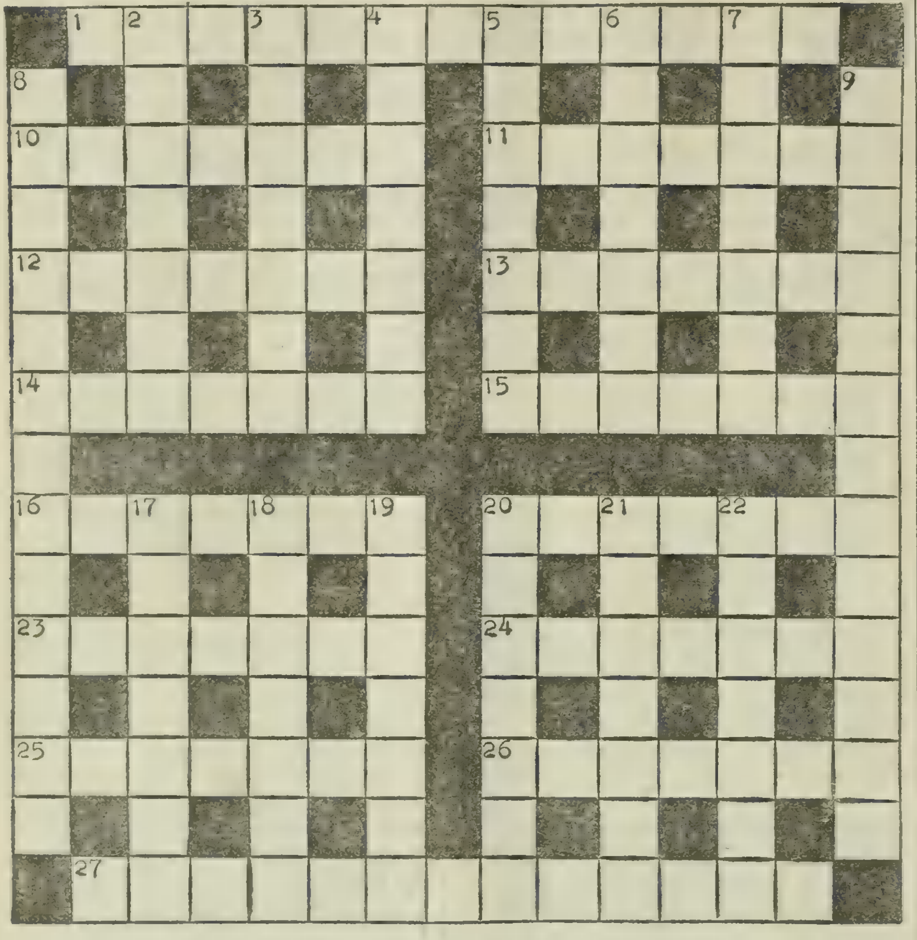
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 27

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 They would be too busy for words who educate thus (three words, 4, 4 and 5)
10 Many people find such spectacles attractive
11 Reconnaissance planes often overlook this
12 A tonic for the neurasthenic
13 The beast in search of prey has swallowed a bird
14 Disease
15 A doubting Thomas
16 An epicure with gout in the extremities
20 "Oh what a ------- web we weave, When first we practice to deceive!" (Scott)
23 Not necessarily a very attractive view, particularly if you don't see the sense of it
24 Highwayman?
25 Products of the soil, perhaps
26 Pare toe might be an apt anagram
27 Where 25 are cultivated (three words, 2, 1 and 10)

DOWN

2 Claims to be virtuous, but is just the opposite
3 Once governed Egypt
4 Epithet for most birds
5 It might be arranged to co-opt you and me
6 Gland secretion
7 A curtain raiser
8 Two sorts of bars might be concerned in these (two words, 8 and 5)
9 Novel, and sounds almost entirely like Mr. Roosevelt
17 A royal supporter
18 The skipper does not address the crew from this platform
19 Scene of an Allied victory last May
20 A trap, possibly, that seems to do the opposite of entrap
21 Dined in an eyrie! Most adroit!
22 Nothing puts an end to this complaint

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 26

ACROSS:—1 DIEHARD; 5 BRITAIN; 9 MACADAM; 10 LYING-IN; 11 UNTIL; 12 LOOPHOLES; 14 USED; 15 SATANIC; 18 QUA; 20 ASH; 21 UMBRAGE; 23 PAGE; 26 EXTENUATE; 28 TERRA; 29 MOONING; 30 AMENDED; 31 BAR-BELL; 32 DESIRED.

DOWN:—1 DIM-OUT; 2 EXCITE; [illegible] ANDALUSIA; 4 DIMPLED; [illegible] BILLOWS; 6 IRISH; 7 ANGELINA; 8 NONESUCH; 13 RUM; 16 TIGHTNESS; 17 ISM; 18 QUEEN MAB; 19 ABATTOIR; 22 EVANGEL; 23 PIEBALD; 24 TRADER; 25 SANDED; 27 NAIVE.

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The Shape of Things

THE MARINES, SO TO SPEAK, HAVE LANDED in the State Department and the situation is well in hand. What passes for rebellion in the old gray headquarters of American diplomacy has been crushed. With Under Secretary Sumner Welles out of the way, Cordell Hull can now concentrate intensively on the shooting aspects of the war, which he holds to be the function of a Secretary of State in a moment of world-wide political upheaval. In his spare time he can work on reciprocal tariff schedules, secure in the knowledge that no subordinate will complicate his life with long-range plans which at least take notice of the profound changes now sweeping over the world. The Secretary's most ardent apologists have taken the tack that he has been unfairly blamed for bungling our foreign relations when those relations have in fact been conducted by the President. There is, we regretfully believe, something in the argument. But it leaves Mr. Hull and his aides with the curious defense that after all they don't count for much. With the new unanimity to be achieved by replacing Welles with a more tractable and less imaginative figure (otherwise why make the shift?) the Department presumably will count for still less. Here at home we may take this impotence for granted, but what about foreign statesmen who assume that the Department and its agents represent power, authority, and purpose? Confronted with removal of the Department's leading advocate of friendly relations with Russia and its most far-sighted internationalist, aren't they likely to suffer an increase of that "suspicion and confusion" which Mr. Hull wrathfully attributed to the inaccuracy of reporters?

* * *

THE PRESIDENT'S NEW LEND-LEASE REPORT contains three points of major political importance. The first, which is sure to stir a storm among petty minds and ungrateful hearts, is Mr. Roosevelt's statement that "victory and a secure peace are the only coin in which we can be repaid." It is too much to hope that the demagogues in Congress will remember that there can never be adequate repayment for the millions of Russian lives lost on the Eastern front, or for the heroic courage and constancy of the British people. In more than two years of lend-lease we have given all our allies the equivalent of just about two months' current war output. Who would play Shylock for so relatively small a contribution? The second point revolves around the question of food exports to our allies. The Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press has sought to make it appear that we are starving ourselves to feed our allies. This would be commendable and heroic, but it is not true. Actually, our contribution to our allies in terms of food is revealed to be far less, both relatively and absolutely, than in World War I. Finally, the report shows that at a time when the Russians were preparing for the third great Nazi offensive, and for what has turned out to be their own unexpectedly successful counter-offensive, lend-lease shipments to the Soviet fell steadily in value. A high of 233 millions of dollars reached in April was followed by 178 millions in May, and 139 millions in June, the lowest point since last October. Though the explanation for this is that the U. S. S. R. decided to take low-cost foodstuffs instead of high-cost arms, the real answer is that the meager amount of shipping allocated to the Russians forced them to make this choice.

*

LORD LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN'S APPOINTMENT as chief of the new Allied Southeast Asia Command operating from India and Ceylon is generally regarded as confirming the expectation of a drive against Burma at the end of the present monsoon season. Lord Louis, former head of the Commandos, is Britain's foremost specialist in combined land, sea, and air operations, and is therefore peculiarly qualified for the difficult and complex operations that will be required in Burma. Since an overland attack in force from India is out of the question because of the lack of roads, it is usually taken for granted that the Burma offensive will start with an amphibious attack on Rangoon, followed by a drive up the Irrawaddy valley. Even with the most careful preparations this is bound to be a difficult undertaking. In expectation of such a drive the Japanese are reported to be dispatching large numbers of troops and a considerable amount of supplies to the Rangoon area. It is possible that in order to avoid the hazards of a direct assault the Allied forces might first seize that part of Thailand which straddles the Malay peninsula, thus outflanking the Japanese position in Burma. But since a successful attack against any of these points presupposes overwhelming naval as well as air supremacy, it may be assumed that mopping up in the Mediterranean will be completed before the Burmese offensive opens.

*

THE AUSTRALIAN GENERAL ELECTION HAS resulted in a striking vote of confidence for Prime Minister John Curtin and his Labor government. In the previous Parliament membership was evenly divided between the Labor Party and the two chief opposition groups, the United Australia Party and the Country Party. The balance of power was held by two independents who normally supported Labor. Complete returns are not yet available but it is certain that Labor has won a safe majority and it may have as many as fifty-one seats out of seventy-five. It will also have a clear majority in the upper house when the newly elected senators take office next July. These results are all the more remarkable since the Australian system of preferential voting encourages independents and minorities, making it difficult for any party to attain a real majority unless the tide is running very strongly in its favor. Like General Smuts in South Africa, Mr. Curtin proved shrewd in his timing of the election. The tremendous improvement in the Pacific outlook as compared with a year ago certainly influenced the electorate. There is no doubt that the Labor government has backed General MacArthur stoutly, and both Curtin and his Minister of External Affairs, Herbert Evatt, have steered a skilful course in the tricky waters of United Nations diplomacy, keeping Australia's interests and the Pacific front well to the fore without raising British blood pressure too violently.

*

FINLAND, LIKE MANY OF THE OTHER AXIS satellites, has recently displayed an increasing desire to get out of the war on as good terms as possible. A rough idea of the kind of terms that the Finnish government is willing to discuss was conveyed last week to a British trade-union official by Eero Vuori, president of the Trade-Union Federation of Finland. All dreams of a "Greater Finland" appear to have been forgotten, and all that is now asked is somewhat more favorable terms than those of 1940 plus a Soviet forty-year guarantee of Finnish sovereignity. A few days before Vuori's visit, a group of fifty prominent Finns petitioned President Ryti to dismiss Premier Linkomies and replace him by former Premier Paasikivi, who is believed to be persona grata in Moscow. Some such political shift is obviously necessary before the Finns can hope to convince Russia, or anyone else, that their desire to get out of the war is serious. But even then, the new Finnish government would find itself in virtually the same position as the Badoglio government in Italy. It could not make peace without ejecting, or permitting the United Nations to eject, the German troops now on its soil. And Russia presumably would insist, as we must insist in Italy, on full military freedom for future operations against the Nazis. Unconditional surrender is as essential in the case of the satellites as it is for the major Axis powers. Finland's future boundaries, indeed its existence as an independent country, will inevitably depend on the success of the United Nations in forging a system of collective security which will assure Russia—and the rest of Europe—against aggression.

CLARENCE BUDINGTON KELLAND, EMINENT Republican and author of popular fiction, has been searching his soul and has made the great discovery that isolationism is passé. But his former myopia has not been replaced by far-sightedness; he forswears a shrinking nationalism only to proclaim a grasping imperialism. True, there is a slight flavor of internationalism about some of the five "zones of safety" for the United States which he has outlined. But he makes it quite clear that it is the fifth zone which really counts. This modest proposal calls for an "impregnable" America with a five-ocean navy and "an air force so numerous and efficient as to stand alone." In addition "we must possess, by friendly negotiation if we may, by occupation if we must . . . those bases which will perfect the fortifications of the United States." This means that "the Pacific Ocean must become an American lake" and that we must take over Casablanca and Dakar as well as permanent bases in Iceland and Greenland. Curiously enough, Mr. Kelland is able to couple with such ideas as these a proposal to set up a "trusteeship" for the conquered and "bankrupt" nations. Trustees who help themselves to the property they are appointed to conserve are not usually very highly regarded, and if Mr. Kelland's program is carried out we must expect to find America generally denounced as an aggressor nation, with other countries banding themselves together to seek security against our domination. Neither peace nor safety are to be found in this post-war variety of "America First."

*

WHILE THE COX COMMITTEE CARRIES ON ITS chairman's vendetta with the Federal Communications Commission, there is still no sign that Attorney General Biddle intends to act on evidence in his hands which shows that Representative Cox received $2,500 from a radio station with an application before the commission. It is a felony for a congressman to practice law before a Federal agency, but all the roles have been reversed in this case and Cox is prosecuting the FCC instead of the Attorney General prosecuting Cox. The FCC's latest crime seems to be that it tried to keep pro-Fascists off Italian foreign-language broadcasts in time of war. We find it hard to consider this a heinous offense. Chairman James L. Fly of the FCC points out in a letter to the New York *Times* that "after six months of 'investigation' and seven months of 'hearings,' the committee has still not afforded the commission an opportunity to answer any of the charges or to get a word in edgewise." Unfortunately too few seem to agree with Chairman Fly's declaration that "The Congressional power of investigation is too essential an instrument for maintaining the health of our body politic to permit it to be prostituted for personal vengeance." The Cox Committee "investigation" goes on.

Second-Class Ally

INSTEAD of being cool, vague, cagy, and unofficial, our relations with the French Committee of National Liberation are henceforth to be cool, vague, cagy, and official. This is the first major political achievement to emerge from the fateful talks at Quebec.

The Frenchmen who in four years have never relaxed in their fight against the Axis have no alternative now but to accept with humble thanks their allies' recognition of the committee's existence—however delayed, graceless, and qualified. But those of us who are not bound by the enervating niceties of diplomatic talk have a certain obligation to call a cipher a cipher.

Precisely what has been changed by the recognition formula which, with slight variations, has been announced by the United States, Britain, and Canada? The committee did not constitute a French government in exile before and it is not accepted as such a government now. The committee was not regarded as a trustee for French national interests before, and it is not so regarded now. The committee rated no seat at the council table of the United Nations before, and it rates no seat now. The de facto authority of the committee in French territories has now become an authority de jure. That is all.

It is too late to argue the validity of the Anglo-American position that fuller recognition would violate the rights of the French people; to point out, for instance, that the recognized government of Czechoslovakia is headed by a man who was teaching history in Chicago when the war broke out, whereas the French Committee is led by a high-ranking member of the last legitimate government of the French Republic; or that the recognized government of Poland has had no indorsement from the country it represents in London, whereas the French committee is the accepted authority of French territories with a population of 60,000,000, and has moreover been formally indorsed by the heads of every political party of France except Pétain's, by every labor union, and by every underground organization.

Except for the judgments of history, these arguments are water over the dam. What remains pertinent for the present and for the future are two clearly revealed facts. First, Britain and the United States have again given the Soviet Union an opportunity to take advantage of their diplomatic ineptitude. By recognizing the committee as "representative of the state interests of the French Republic," the Russians have pressed home the advantage, and if a future De Gaullist government of France proves friendlier to Russia than to us, only the Krocks and Lindleys will wonder why.

The second pertinent fact is that the British and American governments have made official what was only speculative before. When France is occupied by Allied troops, the committee will enjoy no jurisdiction on its native soil—not even pending an election. Instead, in the name of democracy, we shall subject France to military rule carried out in collaboration with whatever forces we consider expedient. These might include General Giraud's army, and if that isn't expedient enough we might choose to work with a Vichy officialdom which today has no inkling of the love for democracy that will sweep over it with the coming of our troops.

No Separate Peace

THE lack of a real understanding with Russia clouds the political horizon. Only two new facts have emerged since the end of the Quebec conference: the return to London of former Ambassador Ivan Maisky, perhaps to prepare a visit from Molotov; and the announced departure for Moscow of President Benes, who has finally secured the consent of the Allies to a Russian-Czechoslovakian pact.

If these are good omens, they are somehow counterbalanced by the icy silence with which Russia has greeted the Quebec communiqué and Roosevelt's speech in Ottawa, both published in the Soviet press without a word of comment. Only a meeting between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin will constitute a real step forward, and then only if it results in an honest recognition that permanent collaboration between the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union is as indispensable to victory as to the establishment of a lasting peace.

It is not generally known that before the Quebec conference a general exchange of views on the military situation took place between the United States, Britain, and Russia. From all reports, the discussions were the most outspoken that have yet occurred between the staffs and diplomatic agencies of the three nations. The Anglo-American representatives are said to have credited the victories in North Africa and Sicily to extraordinary Allied superiority in men and material and to have told the Russians frankly that a similar superiority, capable of producing victory on the kind of front the Russians demand, can be achieved only in 1944. To draw off sixty German divisions from the eastern front and to tackle as well the forty divisions which Hitler holds as a central reserve would require, they calculated on the basis of the African and Sicilian experience, no less than 250 Allied divisions. Such a force will not be available until 1944. For the British and Americans that settles the question.

Of course, the Allies are preparing other fronts in various parts of Europe, though not precisely the kind of operation the Russians seek. In the discussions that preceded Quebec, the western Allies tried to convince the Soviet Union that the accomplishments of the last ten months had averted one great danger—the threat of a break-through by the Nazi armies in the interior of Russia. Sicily and the menace of invasion had already immobilized the "strategic reserve" which otherwise would have been thrown into the critical battle of Orel. The reduction of U-boat activities safeguarded the passage of as much war material as Russia might need in the near future. And the operations of the R. A. F. and the American Army Air Force engaged a large part of the Luftwaffe.

The Russians were not convinced. They insisted more bluntly than ever that a great opportunity had been lost last year at the time of the Battle of Stalingrad, and a still greater one this year, when combined action of the three great armies might have guaranteed victory in 1943. Moreover, they were extremely dissatisfied with the way the British and Americans were handling the political issues of the war with regard to the French, to Italy, and to Spain—without giving due consideration to Russian views. And behind everything the old Russian suspicions, to which we referred last week, continued to fester.

It is in the light of these differences that we must view the series of political events culminating in the recall of Ambassador Litvinov, which because of its timing must be regarded as a warning of political character.

Russia's first political stroke was the formation of the Free Germany Committee in Moscow in the middle of July. Elsewhere in this issue, Joachim Joesten presents an analysis of the committee's program and personnel. His information is enlightening. It would seem to us Russia had two motives in forming the committee. The first was to establish a front within Germany in order to wage real political war against nazism. For that purpose the formula of unconditional surrender is too rigid. It leaves no margin for an intelligent political strategy, while the Russian move, on the other hand, opens a hopeful door to the German people. In the second place, and only in the second place, the formation of the committee gave the Russians a trump card to bid against the Allied powers.

We do not believe that Russia is playing with the idea of a seperate peace, or that it has done so at any time since the German attack. But if we abandon the Russians to the kind of war they have been waging for the last two years, entailing fantastic losses, colossal destruction, and an increasingly grave food situation, they may be obliged to reconsider their future course of action. Should they do so, however, it would not be necessary for them to accept the tragic consequences of a separate peace, won at the cost of six million Russian dead. They could do something else. They could imitate British and American military behavior in the past eighteen months. They could say, at the moment when their armies have reconquered the most important part of the Ukraine, that they need time to reorganize before going ahead, and that they will wait for the Allies to enter the war with their full weight. That would mean, not a separate peace but a kind of military stalemate, full of danger for the common cause of the United Nations.

Britain's Fifth Year

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

London, August 26, by Cable

THE fourth anniversary of the start of the war finds Britain stronger than it was in 1939. That is something Hitler cannot say about his nation. The war is actually here as an established part of life. Since the end of the Blitz it has even come to have its compensations as well as its sorrows and heavy burdens. You feel as you talk to people and watch them at work that the country could if necessary go on producing and fighting indefinitely.

Everybody says the people are tired. Certainly they have a right to be, for they are working, as they have worked since Dunkirk, at a steady, heavy pace. But they show their weariness very little. In the war plants they tackle their jobs with apparent energy, though the work day is long. The workers seem matter of fact and have little of the skeptical what's-it-all-about attitude you often meet at home. This is not only a product of British temperament; it springs also from a living realization on the part of every individual that this island escaped invasion and defeat by something like a miracle—a miracle compounded of Hitler's error in calculation and Britain's upsurge of resolve and effort. People refer to that period, and particularly to the Blitz itself, as if it were a cherished possession of the nation, a source of lasting pride and power. One thing is certain: the terrible durability of this people is a greater war asset than all the conquests of the Nazis.

But when this has been set down for the record some other things remain to be said. Britain is not a nation of robots. The unity is real; as in no other country the people have acquired habits of cooperation on a level so nearly unconscious that they might be called instinctive. But even while the war goes on, political and social forces are at work breaking up old patterns and creating new ones. British unity not only allows for differences; it would not exist if differences were not permitted expression. Today issues that remained submerged during the earlier part of the war are bubbling to the surface. The row over the affiliation of public-service unions with the Trade Unions Congress, still unsettled as I write, is a case in point. The long pending question of equal pay for women is being raised simultaneously in several parts of the country. I stumbled into it just the other day in the course of a visit to a great mass-production airplane-engine plant. A demand for the same rates for identical work had recently been made by the shop stewards. The management had resisted any change and a strike was threatened. Finally the dispute was submitted to a tribunal, which still has it under advisement. But in the course of the negotiations the workers' representatives themselves divided over the strike issue. Some of the shop stewards in the plant are Communists and they of course were instructed to oppose a strike. But the left sentiments of several were strong enough to outweigh their party loyalty and they actually resigned from the party in order to free their hands for action.

This situation illustrates the sort of differences that are beginning to emerge. All down the line you find evidence of impatience with a status quo which has given labor security and jobs but has robbed it of freedom to act. When the war ends the worker will want his freedom back and will demand security and a job as well. Personally I believe this is about all he wants, but it may be a more revolutionary desire than it sounds. The prospect of his getting it without a fight both in the plant and at the polls is not bright. Even the most reactionary British industrialists are on the average far more enlightened than their American counterparts; they realize more clearly the consequences which would follow a collapse of production after the war. But unless government controls are applied on a scale which in peace-time would look suspiciously like socialism, such a collapse would seem inevitable. In any case, workers with whom I have talked regard the future warily. They trust neither the government nor the employers, and they are waiting to see what their own leaders will do when the truce ends. There is more skepticism than militancy in their attitude, but militancy could easily arise out of disappointed hopes.

Among all sorts of people I find deep concern about post-war prospects in general. Everybody asks me about America's position. Will we "pull out," as we did last time? The antics of the isolationist and Pacific-first elements are followed with anxiety. Will we set out to capture world markets while Britain is still struggling with problems of reconstruction, or will we come to some agreement for the international control of trade? The genial idiocies of Eric Johnston have aroused widespread comment and private dismay in business as in other circles. And finally, what on earth is the explanation of our foreign policy and what sort of Europe are we hoping to create? This last question is more frequently put to me than either of the others, especially, but not by any means exclusively, by people of left or liberal sympathies. To a degree unknown in the United States the common man here looks upon his country's struggle as part of a universal integrated war, which includes not only every fighting front today but all the lost battles of yesterday. Spain and Austria are in his mind as well as Dunkirk.

The President's firm reputation in this country as the "undaunted champion of the rights of free man and the mighty leader of the forces of freedom," to quote Mac-

BURLINGAM

kenzie King, makes our policy toward France and Italy and Spain and our apparent willingness to alienate Russia "incomprehensible" to most Britons. In their own government they see divergent tendencies. They may accuse the Prime Minister of an undue desire to please the President and an undue reluctance to grapple with the political aspects of the war, but they also see contrary motives at work, such as produced the timely intervention of Mr. Eden last spring. In America's foreign policy they see only bewildering inconsistency. This attitude has been expressed to me by all sorts of people, from important government officials to shipyard workers on the Clyde. They know they can defeat Hitler and they expect to do it before the fifth year of war is ended. But it is quite another thing to defeat the forces that threaten to rob victory of its meaning, especially when they find among them leaders upon whom they had counted as their strongest allies.

The President and Sumner Welles

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, August 27

THE grudging, cold, and ambiguous form in which we have finally recognized the French Committee of National Liberation places the affair of Sumner Welles in a new light. There is little doubt that the President would hardly have asked the resignation of so close a friend as the Under Secretary unless he had been under strong pressure to do so. Secretary Hull's implied denial that he had threatened to resign unless Welles was removed is probably true, though the truth is of that disingenuous and split-hair variety so beloved of cracker-barrel sophists and experienced diplomats. The threat was made for Hull by Senator Connally and "Assistant President" Byrnes, and the President may have felt that he had no choice but to sacrifice Welles as he had earlier sacrificed Moley. The appalling question raised by the way in which we have recognized the French Committee is whether the President himself, considering the trend of his foreign policy, will not feel more comfortable with Welles out of the way.

The fact is that on French policy, Roosevelt, Hull, and Leahy decline to recognize the true state of affairs despite what their own men in the field and their more capable subordinates at home have been telling them. From North Africa, Robert Murphy—yes, Murphy—has been bombarding the State Department with cables recommending in ever stronger terms that we grant full recognition to the French National Committee. This represents a change in Murphy's original point of view, a change inescapable for any man actually in the field, as proven by the fact that every other State Department representative abroad whose work touches at all on French affairs agrees with Murphy.

A count of heads in the State Department itself would show a majority for full recognition. I don't know whether Berle is still up in his metaphysical clouds talking of a mysterious "Third France" which he says is for neither Pétain nor De Gaulle; that was his line some months ago. I feel sure that Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long and Political Adviser James Clement Dunn do not disagree with Hull. But I have learned from several informed sources that Welles, Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and most of the younger men in the department have felt for weeks that we were making a mistake in not granting recognition, genuine recognition, to the French Committee. And the real obstacle has not been the wavering Hull and his departmental sycophants so much as the White House. President Roosevelt is deeply prejudiced against De Gaulle and Leahy continues to think of Pétain as an old friend. I believe, and I have more than my own hunch to go upon, that both expect to make another deal with Pétain when our troops enter France.

There is a more important aspect to this affair of the French Committee of National Liberation. The President, as a compromise with Hull (Mr. Roosevelt, it now appears, hates to fire anybody but a real progressive), has wanted to keep Welles on in a kind of roving ambassadorship, especially to deal with the Soviet Union. The Russians, who were very suspicious of Welles for telling them before June 22 that Hitler would attack, have come to take a more appreciative attitude toward him since. Welles is no radical; he is only occasionally liberal. His outlook is about that of a sensible business man who prefers a shrewd adjustment to realities to butting his head against a stone wall. Against the background of the State Department, this has made Welles appear extraordinarily competent and contemporary.

Of all our professional diplomats, except Davies, Welles is the one who would be most welcome at Moscow. But Welles is said to fear that his efforts there would be abortive. If Hull and his men could politically cut Welles's throat while he was in Washington, what couldn't they do to him while he was away in Moscow? How much could he accomplish against the 1919-capitalist mentality of Hull and the pro-Franco and anti-

Soviet prejudices of Dunn, who now emerges as the most powerful office politician in the department?

To these questions the form in which we have recognized the French National Committee adds another, even more serious. How far could Welles count on understanding and support from Roosevelt himself? The American statement on the committee is more than inept. Its evasiveness, plus the fact that there were separate statements from the three great powers and that the Soviets gave the committee full recognition "as representative of the state interests of the French Republic," does not speak well for Roosevelt's political acumen.

If the President cannot do a better job of diplomacy than this on so limited a question as the French Committee, what hope is there on the major issues of the coming peace? The rift between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American powers has been widened, and widened unnecessarily. For events in North Africa have shown that the Committee of National Liberation is strong enough to have its way despite Washington and London, and the Soviet statement, though forthright, admirably takes care of the "constitutional" anxieties evinced by the State Department pundits. Moscow does not recognize the committee as a "provisional" government. Sound policy would have won French gratitude by granting what the committee will obtain in any case, and maintained a united front of the three powers. As it is, even the Latin American countries are following Russia, and Russia by sheer political good sense and realism has emerged to take world diplomatic leadership on a basic question not only for the French but for the people of all the occupied countries.

I am reluctantly compelled to believe that the retirement of Welles as Under Secretary is more than the product of political blackmail by Hull and the Southern bloc. It fits too well into the pattern of the President's steady drift toward the right. The result, especially if Breckinridge Long becomes Under Secretary and Dunn Assistant Secretary, will be further to unfit our already antiquated State Department for the great diplomatic tasks ahead. Welles is Roosevelt's friend; but so is Dunn. On Spanish policy, Welles and Roosevelt were pro-Loyalist in thought, but in action Roosevelt took his stand with the pro-Franco clique led by Dunn. The bond between that clique and the White House is the orientation toward the Vatican in European affairs which seems to be a permanent feature of Roosevelt's foreign policy, albeit largely for domestic political reasons. We may be sure that Moscow will read these signs less hesitantly than we old pro-Rooseveltians.

Stalin's New Germany

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

RUSSIA'S absence from the Quebec conference, the growing impatience of the Soviet press over the delay in opening a second front in Western Europe, the continuing Polish-Soviet dispute, the formation of a Free Germany Committee in Moscow on July 12, and now, on top of everything else, Litvinov's replacement at Washington (a few weeks after Maisky's recall from London) are all ominous signs of Russian displeasure with the Western Allies.

In London and Washington each of these moves has been received with pained surprise mingled with irritation. The trouble with most of our statesmen is that they underestimate the bold imagination which inspires Stalin's foreign policy. They do not appreciate the peculiar sense of humor which prompts the Soviet Premier to confound his friends as well as his enemies—especially if he questions the extent of their good faith.

The full import of the Free Germany Committee has not yet, I believe, been realized in this country. There has been widespread wonder and speculation, but most of the conjectures advanced are wide of the mark. For instance, the fact that the committee is sponsored and apparently bossed by a number of old Communist wheelhorses has been widely interpreted as signifying that it is just another product of the nominally disbanded Comintern. Nothing could be more misleading. A study of the committee's personnel and program leads to the conclusion that, politically, it is not a Communist outfit and that it is not intended to provoke a proletarian revolution in Germany. It is, on the contrary, a horselaugh directed at our Bolshevist-bogy peddlers. The specter that haunts these little souls is purely imaginary, whereas they are blind to the real danger that faces them.

Stalin is much too smart to plan for a Soviet Germany because he is fully aware that such a Germany would eventually dominate Russia. The Germans, with their extraordinary talent for organization, their resources, and their central position in Europe, would soon get the upper hand, and within a few years the center of gravity would shift from Moscow to Berlin. Soviet Russia would become an annex of Soviet Germany. This is not what the Russian nationalist Stalin has tenaciously worked and fought for. His purposes would be much better served by a Germany that was neither Communist nor Fascist; a Germany that was different from, but friendly toward, the Soviet Union.

The formation of the Free Germany Committee may well constitute an underhand Russian bid for a separate peace and a subsequent alliance with Germany. But this would not be the kind of alliance between revolutionary states that failed so conspicuously in the years after the last war; it would be an alliance between a socialist but nationalist Russia and a democratic but nationalist Germany.

In analyzing the program and the composition of the German committee in Moscow, we must start from the evident premise that no political manifestation is possible in Russia today that does not have the backing of the Soviet government. The Free Germany group in Moscow is not only tolerated by the Soviet government but has been given the widest possible publicity. First *Pravda* and then all other major Soviet newspapers played up the story of its formation as a world event of the first magnitude. Some issues of *Freies Deutschland*, the committee's German-language paper, comprised millions of copies, although there is an acute newsprint shortage in the U. S. S. R. Hence we are fully justified in believing that the program of the Free Germans in Moscow tells us exactly what Stalin intends to do about Germany.

What is this program? It is certainly not inspired by a demand for unconditional surrender. It is an attempt to save Germany from dismemberment and destruction. And not only Germany but its army too—the same army that is now at death grips with the forces of the Soviet! The manifesto published by the committee on July 21 is explicit:

> The troops of England and America are at the gates of Europe. . . . The hour of collapse is approaching . . . *but Germany must not die!* To be or not to be—such is the question today facing our country. . . . The German people need immediate peace and long for it, but nobody will conclude peace with Hitler. . . . Hence the formation of a genuine national German government is the most urgent task of our people. . . . This government . . . will be supported by the fighting groups that will unite to overthrow Hitler. *There are forces in the army that are loyal to the country,* and the people must play a decisive role [my italics].

What kind of government do the Free Germans want? The manifesto supplies the answer: "A strong, democratic power that will have nothing in common with the helpless Weimar régime. . . . This government will immediately cease military operations, recall German troops to the Reich's frontiers, and embark on peace negotiations, renouncing all conquests. In this manner it will attain peace and once again place Germany on an equal footing with other nations."

The most noteworthy feature of this manifesto is that it nowhere so much as hints at the establishment of a Soviet régime in Germany. It repeatedly calls for a democratic government, explicitly recognizes the right to lawfully acquired property, and pictures a Germany peaceful, cooperative, progressive. There would be no reason whatever for alarm except for one factor: the committee is clearly committed to salvaging the German army. It is indeed a remarkable performance for old Communist Party whips like Walter Ulbricht, Erwin Hoernle, Wilhelm Florin, and the former secretary of the Comintern, Wilhelm Pieck, to affix their signatures to a manifesto that calls on German soldiers *not* to turn their rifles against their own officers, but to "hold on to them under the leadership of those commanders who recognize their responsibility, . . . boldly clearing the path that will lead your country to peace."

Later declarations of the committee go even further in their repudiation of the revolutionary ways of 1918. In a recent issue of *Freies Deutschland,* Major Herbert Soesslein, a leading member of the. committee, wrote: "We are opposed to fomenting demoralization in the *Wehrmacht.* We do not intend to incite the soldiers to abandon their arms and retreat in disorder. . . . We must avert at all costs any repetition of the events of 1918. We must avoid all anarchy and undisciplined behavior. . . . Our slogan is reconstruction, not destruction."

In the same article, Major Soesslein describes the German army—which the Western democracies have vowed to destroy so utterly that it will never rise again!—as "a valuable instrument which must be preserved at any cost and in full," and he claims that "construction of a strong democracy will require the support of a strongly welded army led by officers who realize their responsibilities."

The Moscow dispatch to the *Christian Science Monitor* from which these citations are taken provides another, most revealing, side light on the character of the Free Germany Committee. Its organ, *Freies Deutschland,* carries on its masthead a German flag. Not the red banner of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; not the black, red, and gold flag of the Weimar Republic; no—the red, white, and black of Imperial Germany, the beloved symbol of Alfred Hugenberg, the *Stahlhelm,* the Reichswehr, and the Junkers!

Now let us have a look at the membership of the Free Germany Committee. It certainly is the most strangely assorted company that I have ever seen banded together for a common political purpose. Of the thirty-four signers of the July manifesto, twelve are exiled members of the German Communist Party. Of these twelve, five were Reichstag deputies—Pieck, Ulbricht, Florin, Hoernle, and Martha Arendsee—and four are well-known writers and poets—Johannes R. Becher, Willi Bredel, Friedrich Wolf, and Erich Weinert, the last named being chairman of the executive committee. All the others are prisoners of war, half of them officers. The group includes three majors and two captains, and two of the officers were university professors before they were pressed into uniform.

Among the captive officers, two names stand out: those of Count Heinrich von Einsiedel, member of one of Germany's oldest aristocratic families and a great-grandson of Bismarck, and Bernt von Kügelgen, son of the well-known editor and publisher Paul Siegwart Konstantin von Kügelgen, who for many years owned the Saint Petersburg *Zeitung*. He too is a typical German Junker.

Even before the Free Germany Committee was launched, the Russians printed and showered over the German lines thousands of leaflets bearing a picture of Count von Einsiedel in the Luftwaffe uniform in which he was shot down near Stalingrad in August, 1942. The picture shows Einsiedel holding in his hands a poster on which a towering, masterful Bismarck sternly and contemptuously points at a little Hitler in the lower right-hand corner, with the legend, "This man is leading Germany toward catastrophe." The leaflet represents Einsiedel as saying: "A war of Germany against Russia is stupid and without chance [of success]. This my great-grandfather, Otto von Bismarck, said again and again, and every soldier must daily become more convinced of its truth." This Bismarckian touch is perhaps the most interesting feature about Moscow's Free Germany movement. The Russians evidently are pursuing a *Rückversicherungspolitik* of their own, and it is not difficult to guess against whom they are thus reinsuring themselves.

The almost inescapable conclusion is that through the Free Germany Committee Stalin is stretching out a hand toward Germany, not of course the Germany of Adolf Hitler, which he has vowed to destroy, but a new, chastised Germany that will be the Soviet Union's ally. Together the two nations would form the greatest Continental power in history. It is particularly worthy of note how closely the program of the Free Germans follows the policy which Stalin laid down months before the Casablanca Conference. In his historic address to the Moscow Soviet last November, Stalin said:

> It is not our aim to destroy Germany, for it is impossible to destroy Germany, . . . but the Hitlerite state can and should be destroyed, and our first task, in fact, is to destroy the Hitlerite state and its inspirers. . . . It is not our aim to destroy all military forces in Germany, for every literate person will understand that this is not only impossible, . . . but it is also inadvisable from the point of view of the future. But Hitler's army can and should be destroyed. . . . Our second task is, in fact, to destroy Hitler's army and its leaders. . . . Our third task is to destroy the hated New Order in Europe and to punish its builders.

In the same address, it will be remembered, Stalin drew up the program of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition:

> Abolition of racial exclusiveness, equality of nations and integrity of their territories, liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights, the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes, economic aid of nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare, restoration of democratic liberties, the destruction of the Hitlerite régime.

Coming eight months after Stalin's speech, the manifesto of the Free Germany Committee stresses once more the extraordinary consistency and tenacity of Soviet foreign policy. There is nothing mysterious or enigmatic about it; the mystery and the enigma are all on the other side. Stalin does not want the Anglo-Saxon powers to control the destiny of post-war Europe. He will have no Amgots north of the Brenner Pass. He is not sacrificing the flower of Russian manhood to see Hitler's Europe replaced by a hostile combination led by such characters as Franco, Mannerheim, Giraud, Badoglio, and Otto von Hapsburg. If there is to be a *cordon sanitaire*, he wants it to face the other way.

The Allies have only themselves to thank for the storm that is now brewing in Eastern Europe. Instead of offering the subjugated nations unconditional freedom under democratic leadership, they are playing Metternich's game of restoration with old men, old ideas, and old frontiers. How can they expect to arouse enthusiasm?

Stalin, shrewd and masterful as ever, is now cashing in on the shortcomings of his allies. His active, assertive policy—characterized by such moves as the Free Germany Committee, his forthcoming alliance with Czechoslovakia, and the formation of the new Polish army under Major General Zigmund Berling—will win him many new friends in a disillusioned Europe. The program set forth by that committee will appeal not only to anti-Nazi, nationalistic Germans who would rather sell their souls to the devil than surrender unconditionally, but to countless other Europeans as well. It is about time the Allies thought up something more attractive for Germany than unconditional surrender plus a Darlan or Badoglio.

There may yet be time to avert a swing in Soviet policy away from the Allies and toward a Bismarckian Germany. But not much time. It was hardly by chance that immediately after the announcement of Litvinov's recall the Soviet Embassy in Washington emphatically posed the question of Russia's role in post-war Europe. This is the gist of the matter. The Soviet Union wants its allies to recognize, here and now, its frontiers of 1941 and to repudiate all plans for a *cordon sanitaire*. If a satisfactory settlement of Russia's demands can be reached quickly, Bismarck's ghost may yet be laid to rest. If not, our only hope of staving off a separate peace between Russia and Germany, followed by an alliance between them, would seem to lie in Heinrich Himmler's ability to keep the German generals from taking Stalin's outstretched hand.

Financing America's Future

I. BEHIND THE DOLLARS[*]

BY STUART CHASE

IN 1925, Russia had been through a devastating war and a violent internal revolution. Its currency had been destroyed in a runaway price inflation, it was the world's worst financial risk abroad, and it had very little gold. Yet by the end of the first Five-Year Plan in 1933, Russia had invested some 60 billion rubles in factories, new cities, hydroelectric developments, armaments, houses, schools. There stood the new plant, ugly and solid. Without it Russia could never have met the onslaught of Hitler's armies. *Where did the money come from?*

In 1933 it was freely prophesied that Italy could not invade Ethiopia. It had no credit abroad and almost no gold. The effort would bankrupt it. Italy went ahead, conquered Ethiopia, and emerged without financial collapse. *Where did the money come from?*

Hitler took over a German state which was literally bankrupt. It had defaulted on its foreign obligations. When he proposed to build a powerful army, together with all kinds of grandiose public works, he was laughed at in London and New York. Germany was insolvent, and the whole idea was preposterous. The nations of Europe which have trembled under the thunder of Panzer divisions know that Hitler built even more terribly than he promised. *Where did the money come from?*

When Japan began to rattle its sword in the direction of Indo-China and challenge the United States and the British Empire, wiseacres said it was a bluff. The long years of the war in China had reduced the Japanese economy to a bag of bones. It was bankrupt and could not sustain a real fight. Yet it opened a new attack with devastating fury, and with military equipment—in planes, tanks, artillery, ships—that was as excellent as it was unexpected. *Where did the money come from?*

In 1939, the United States Congress declined to appropriate $4 billion for highways, conservation, hospitals, freight cars, in the bitterly contested "lend-spend" bill. It was widely held that the bill would lead to ruin and national bankruptcy. Yet since the fall of France in 1940, Congress has appropriated almost $300 billions for armaments—75 times as much as the "lend-spend" bill—and a large fraction of it has already gone into tanks and guns. Far from being ruined, our national vitality has never been more evident, and great financial moguls assure us that we shall be able to swing the national debt. *Where did the money come from?*

After the war America will need to maintain full employment, operate its industries at substantial capacity, provide the essentials of life for all its own citizens, and help foreign peoples who are starving and unable to pay for the supplies. There will be a towering political demand for a world delivered from chronic depression. *Where will the money come from?*

It is clear from these examples that what a great nation can "afford" in periods of crisis depends not on its money but on its man-power and its goods. Russia, Italy, Germany, Japan, the United States, all used money in the situations mentioned, but money was obviously not the dominant factor. Man-power and materials were the dominant factor. Yet at other times, when crisis was not so acute, the money for necessary tasks could not be found. Unemployment, insecurity, want dragged on. This is a puzzling paradox. At certain times a nation can afford what at other times, with no less money, it cannot afford. At certain times we are afraid of national bankruptcy, and at other times we give it hardly a thought.

Is there any way to smooth these ups and downs; any way to balance the things we can afford in terms of money with the things we can afford in man-power and materials? The methods used in total war produce results, but they are pretty rough ones, even in non-Axis nations. Can more gentle techniques be devised for peace time which will also produce results?

THE DISASTER ECONOMY

Adolf Berle tells of walking through a tenement district in New York with a friend a few years ago. What they see depresses them. They want to clean it up. But the moment they begin to think of ways to abolish slums, all kinds of difficulties loom across the path—the high cost of land, the difficulty of getting materials, exorbitant rates of interest, graft and corruption in the building trades, the avarice of landlords, the general apathy of everybody. As they walk along, listing the difficulties, any idea of improvement grows more and more remote.

But wouldn't a good, rousing earthquake solve everything? It would not only open up the ground; it would open up people's minds. But then, of course, the death and disruption must be thrown on the scales. The disaster would generate action, bold and immediate. The slums would be abolished once and for all. "Is it too much to ask," queries Mr. Berle, "that the driving quality which can be called forth by a great cataclysm might be made available for continuous and steady action? Is it necessary that some scourge of God, driving by brute fear, shall create a common will?"

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[*] Based on a chapter from the author's forthcoming report to the Twentieth Century Fund, to be published in the fall under the title, "Where's the Money Coming From? Problems of Post-War Finance."

We recall the story of the man who was apprehended for going along the street smashing windows. He defended himself by saying it was good for trade. So it was—even if not for the owners of the buildings. If unemployment is rife, smashing windows, plowing under cotton, pouring milk into ditches are all good—for trade. Even better is a raging flood or a devastating hurricane.

For some years the potential output of the power age has tended to exceed the available cash in the hands of consumers. Gradually we have come to live in what might be called a "disaster economy," where waste and loss stimulate trade, where thrift and good quality depress it. Many examples come to mind. Advertising pressure has encouraged us to throw things away and get a new model. The Ohio floods of 1937 brought unemployment, death and destruction, and a flash of prosperity to the valley as relief money came pouring in, and some of those thrown out of work got jobs in rescue and reconstruction work. The New England hurricane of 1938 killed hundreds and robbed thousands of their homes and jobs, but it also created a temporary labor shortage in the building trade, and shot the price of candles up to fifty cents apiece. The original AAA program was designed to boost prices by destroying crops. Long before the Triple A, a statue was erected to the boll weevil, one of the best things for trade that ever hit the cotton belt.

But the best thing of all for trade is war. In the United States alone, the war has already provided an 80-billion-dollar annual market. This terrific demand is running us into a man-power shortage in jig time. There are more orders on the books than there are men to fill them. Women, boys, old men are being hauled in, but it looks now as if only a drastic conscription of labor can ease the shortage. True, many small businesses are falling by the wayside, but full employment and full-blast production are here at last. The only trouble is the costs involved —death on a dozen battlefronts abroad, a 25-per-cent increase in prices, government controls, and Spartan living at home. If we could have the advantages of full employment without these costs, Utopia would be here at last.

THE BLIGHT OF ABUNDANCE

H. G. Wells, in "The Shape of Things to Come," has well summarized the situation in which abundance became a curse and destruction a blessing to trade:

> The war [1914-1918] from the economic point of view had been the convulsive using up of an excess of production that the race had no other method of distributing and consuming. . . . The post-war increase in war production, which went on in spite of endless palavering about disarmament, did not destroy men, nor scrap and destroy material, in sufficient quantity to relieve the situation. . . . The more efficient the output, the fewer the wage-earners. The more stuff there was, the fewer consumers there were. . . . This was the paradox of overproduction which so troubled the writers and journalists of the third decade of the twentieth century.

I don't believe that anybody likes this as a system, whatever temporary personal benefits glass dealers may get out of smashed windows. It violates a deep human instinct. It makes a mockery of the principle of "least work." Costs and sacrifices are prodigious. While the efficiency engineers save a few drops at the spigot, a torrent is rushing out of the bunghole. What is the use of making two blades grow where one grew before when the sacrifices are too great or the whole crop may be burned or abandoned? An economy that relies for its stimulation on waste and disaster is taking the road to oblivion as surely as the dinosaurs, those creatures that were all bulk and no brains.

The so-called people's revolution springs, I believe, from this paradox. The wayfaring man in every country is sick of starving in the midst of plenty. The Germans' toleration of Hitler was due to their blind hope that he could stop it. Even war may seem preferable to rotting on the dole.

In 1931 the League of Nations reported thirty million unemployed in Europe and America. Trade, in fact, was bad. What would be good for it? The most practical window-smashing device was spending for armaments. Spending for welfare projects ran into difficulties, as Mr. Berle noted, because such projects, it was feared, would not "pay out." But nobody expects tanks to pay out in money terms. Therefore the opposition to armament building in Europe was relatively mild. The tanks were built with the labor of the unemployed. The vast rearmament program of Europe in the late 1930's did in fact end the depression, but it filled Europe with guns pointing over every frontier.

WHEN PRODUCTION OUTRUNS CONSUMPTION

One can begin to discover a rough cycle in the performance of the modern economy, where mass production outruns mass consumption. Machines grind and produce a mountain of goods. The goods pile up and presently choke the machines. The machines go on half time or stop altogether. The plethora of goods must be dynamited out of the way so that the machines can start again, and their human tenders can work again. Only total war has so far provided the requisite amount of dynamite. But total war demands bigger and better machines and a huge increase in capacity in those industries that can make munitions and matériel, while the destruction of capital goes on apace, and many civilian industries cannot keep up their repairs and replacements. Only another war can relieve the pressure. . . . And so on from catastrophe to catastrophe.

Winston Churchill, in his book, "The World Crisis," vividly illustrates our point. He is speaking of the last Armistice Day, November 11, 1918:

> A requisition for half a million houses would not have seemed more difficult to comply with than those we were already in process of executing for 100,000 aeroplanes, or 20,000 guns, or 2,000,000 tons of projectiles. But a new set of conditions began to rule from eleven o'clock onward. The money cost, which had never been considered by us to be a factor capable of limiting the supply of the armies, asserted a claim to priority from the moment the fighting stopped.

Instantly the problem of productive capacity and manpower in excess of demand began to make itself felt. The "money cost" became a brake on the whole economic machine. A world "fit for heroes to live in" presently degenerated into a world of unemployment, doles, and despair, the terrible world of J. B. Priestley's "English Journey."

I have in my files pictures of veritable mountains of oranges, potatoes, coffee, marked for destruction. Nearly every farm crop has been plagued by surpluses since the last war. The great extension of wheat capacity from 1915 to 1919 produced not only ruinous post-war prices but the dust bowl, where nature took a hand in helping trade by disaster. In the case of factories, the problem of surplus is present in the form of excess capacity, but mountains of unsold goods cannot often be photographed. A factory can close down faster than a growing crop.

If this is the sequence—I admit that it is a very rough description—what is the way to stop it? One obvious way would be to channel off the goods so promptly that they could not pile up to choke the machines. Indeed, short of war and disaster, is there any other way to make trade good? In simplest terms, this is the post-war economic problem. The channels for moving the goods are primarily financial, and the dams across the channels are financial—the "money costs," as Winston Churchill called them. They deserve the most cold and objective analysis, if we are to avoid the fate of the dinosaurs. What we need is the knowledge and the courage to organize our economy for full employment at a lower social cost. We shall never have full employment without effort, but we can surely have it without war and disaster and their toll of destruction, loss of freedom, and human lives.

[*This is the first of a series of three articles on America's post-war economy. In his next article Mr. Chase will picture the economic situation that will confront this country on Demobilization Day.*]

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IT WOULD have been gratifying to hear that the Grand Army of the Republic had taken a firm and patriotic stand upon the abuse of pensions, but its recent meeting showed that the claim-agent element is as potent as ever.—*September 14, 1893.*

MR. KIPLING'S latest volume, "Many Inventions," sustains his reputation as an excellent story-teller. . . . He goes out of his way to say nasty things which are not true about women, the most appreciative part of his public, about members of his own craft who have mostly given him unstinted praise, and in fact about all the world, except the British subaltern, in whose person he discovers the one man in ten thousand. . . . This lack of judgment or of self-control renders Mr. Kipling ineffective and unconvincing as a serious critic of life.—*September 14, 1893.*

A PROPOSITION well worth considering is that introduced in the House last week providing for the annexation of the Territory of Utah to the state of Nevada. The present condition of Nevada is a reproach to our system of government. . . . Its population has been dwindling for years, and had sunk as low as 45,761 souls in 1890. Utah, on the other hand, is growing steadily and rapidly. . . . The time is rapidly approaching when Utah must cease to be a Territory, and there could be no better way of its gaining the advantages of statehood than through a union with Nevada.—*September 21, 1893.*

VIRGINIA and half of the states in the Union combined show no more cities of over 20,000 inhabitants than are to be found in Massachusetts. . . . There is no place at all with so many inhabitants as 20,000 in nine states. . . . Nine states again have each no more than one town numbering over 20,000 people.—*September 21, 1893.*

THERE IS something very startling in the increase of that form of lawlessness known as lynching in the South. It has three distinguishing features: (1) the victims are always Negroes; (2) the murderers are never punished; (3) simple murder often fails to satisfy the lynching parties, and they resort to torture and such forms of mutilation as would be expected only of our most savage Indians.—*September 21, 1893.*

THE PASSAGE of the Irish Home Rule Bill in the British House of Commons and its defeat in the Lords leave English politics and society in an extremely interesting condition for the foreign observer. None of their phenomena is queerer than the hatred of Gladstone among the upper and upper middle classes. . . . Frantic desire for his death is openly uttered. That "G. O. M." ["Grand Old Man"] stands for "God's Only Mistake" is one of the grim jokes of the Conservative clubs, and old ladies will avow their willingness to walk miles with peas in their shoes to see him hanged.—*September 28, 1893.*

The Red Army's Offensive

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

SHOULD the Quebec conference have the effect of transferring major American interest to the Pacific, the Allies will have missed their chance for an early defeat of Hitler. Now that we are fully embarked on a "Beat Germany first" policy, we cannot afford to take halfway measures at such a crucial period. After holding down the eastern front for two years at terrific cost, our Russian allies deserve better things of us.

In the early fighting of this summer the Germans did exactly what the Russians and most neutral experts expected. An attack on the central front, made by some thirty divisions, found the defenders well prepared, and the attack stalled in ten days. Its significant features were: the use of only a small proportion of the estimated 220 divisions on the eastern front; the lack of the surprise element or of any originality in its launching; the restriction of the attack to a 160-mile sector, in contrast to the 480-mile sector chosen for the summer campaign of 1942 and the entire 1800-mile line of a year earlier; and the Nazis' utter inability to make important gains.

Most significant was the instant Russian reaction. The launching of a strong attack on the day following Germany's abandonment of its own offensive could only mean that the Nazis had been repelled with such ease that large numbers of available Russian reserves had not been needed. If the prevention of a Russian offensive was one of the objectives of the German campaign, it didn't work. Instant gains of more than twenty miles in certain sectors about Orel do not indicate that the Russian capacity to launch a counter-attack was crippled in the slightest degree.

Of even greater importance was the fact that the fighting indicated the relative strength of the combatants. The Russians' winter victories of the first year of battle were due in part to weather conditions. The Stalingrad debacle and later German defeats were attributable very largely to what Churchill called "the military intuition of Corporal Hitler." But this summer the Germans had none of these excuses for losing. They were beaten in a sector in which they had deliberately chosen to concentrate their strength. The Russian victories at Orel, Belgorod, and Kharkov were their first clear-cut victories that cannot possibly be ascribed to special circumstances.

What has brought about such a change?

The Allied air campaign has certainly hastened the deterioration of German armed strength, especially in weapons. The Luftwaffe, in Russia as everywhere else, has been spread too thin. If neutral reports are at all reliable, the recruiting campaigns in satellite countries have failed to bring in real reinforcements, and the problem of adequate reserves is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, the tactical superiority of the Germans, which permitted victories even against superior numbers in the early days of the war, has now disappeared. Though they excel in the defensive art of using mines to delay pursuit, their attack pattern is but little better than in 1941. And the answers to the Blitzkrieg have long since been found.

It would be highly inaccurate to attribute the failure of the Germans entirely to their ebbing strength. Russian resistance has improved as well. The Soviets now have a marked superiority in aviation and artillery, and probably in many other elements. And tighter discipline, better leadership, and much improved tactics are enabling them to get more out of the material at hand. The Red Army "found itself" as an offensive force only as recently as November, 1942, but in the succeeding ten months improvement has been continuous. In the all-important factor of morale, the advantage also clearly rests with them.

In the war of attrition now going on in Russia, the extent of territory occupied is not a completely accurate measure of progress. Yet the Russians' gains have been important. Orel, Belgorod, Kharkov, and other bases which the Germans regarded as most important for an attack on Moscow, are all in Russian hands. Other strong points, such as Stalino, Bryansk, and Smolensk are heavily threatened, and, barring a bogging down caused by the heavy rains expected early in the fall, may well be captured in a matter of weeks, if not days. Large economic resources have not yet changed hands as a result of this offensive, but the important Donets basin is threatened with recapture following Russian gains farther north. A retirement to the Dnieper line, which the Germans were barely able to avoid last winter, is, therefore, entirely likely.

Since Soviet strategy has been concerned mainly with the destruction of enemy troops, only secondarily with territorial gains, progress can be measured more accurately in terms of casualties than in terms of miles. Here official figures are worthless. Had the Germans, for example, suffered the million casualties which the Soviets claim, they would have lost far more than the thirty divisions they originally used in the attack. Nevertheless, losses for both sides have clearly been heavy. By flanking operations to cut the communication lines of the main German centers, the Russians have managed to avoid some of the casualties attendant upon the type of frontal attack the Germans employed at Stalingrad. These more economical tactics, added to the fact that Nazi retreat has in places been hurried, probably mean that of the two sides the Germans have sustained the heavier losses. And they are the less able to replace them.

However, enemy reverses on the Russian front alone are not sufficient to bring victory to the United Nations in the near future. Nothing resembling a large-scale break-through has yet occurred. The German retreats have been orderly and accompanied by so much mine-planting that close pursuit has been almost impossible. The earth has been thoroughly scorched. And above all, the Germans are still so far within the borders of Russia that they can still retreat for some time without imperiling their own homeland. Furthermore, it will take considerable time for Russian transport facilities to catch up with a lengthy German retreat so that new attacks can be launched. Though the Red Army is today better than the *Wehrmacht,* its margin of superiority is not great enough to insure victory.

It is possible, of course, that the biggest military moves of 1943 have yet to be made. Neither side in Russia has employed more than a fraction of its strength this summer. In the case of Germany this hesitation to use up limited reserves is quite understandable. But the Russians' reasons are not quite so clear. The armies which administered major defeats to the Germans six months ago are largely intact and have been used very little in the present campaign. A further, and doubtless much stronger, series of Red Army offensives is therefore certain.

Russia's demand for an attack on the really important areas of continental Europe is quite understandable. The building of a large-scale American army started fully three years ago. For half that time we have maintained troops in Britain. Yet not more than half a dozen American divisions were engaged in either the Tunisian or the Sicilian campaign, despite the fact that our High Command has deliberately chosen to make Europe the site of its greatest efforts. This is a miserable showing for a nation of our power and resources, and the British record is no better. For the past two years the Russians have done at least 90 per cent of the land fighting of the United Nations.

Let us hope that the Quebec conference, in addition to considering ways and means of defeating Japan, has recast our European strategy in the direction of greater boldness. The policy of making cautious attacks around the periphery of Hitler's European conquests was wise at an earlier period of the war, but if continued today, when our growing military might makes more direct blows feasible, it will result simply in continued bad relations with our main ally, Russia, an unnecessary prolongation of the war, and disagreement at the peace table.

In the Wind

COMIC STRIPS are distributed to newspapers a month in advance of publication. The syndicate that handles "Little Orphan Annie" has instructed editors to destroy three weeks' instalments and await new strips to replace them. This expensive move was made without explanation, but editors believe it was caused by complaints from readers about the cartoon's constant sniping at everything the government does, especially at rationing and price control.

FRANK McALLISTER, secretary of the Southern Workers Defense League, reports after a trip to Arkansas that planters in that state are promising their share-croppers draft deferment if they sign contracts agreeing to stay where they are for at least five years. The planters get draft-deferment blanks in quantity from Selective Service Boards for this purpose. Share-croppers who refuse to sign contracts are evicted.

EXPERIMENT: The *Tar Heel,* student newspaper of the University of North Carolina, announces that President Frank Graham's secretary has taken a year's leave of absence to teach English at the University of Hawaii. It observes in passing that "the university [of Hawaii] is open to any person regardless of race, creed, or color, which is in itself an interesting experiment in democracy."

HITLER'S first victim was the German language. Houghton Mifflin has scheduled for publication this month a new translation of "Mein Kampf," which is said to be faithful to the great man's unique grammar.

DISTILLERS whose plants are now producing alcohol for war purposes may soon be given a brief "liquor-making holiday," says *Tide,* in order to replenish dwindling stocks.

LIFE is preparing an article on Ely Culbertson's World Federation Plan.

J. B. PRIESTLEY'S liberal commentaries for the British Broadcasting Company's Home Front program are so popular, says a columnist in the *New Statesman and Nation,* that Noel Coward has been set up as a counter-attraction. Coward ended his first program with a song that "made bitter fun of all anti-Nazi ideas."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Czech Quislings are receiving packages containing pieces of rope and the message, "This is a sample of the rope with which you will soon be hanged." . . . A Nazi newspaper in Belgium complains, "Everything wrong is the fault of the Germans. Never have the ties between the synagogue, the Masonic lodge, the Catholic church, and the GPU been as strong as now."

[The $5 prize for the best item received in August goes to Victor Riesel for his information about the forthcoming campaign of the Christian American Association for "Right-to-Work" amendments, published August 28.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Fascism in the Balkans

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

THE downfall of fascism in Italy has provoked repercussions throughout the Balkans—and particularly in Croatia. The abandonment of the Croatian throne by the Duke of Spoleto, the Savoy usurper, is the latest indication that the entire system of Italian domination has collapsed. The Germans have taken over the so-called "independent state" and transformed it into a republic.

In the early part of 1940, the establishment of the puppet state of Croatia was arranged between Mussolini and the Yugoslav fascist Ante Pavelich, in the presence of Count Ciano, while at the same time Mussolini was giving the Yugoslav government convincing assurance that its territorial integrity and neutrality would be respected. (Pavelich and his henchmen had been guests of the Fascist government in Italy since 1929.) On April 10, 1941, following the military collapse of Yugoslavia, the Ustasha leader Kvaternik proclaimed Croatia independent; and on April 13, Pavelich, announcing himself as *Poglavnik*, or Führer, appeared in Zagreb. On April 15, both Italy and Germany recognized the Independent State of Croatia, although its frontiers had not yet been established. On April 17, Pavelich dissolved all political parties and organized a government with every characteristic of an Italian vassal.

Other satellites immediately recognized their new colleague. Among the neutral states, the *Caudillo's* Spain hailed the new government as "Ustashi-Catholic-Moslem," and the Vatican, although it reserved its official blessing, received the Duke of Spoleto, Pavelich, and Ustashi delegates in private audience. Pavelich and Mussolini signed an agreement obliging Italy to guarantee the "independence" and integrity of the new kingdom for the next twenty-five years. Germany was to reap the economic fruits of the country, and it made sure of political influence by garrisoning the large cities and establishing Gestapo control over civilian life. A permanent economic mission under the leadership of Count Volpi di Misurata, an elderly Italian financial expert, was established for the exploitation of Croat products. With the definition of its frontiers, Croatia lost most of its important territories, including its entire Adriatic coastline, and it was obliged to pay the Italian government 125,000,000 liras a month for the expenses of occupation. Croatia had become part of the "New European Order."

The Ustasha movement is Fascist-Catholic in complexion, and was created and developed on Italian territory for the express purpose of dismembering Yugoslavia. Its doctrine is linked with the thesis that the Croatians are of Gothic origin and therefore unrelated to other southern Slavs. Its political philosophy is based upon that of Josua Frank, which has always served as an instrument of Austro-Germanism and which was inspired by hatred of the Serbs. By restoring the Croat crown and *Sabor* (parliament) of the Middle Ages Pavelich perverted the traditions of Croatia for his own totalitarian purposes. He himself admitted that the Ustasha organization was "profaned by the worst elements." "Do not be surprised," he said, "if sometimes the most horrible crimes are committed on behalf of the Ustasha movement." He referred to the massacres committed by his Ustashi on the innocent Serb and Jewish populations and on the Croatians who remained faithful to the ideal of a united Yugoslavia and to the democratic Peasant Party established some thirty years ago by Stefan Radich. Reports from Croatia estimate that about 300,000 Serbs were sacrificed by Ustashi leaders to deepen the abyss between Serbs and Croats.

Following Franco's example of giving his "empire" a combined Catholic-Moslem character, Pavelich drew from fanatical Moslem peasants his best recruits for Ustashi terrorist bands, for the Croatian legion sent to Russia, and for the Croatian SS divisions organized to fight the partisan forces. To satisfy the Moslems, Pavelich even thought of transferring the capital of Croatia to Banja-Luka in Bosnia, the center of the Moslem population. Instead, he transformed the seat of the Academy of Arts in Zagreb into a mosque.

At the beginning of the German attack on Russia, Germany requested that Croatian units be sent to the eastern front. The Croatians consistently refused to go, although their only alternative was to be sent to Bosnia to fight the partisans. An extensive report on the recruitment of Croatians for the eastern front was given by the Moscow newspaper *Pravda* in October, 1942. This report stated: "Having received Hitler's orders to create a division for fighting on the eastern front, the arch-bandit Pavelich set to work. In Zagreb, huge posters were set up at all street corners giving information regarding the enlistment of volunteers for the legion. Glorious promises were made and attractive inducements offered every volunteer. 'Your family will receive 3,000 *kunas* a month (200 German marks), the best of food,

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superior living quarters, ten hectares of land, horses and equipment. Convicts or those on trial will also be accepted and will receive a full pardon,' proclaimed these placards."

Pavelich recruited "volunteers" by sending Ustashi all over the country. Fifty people were taken one night in Sanski Most alone. They were told to sign up as volunteers. When they refused, most of them were shot. A Croatian who did go to the front—a Private Blaskovich—received a letter from his wife which we quote as it was published in Russia: "I am starving. Prices are fantastic and still rising. Meat, sugar, flour, salt, fruit, grapes—all have been taken to Germany. They have taken the cows and pigs. We receive only fifteen kilograms of flour per month for six people. What am I to eat? I don't know. I pray to God for all of us." And a Colonel Markulj wrote: "We have been deceived. The Germans treat us like swine. Our families have been robbed and are starving." Early this spring Pavelich had to withdraw his troops from Russia in order to use them on the home front.

Popular resistance started with a boycott of towns and cities by the peasantry, with local revolts in the cities, with sabotage and destruction of bridges and railroad lines, and with attacks upon Italian and German soldiers. Separate guerrilla units scattered over the country became united in the course of time into the Army of National Liberation. Entire regions such as Bosnia, Herzegovina, Lika, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and the Croat Littoral were taken by guerrilla forces and held for various lengths of time. In some instances, the guerrillas introduced their own administration and exercised control over transportation. "We are going through very serious days," admitted the puppet Minister of the Interior. "In Croatia, partisans are burning villages as well as factories. Underground activity is growing among the people. In the army all has not been well, and steps have had to be taken."

According to both Serb and Croat reports, 80 per cent of the Croatian masses have remained faithful to the Allied cause and to Machek, the great popular leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, while only 10 per cent of the people have become followers of Pavelich. When Pavelich appointed his parliament, forty-four of those chosen refused to participate. A member by the name of Ljubicich made this statement on behalf of his colleagues: "Only terror forced us to come here, and we came because we feared for our lives. We protest against the present situation in the country, against the arrest of Machek, and against the choice of the Duke of Spoleto as King of Croatia." "It is clear," the Ustasha chief Scholz stated over the radio, "that this is not a civil war in Croatia, but a part of the world war. That fact entitles us to expect help from our allies."

The Italian experiment in Croatia resulted in a complete breakdown of the Ustashi and the forces of occupation. "Croatia is an ulcer in Italy's side, like the former Yugoslav minority in Italy," concluded the Swedish paper *Arbetaren.* "Italian losses in the partisan war are immense, though the Gestapo and the Ustashi both took part in the hopeless task of pacification."

A confidential report from Croatia described the "complete disintegration" of the Ustasha régime. "The Ustashi have no authority. They maintain themselves by Gestapo methods, and with the aid of German and Italian armies, whose numbers are increasing daily in both Zagreb and the country districts. The valley of the Drave River, hitherto the most passive district in Croatia, is now aflame with revolt—to such an extent that from Virovititsa to Krizhevtai (an area equal to an American county) there are only two gendarmerie stations still standing."

German domination finally supplanted Italian. Mile Budak, rival of Pavelich and a reliable German tool, returned from Berlin to become Foreign Minister of the reorganized government. In the spring of 1943 the Ustasha militia was put under German command, and the movement was officially disbanded. The Hamburg *Fremdenblatt* reported that reorganization of the government was necessary "in order to eliminate the danger of dualism and mutual competition among ruling factions." The Berlin *Lokalanzeiger* stated on May 12 that all Ustashi officials had been dismissed by Pavelich, and added that this was not sensational since "there are many men among the Ustashi who bear the uniform, name, and honor of the movement but do not contribute actively to it. It is the wish of the *Poglavnik,* for the sake of the future, that there be fewer officials and more workers."

The peasant philosophy of the Croatian people seeks the rebirth of a Yugoslav commonwealth based upon democratic federalism. Constant reports from Croatia record demands of the people for a clear and precise statement of a federal democracy that will guarantee full political and social equality to Croatians, Serbs, and Slovenes in the post-war world. Meanwhile, the people are fighting. They are ready to open the gateway of the Balkans to the Allied armies of liberation when the signal is given.

There is a famous old Croatian. His name is Vladimir Nazor, and he is the best-loved poet of Yugoslavia—the translator of Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Victor Hugo. Pavelich offered him membership in the Academy and Nazor refused. Then one day he disappeared from Zagreb. Some time later, these words echoed from the mountains of Dalmatia: "Let the people of Dalmatia and of the coastal islands rise up as one man. Let us help Slavism. Let us sing the glory of Croatia. Let us maintain our honor and our countenance, and when we are crowned with victory we shall look with pride at our past suffering and torments. Be neither slaves nor heroes, but merely men." The prophetic voice of Nazor resounds through the devastated lands of Dalmatia and Croatia, where the rebellious spirit of the people has never bowed to the Italian or German invader.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

"AIR TERROR is our greatest worry," wrote Dr. Otto Kriegk, one of the most official of official Nazi columnists, in the Berlin *Nachtausgabe* on August 14. "If we endure the air war, we have won. Destiny requires this test of us." And Goebbels said in a speech August 17, "Aerial warfare is at present our greatest problem."

The seriousness of the problem is clearly shown by stories that appear in German newspapers. Consider, for example, the garbage situation in Essen. It shows that some effects of air raids are not relieved by time, but rather grow worse. On August 4, many weeks after the latest bombing of Essen, the *National-Zeitung* expressed grave alarm over the fact that garbage collection in the city had practically ceased. The administration of Essen's public services seems to have broken down completely. For a while trucks and teams from other cities helped out, but they were later recalled. As a result, householders now throw their "perishable refuse into the ruins of houses or into the streets," and piles of garbage are rising all over the city, "which during the present hot days cause an extremely bad odor and also bring about an increase in rats, mice, and fleas—a menace to public health which cannot be underrated."

The psychological effects of air raids were shown on July 31 by the Hamburg *Zeitung*—an emergency newspaper published jointly by the three large Hamburg papers, all of whose plants have been wrecked. The usual attitudes toward the war, according to its editorials, no longer exist in Hamburg. "Our feelings are now strongly subjective. No one could have imagined such catastrophe. . . . The fact that our nerves were not strong enough during these attacks is understandable. The measure of what human nature can endure was often exceeded." Only hatred and recriminations remain. "There is silly gossip about the *Reichsmarschall* [Göring]. Such rumors must be opposed by military measures," said the *National-Zeitung* of Bochum on August 11. And a Swedish correspondent who left Hamburg on August 13 wrote in the *Svenska Morgonpost:* "The bitterness of the people is turned against the Nazi government, which is held responsible for the unspeakable misery they are suffering. The general feeling is that Hitler started the war but the British have taken it over."

Can it be fear of spreading this state of mind that has caused the authorities to throw the evacuation of the city into reverse? Whatever the reason, in all parts of Germany efforts are being made to get the Hamburg refugees back home as soon as possible. On August 11 all north German newspapers published a notice which began as follows: "Hamburgers who have left home, do not forget that every able-bodied person is needed for the reconstruction of Hamburg. Return immediately! Register at your places of employment! Your return serves not only your community but also your own interests." But those who return voluntarily are so few that compulsion is also resorted to. The organized evacuation is being followed by organized "re-evacuation"—a new word, though an inept one, and a new field for the German genius for organization.

At the beginning of August, as has already been mentioned here, ration books for textile products were annulled throughout Germany. The decree ordered that household linen and clothing of all kinds could be bought only by air-raid victims, not by the general public. On August 14 a new and more far-reaching decree ordered all textile factories to close for six weeks. The decree covers all clothing and household linen. No explanation was given. It would be hard to find another shortage of raw materials so severe.

In this connection the destruction of factories in air raids is mentioned for the first time. Though armament factories, according to official accounts, are never bombed, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on August 8 spoke for the first time of the destruction of factories producing consumers' goods, "resulting in further restrictions of the standard of living. This direct effect of the war on civilian supplies is something entirely new in the history of our people. It is added to the indirect effects of maximum production of armaments at the expense of civilian production."

Fertilizer is incomparably more important for the intensive agriculture of Germany than for the relatively extensive agriculture of America. By far the most important of the German fertilizers are the nitrogenous ones; next in importance are the phosphates. At the end of July the *Reichsstelle Chemie* informed farmers that next year they will receive only 60 per cent as much nitrogenous fertilizer as this year—and the supply this year was only 85 per cent of what it was before the war. This means that in the coming year Germany's soil will get only 51 per cent of its normal supply of nitrogenous fertilizers. As for the phosphates, continued the announcement, the farmers had better not count on getting any, as the chief source was lost with Algeria and Tunisia. That being the case, the outlook for Germany's harvest in 1944 is darker than it has been in any previous year.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Real Spain

THE SPANISH LABYRINTH. By Gerald Brenan. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

MR. BRENAN'S long-awaited book is all that one had hoped it would be. It is an absolutely essential work, not only for the general reader but for the specialist in Spanish political history. There is, for example, no comparable account of Spanish anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism in English. The author's two chapters on this subject, as judicious and sympathetic a condensation as could be made, should set right some of the most important misconceptions about the Spanish civil war. But this is not the only excellence. The author's brief but illuminating review of the agrarian problem will serve to remind doctrinaires of all schools that this problem, the basis of all others in Spain, can receive no uniform solution. For the rest, the book finds its way through the incredibly complex conflicts of Spanish history from the Restoration of 1874 to 1936 with a quite remarkable sure-footedness and objectivity.

Mr. Brenan confines his treatment of the civil war and of the immediately preceding crisis to the last two chapters of his book. Some of the statements he makes demand rebuttal. Negrín did not issue the Thirteen Points "with a view to creating a movement favorable to reconciliation." Toward the end of 1938 Russia certainly decreased her aid to Spain but did not entirely withdraw it, as Mr. Brenan says.

Inadequate as Mr. Brenan admits they are, however, these two chapters throw much light upon the true nature of the tragic dilemma of Spain during the war. Even before the February, 1936, government announced it would attempt to solve the land problem, the Catholic Ceda Party, Austro-fascist in intention but almost German in its insolent temper, had determined to abolish parliament. After the February elections, however, the reactionaries began to plan their revolt in earnest.

Mr. Brenan is wrong, I think, in supposing that the Prieto policy of moderation, as opposed to Caballero's militancy, would have placated the Ceda. His mistake shows his inability to reach a clear understanding of the Spanish war-time dilemma. The leaders of the right wanted a counter-revolutionary insurrection which, they knew, would destroy the state apparatus and so make unavoidable a revolutionary defense of the Republic. The tragedy of Spain was that her people were thus forced to make a revolution in a counter-revolutionary world. The hostile set of the world then necessitated a sharp rightward swing if the Republic was to have any chance of surviving the Axis assault which soon developed. And that in turn produced a colossal political and psychological problem.

Mr. Brenan, who understands that the revolutionary answer to Franco was the only one immediately possible, is also aware that a rightward swing was inescapable. He knows why the Spanish Communist Party came to be the major check to the revolution. "A revolution would have alienated the democracies whom Stalin was courting at the time," he writes on page 307. But he knows also that it was not only the Russian necessity which was the cause of that turn to the right. In criticizing Caballero's leadership of the Socialist Party during the early months of 1936, he writes: "He therefore lacked a wide political view; otherwise he would have seen that the disposition of forces in Europe—to consider nothing else—would never tolerate the dictatorship of the working classes in Spain." And the author agrees that Stalin's famous September, 1936, letter to Caballero, urging a rightward move, contained sound advice.

But while the author sees that the revolutionary answer was inevitable, he shows little grasp of the profound spiritual tragedy that the necessary rightward swing involved. The accomplishments, the facts of the July-August days generated a vast tide of revolutionary exaltation in the workers, so that they necessarily felt themselves betrayed by the rightward swerve. It was that sense of betrayal, of despair, grief, and impotent rage which caused the misguided rising in anarcho-syndicalist Barcelona in May, 1937. And it was the foreseen defeat of that rising which facilitated the long-dreamed-of political maneuver which forced the left Socialists and the vast C. N. T. [the anarcho-syndicalist trade unions of Catalonia] out of the government. The right-wing swerve was absolutely necessary, but it was burdened with the tragic consequence that the bulk of the real working class of Catalonia thereafter never pulled its weight. The Communist Party, the old-time core of which, alone among those supporting Negrín, had the organizational skill, the discipline, the courage, and the unbreakable will to resist Franco, inevitably became the party of the propertied peasants, the shopkeepers, the small industrialists, the white-collar workers, and the petty bourgeoisie in general, ranged in Catalonia against the revolutionary masses of the working class.

It is not a fact to be set down with bitterness against anyone, nor does it of itself constitute valid criticism of the Communists. Yet there is no understanding of the Spanish tragedy if this truth is ignored. From it all the embitterments and all the sordid factional fights were born.

While he was yet in Madrid it seemed to this reviewer that the right-wing turn had started a strange race against time. The splendid creation of the Communists, the regular army, for a while offset the dissension and the loss of spirit which were slowly canceling out the new military efficiency. The question was always whether the European peoples would awaken to what was happening before Spain was either overwhelmed or fell apart. They did not awaken. Then, when the bourgeois Republicans and the right-wing Socialists (the only allies of the Communists) became utterly defeatist, the Communists were *in reality* left face to face with Franco. When the traitor Casado rose to surrender Spain into fascist hands, the Communist Party was thus the only force left to obey the Negrín directives. The regiments it controlled were called upon to overthrow Casado, but only the hard core of their forces held and these were shattered by the furious attack of the C. N. T. division of Cipriano Mera. The logic of world reaction had worked itself out.

Much of this process is visible in Mr. Brenan's account. In a forthcoming second volume, one hopes, he will serve us as well as he has in this, for what I have said in criticism should not be held against an altogether exceptional book, for which I have the warmest admiration.

RALPH BATES

A Mature Poet

NO BOUNDARY. By Lenore G. Marshall. Henry Holt and Company. $1.75.

LENORE MARSHALL'S two novels revealed a poet's sensibility, but the present book is the first collection of her verse. It bears none of the earmarks of a first volume of poems. She has waited to publish them in book form, with a wisdom that is everywhere apparent in her work, until she was assured that she had attained her full stature as a poet. What she offers us, then, is the result of mature feeling, long meditation, and patient craftsmanship. Most of the early lyrics printed here are worthy to stand beside the more recent inclusions, although one perceives a sure growth.

Naturally, not all the pieces are on the same high level. Alive to the ugly realities of our time, the poet is not always equal to dealing with them. What one might call the "social" poetry tends to overstatement or sentimentality, and sometimes to a prosiness that defeats its own purpose. There are a few facile pieces on themes that other lyricists have handled with a more masculine austerity and power. But even the slighter things show a true lyric gift; even the few awkward passages display a responsiveness to our contemporary predicament.

The book as a whole is distinguished by a nice perceptiveness. It shows, as one might expect, an appreciation of the many small beauties of living: the cricket's "chirp of light lament," the "mannered courtliness" of patrician horses galloping beside the sea, the rag wagon like a flower cart in the city, the "mobile porcelain waters" of a lake, the changing light and the altering seasons, the exciting variety of creatures and landscapes and interiors that enrich "this contemptible sweet planet." But beyond these, the book exhibits a rare sensitiveness to the more subtle motions of the mind. Not for nothing does the word "frail" recur on the pages, sometimes companioned by another adjective that seems to deny its validity, as where the poet records a "frail, eternal" beetle seen crawling in the sand of prehistoric caves, or the "frail giant towers" of the metropolis. She is steadily conscious of the confusions that surround and ambush us, and more especially of the paradoxes implicit in human relationships. These are explored with a courage that makes for penetrating insights. She understands the fluent nature of experience and yet is keenly sensible of those values that persist beyond our capacity to fix them. This double awareness is particularly clear in the title poem, which, like several other fine things, places Mrs. Marshall as a descendant of the metaphysicals. There is more tenderness than intensity in her poetry, but her best work has the searching, luminous quality that one associates with this school.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

Our "Forgotten Men"

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN. By Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

WE AMERICANS have shouldered the white man's burden all too lightly; in fact it is doubtful whether we have been shouldering it at all, or merely dragging it at our heels, and wondering what is kicking up all the dust about our ankles. Long after our elder brothers in imperialism had begun to see their duty to the "native" as something more than providing razors for hairless chins, we were still unaware of the plight to which white domination and Western industrialism had reduced the various dark races who live under our flag. The early months of the war in the Pacific brought us to a tardy realization of our imperial responsibilities, and of our dependence on forgotten "native" populations. But how many of us are aware of the plight of the colored peoples, apart from the Negro, who live in the continental United States? To most Americans the race problem means only the Negro problem, and few even know that the term "colored people" applies to any races other than the Negro.

Mr. McWilliams's book presents a study of eight colored minorities in this country, eight isolated islands of underprivileged people, economically exploited, socially restricted, culturally maladjusted. They are: Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Filipinos, Hawaiians, and of course Negroes—all within the continental United States. All but the Indians have been brought here by special interests that needed a coolie class, and once here they have never been permitted to become an integral part of our culture, or to share in the material benefits of an expanding economy or in the "inalienable rights" with which the Creator has supposedly endowed all men. Their health, their social and economic status, and their educational opportunities are far below the average which this country has to offer, poor as that average is in comparison with what it might be.

The unique contribution of this volume is Mr. McWilliams's study of the six immigrant groups: the Chinese and Japanese from the Orient, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans from Latin America, and the Filipinos and Hawaiians from the Pacific. These groups are the literally forgotten men of our democracy. They are the victims, not only of deliberate exploitation and organized prejudice in the communities where they are concentrated, but also of the indifference and ignorance of the overwhelming majority, who are hardly aware of their existence. How many Americans, for instance, know that Filipinos cannot become American citizens? How many know that there are about three and a half million Mexicans in the United States, some of them entirely Spanish-speaking even in the second and third generation, with only the most tenuous links with the American culture in the midst of which they are marooned? How many of us outside of the Pacific states have ever really cared about excluding the Chinese? These people are marooned or excluded, not by the will of the majority, but by its apathy. Mr. McWilliams shows, for instance, that most of the anti-Chinese measures were passed by Congress on the eve of national elections, when both parties were angling for the California vote, and neither had anything to lose in the other states by supporting them. The rest of us were willing to let California have her way with what was tacitly assumed to be her own problem.

It is of course a shock to be reminded that this has been regarded for half a century as California's problem. Today the significance of these six immigrant minorities, and of their treatment at our hands, is international. In America they are forgotten men, but in Mexico and China and Hawaii and the Philippines they are remembered. And we are remembered there for our discrimination against them, and for the underlying master-race consciousness which it bespeaks. What a weapon to put into the hands of the Axis agents in these countries! And, as Mr. McWilliams points out, what a weapon we thus placed in the hands of the militarist party in Japan decades ago! We have reaped the whirlwind without even knowing that we had sown the wind.

Mr. McWilliams has assembled an enormous body of data from reliable studies which have been made of these people, and of course he brings to it his own first-hand knowledge of many of them. His material on the Negro is largely historical, tracing the change in public opinion on this question from the Civil War to the present time, when the contribution of anthropologists and sociologists has ripened and should serve as the basis of an affirmative policy of racial understanding and cultural adjustment. It is somewhat confusing, however, to find the bulk of the study devoted to the non-Negro colored peoples, while the program for action is presented almost exclusively in the light of the Negro problem. To be sure, Mr. McWilliams has established his thesis that the race problem must be attacked as a whole, and that any piecemeal solution in terms of individual groups is doomed to failure. But he ought to have indicated more explicitly and more frequently whither he is leading the reader. One wishes, too, that he had straightened the twists in the path and smoothed out the bumps in his prose. Yet these shortcomings will blind nobody to the fact that he is taking us over territory of primary strategic importance.

BETSY HUTCHISON

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The Losers

THEY ALSO RAN: THE STORY OF THE MEN WHO WERE DEFEATED FOR THE PRESIDENCY. By Irving Stone. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

SINCE 1824, nineteen men in the United States have had one thing in common. They ran for the Presidency on the tickets of the main political parties and were defeated. What kind of President would each have made? What were their backgrounds, their characteristics, their beliefs? What kind of men were they? Would the country have fared better had they been elected instead of their opponents?

Irving Stone in his usual colorful and zestful style, backed by competent scholarship, has attempted to answer these questions. Using the biographical method, Mr. Stone sketches the life story of each of these men. These biographical sketches are not exhaustive, but they are sufficiently informative to give the reader a rounded and understandable picture of each candidate. In addition, Stone has written detailed accounts of each election campaign and, although one campaign is pretty much like another, the author has managed to dust off the oblivion that coated these old battles so that they sparkle anew.

According to Mr. Stone, the electorate picked the better candidate eight times, the wrong candidate eight times; in the other three instances it wouldn't have mattered which candidate was elected.

Stone thinks that the United States would have benefited had Seymour, Cass, Hancock, Scott, Greeley, Cox, Fremont, and Davis been elected, but that the electorate was correct in rejecting Clay, Bryan, Douglas, Blaine, McClellan, Landon, Hayes (Tilden was actually elected), and Willkie. In the Parker-Roosevelt, Hughes-Wilson, and Smith-Hoover elections, either candidate was suitable.

Mr. Stone's appraisals are the interpretations of a liberal. If you accept all or most of them, the conclusion is inevitable that thus far democracy has barely proved itself. In casting around for reasons for this state of affairs, Mr. Stone finds:

> Throughout this story it has been evident that party lines have proven stronger than independent judgment; countless crimes against the welfare of the country and the best interests of the people have been committed in the name of partisanship. Popular government is thus faced with a dilemma: a two-party system is necessary to the functioning of a democracy, yet out of the two-party system has arisen a majority of the political ills of the nation. No political sulpha-drugs have been evolved which could eradicate these election diseases.

In the light of what is going on in the United States today, Mr. Stone's book has a particular relevancy. The elections of 1942, the actions of Congress, black markets, the race riots are an all-too-familiar pattern of American history. A pattern you will better understand after reading "They Also Ran."

GEORGE JOEL

Fiction in Review

ALTHOUGH it is usually as meaningless to separate the style of a novel from its story as to separate the way an artist lays his paint on canvas from the content of his picture, Enrique Amorim's "The Horse and His Shadow" (Scribner's, $2.50) is one instance in which the division must be made. The cheap, muddy prose of this Uruguayan novel stands like a wall between the reader and a truly powerful novelistic conception. Of course Mr. Amorim wrote his book in Spanish and it would be easy to blame the bad prose on his translators—except that there is sufficient proof that the translation is faithful and that Mr. Amorim himself fancies his stylistic mannerisms. There is his habit of verbless sentences, whole paragraphs of them. There is his device of delaying a necessary explanation: for instance, when a blind character is introduced, we are in his company for fifteen pages before we are told of his affliction. There is even the trick—or perhaps it is no trick, but simply failure—of skipping explanation entirely: what is the role, for example, of the well-driller, Hoffman, in this novel? Even after we begin to catch on to, and are caught by, Mr. Amorim's story, we must reconcile ourselves to puzzlement and irritation.

Like most good South American fiction I have read, "The Horse and His Shadow" is a revolutionary novel but unlike the revolutionary fiction of our own country, it is subtle, fluid, based deep in the drama of human relationships. The action moves between the *estancia* of Nico Azara, outside Montevideo, and the community of Polish refugees and poor natives who live on the fringes of Nico's lands; on the *estancia* itself there is every shade of political opinion. In addition to the peons at the one extreme, and the arrogant Nico at the other, there is Adelita, Nico's wife, an aristocrat of decent liberal opinions; there is Bica, her servant but also her illegitimate half-sister, who lives in lonely severity among the men ranchers; there is Marcelo, Nico's brother, sought by the government for his part in smuggling refugees into Uruguay. Mr. Amorim, however, measures neither the decency and courage nor the weakness of these people by the familiar yardstick of their social-political views. If it is Marcelo who brings to the *estancia* the gift of the stallion, Don Juan, symbol of life-creating powers, and Marcelo who gives the stricken family of refugees permission to cross his brother's lands, it is also Marcelo who seduces Bica and then calmly goes on his way, leaving her pregnant. Again, Nico is the dark force of reaction in the book who, by refusing his neighbors access to the road across his fields, precipitates the tragedy with which the book ends; but the stallion knows Nico for his master, and in the duel in which Nico loses his life, the horse allows his body to be used as a barricade by his owner; Nico's death itself, for that matter, is a display of the kind of heroism which fiction likes to reserve for

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—Stanley Edgar Hyman, *Chicago Sun.*

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heroes. Even the poor people in Mr. Amorim's novel, the gauchos and the struggling refugees, are shown quite naked of grandeur in an amazing scene in which two of their number steal the services of Don Juan for a broken-down mare. What Mr. Amorim is saying is what is too seldom said in fiction these days, that it is from the new and the old, from the mixture of good and evil, of the progressive and the retarding, that society must advance, and he says it in the only way fruitful for the novelist—by drama and even by melodrama.

It is of course dangerous to use the larger animals symbolically in fiction: one slip and the whole business becomes laughable. But unlike the stallion, say, in D. H. Lawrence's "St. Mawr," the horse whose shadow is so pervasive in Mr. Amorim's novel is never absurd because it is not only a sexual symbol but also an economic symbol, indeed an economic fact. This play between symbolisms and between symbol and reality strikes me as a fine complication in a novel of revolution. It almost makes us forgive Mr. Amorim's wretched writing.

By now you will have been assailed by the avalanche of advertising extolling the virtues of Betty Smith's "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" (Harper, $2.75). I am a little bewildered by so much response to so conventional a little book. Like the heroine of her first novel, Miss Smith was born and raised in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, but even without knowing this fact we could guess that the story was autobiographical. Women authors, especially, always regard their own childhoods as if the process of growing up were an experience reserved for people who will one day have the sensibility to write a book about it, and Miss Smith even falls into the common error of forgetting that it takes time to learn the language of literary sensibility: at sixteen, even at eleven, her Francie Nolan thinks with the mind of the mature Betty Smith. I quote at random: "She began to understand that her life might seem revolting to some educated people. She wondered, when she got educated, whether she'd be ashamed of her background. Would she be ashamed of her people; ashamed of handsome papa who had been so light-hearted, kind, and understanding; ashamed of brave and truthful mama, who was so proud of her own mother, even though granma couldn't read or write; ashamed of Neely, who was such a good, honest boy? No! No! If being educated would make her ashamed of what she was, then she wanted none of it." Well, I submit that these are neither the thoughts nor the words of an adolescent girl, but the thoughts and words of a mature person creating a "literary" image of herself as an adolescent girl.

Because Francie Nolan is very poor, Irish, a Catholic, and I suppose because a member of her family drinks, I have seen "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" compared to the novels of James Farrell, and all to the credit of Miss Smith's novel. This makes me very sad both for the condition of fiction reviewing and for Mr. Farrell, whatever his faults as a novelist of stature. Of course Francie Nolan's story is more cheerful than Danny O'Neill's and a more popular commodity, but surely popular taste should be allowed to find its emotional level without being encouraged to believe that a "heart-warming" experience is a serious literary experience.

DIANA TRILLING

IN BRIEF

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Dwight Lowell Dumond. Henry Holt and Company. $5.

This general introduction to our history extends from the beginnings of English colonization to Pearl Harbor. Professor Dumond dedicates his book to "the young men and women who may be troubled by the present strange ways of the world about them, for I am confident that they will find some peace of mind from the perusal of its pages." His volume is an addition to the growing number of textbooks which are concerned with bringing American history closer to the student and reader. For example, the colonial period is not unduly expanded, although its high points are covered. On the other hand, modern times are given the attention they warrant. Professor Dumond is an authority on the slavery question, and his chapters on the pre-Civil War decades are particularly notable for their detail and analyses. The volume contains a group of interesting reproductions of eighteenth-century maps.

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS. By Walter Sulzbach. American Council on Public Affairs. $3.

What is time? "If you don't ask me I know it, if you do, I don't." This was St. Augustine's answer to the question. A similar answer could be given to the question: What is a nation? Is it the homeland, the race, the language, the tradition, which creates the consciousness of unity? Professor Sulzbach's analysis of all these questions is based on a thorough knowledge of the vast literature dealing with the most dangerous of all current problems. He hopes that after this war it will be possible to sublimate the fighting impulse and to ridicule the ideology of nationalism in the same way as Cervantes's Don Quixote gave the death blow to the romanticism of medieval knighthood. Professor Sulzbach's book is well written and worth reading, but he seems to underestimate the economic forces behind nationalism. And although nationalism has become "a secular religion," in view of recent events we cannot subscribe to the author's statement that "the Pope's influence is so unimportant in international affairs that modern history can almost ignore it." The Washington-Madrid-Rome-Axis is not good evidence for this opinion.

FILMS

SEEING Ernst Lubitsch's "Heaven Can Wait" was a little like hearing Louis Armstrong play at his present best. It brought back a time when people really made good movies: it was so good I half believed Lubitsch could still do as well as the best he ever did, if he had half a chance.

"Heaven Can Wait" is not up to his best; nothing has been, for nearly twenty years. Its real matrix, for that matter, is the sort of smirking, "civilized," Central European puff paste with which the Theater Guild used to claim to bring vitality to the American stage. But it looks like a jewel against the wood-silk and cellophane which passes for a moving picture now that Hollywood has come of age. It has few of the jaw-breaking Lubitsch touches which at last I got tired of years ago and a lot of the gentler ones which, ham or not, I shall always like, and it has a good deal of the dry sparkle, the shrewd business, and the exquisite timing which made pictures like "Forbidden Paradise" and "Three Women" some of the best non-major jobs ever done. The sets, costumes, and props are something for history. I have to speak of it with less authority than intuition, but I thought the period work, in these respects—as in Lubitsch's modulations in styles of posture and movement—was about the prettiest and the most quietly witty I had ever seen. The color was just as good; it was used with sensitiveness and wit, I thought, for the first time. The script was hardly less accomplished, a beautifully set mosaic of kidded clichés. I saw nothing but good, anywhere, in the doll-like selection, manipulation, and performance of the large cast. That does not surprise me in people like Charles Coburn and Louis Calhern and Laird Cregar, but when you find it also in Don Ameche and Gene Tierney, amazed tribute is due somebody. It is certainly due Lubitsch; and (another superlative is unavoidable) it is due the most resourceful make-up job I have ever seen; and finally (I can still hardly believe it) it is due Mr. Ameche and Miss Tierney.

Good sets and props have done a lot for still another picture this month; excellent lighting, good camera work, and unusually good bit-casting have added so much edge and vitality that "The Fallen Sparrow" passes among many people for the almost-Hitchcock spy melodrama it certainly is not. Otherwise, the show is no harm and no special good; about the speed of second-best Pocket Book mysteries. Someone should tell Maureen O'Hara that if she is pretending to be a granddaughter of a French prince, she should leave off aiding China long enough to avoid calling him "France Wah." I have heard mild pleasure expressed over the fact that in this film the hero comes right out and says he fought the fascists in Spain. That seems to me to be now the strict equivalent of coming right out and saying that you were with Lee in Virginia. I should add that Mr. Garfield is required to explain that he has come of melodramatic age only since the outbreak of the World War (which set in, I understand, in 1939), and went to Spain merely as an eyedillist, doing what any kid would do.

Diana Trilling, writing about "Claudia" in book form, has said everything about her that so badly needed saying. Of the film version I can add only that it is very much worth seeing if you have a healthy mind and a sound stomach. What you see is a rather shrewdly lighted demonstration, on the part of a baby wife, an anthropophagous mother, and a gosh-all-friday husband, of their fetal, and nationally archetypical, incompetence to live; so presented that the audience, in a grand passion of self-recognition, cackles with delight. I cannot believe that this is good for the audience. A comic catharsis is as possible as a tragic and is, I suspect, more beneficent as well as more true (I still wait for an adequate comic treatment of "Hamlet" or "Lear"). But those aspects of "Claudia" which make it funny (to some) and the powder-puff gags which point it up, to say nothing of the processes of self-dethronement which must be shanghaied into service if one is to laugh at it, or pass it off, are not possible of catharsis, which is possible only to the pure in heart, the fearless; the whole business is, rather, auto-intoxication of the most sinister and endemic sort. There could be, and usually are, more thunderous diagnostic epitaphs upon dead civilizations, but when this one gets its turn, one that will do as well as any other ("Honesty is the best policy," "A boy's best friend is his mother," "I've got my living to make," "I got my orders," "Do you love me?" "How do you feel?" and "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance" are other apt candidates) is "Grin and bear it."

As Robert Stebbins wrote several years ago, Fred Astaire has a lot, besides his Mozartian abilities as a tap-dancer,

BURLINGAME

which is as great, in its own way, as the best of Chaplin. It is in the walk, the stance, the face, the voice, the cool, bright, yet shadowless temper, and it would require the invention of a new character, the crystallization of a new manner, probably the development of a new cinematic form, to be adequately realized. It is present in "The Sky's the Limit," and gives the first half hour such charm and flow I half expected another "Top-Hat." I didn't get it. I liked the idea of a short, quiet musical about three people who, for once, play a triangle which is not an Iscariot marathon; but it would have required first-rate style and polishing in every department to come off, and had it in none. Astaire's new partner Joan Leslie has something, too, of a primitive sort. The not very eloquent but mailable way of saying it is that she is sometimes very uncomplicatedly pretty.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

MY North Carolina correspondent who wrote me from Boston about the first of the summer concerts by members of the Boston Symphony has continued to report on the subsequent concerts; and some of his observations are too interesting not to be shared with the readers of this column. As it happens, moreover, they are relevant to what I discussed last week—the unique insight and rectitude with which Ravel dealt with Mussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," the normal lack of these qualities in the other men who revised and transcribed Mussorgsky's music.

The second concert began with a Toccata, Bourée, and Giga by Scarlatti-Casella, concerning which my correspondent—who has the sharp perception of what goes on in an orchestral performance that one can have only from playing in orchestras (which is not to say that everyone who plays in orchestras has this perception)—writes that "the orchestration . . . is not very good late Italian after the manner of Respighi, though with the piano (thank God) left out. It is noisy, flashy, and slick; much given to instrumental 'effects,' but with little feeling for timbres, and a defective understanding of the use of choirs; too much of all the instruments playing together without achieving a real tutti; and a badly misplaced enthusiasm for the instruments of percussion. I fancy Scarlatti's hair would have stood on end if he could have heard the various snare-drums, tambourines, xylophones, tin pans, and what-nots that found their way into the score. The net result of all this is totally to obscure the style of the music without adding anything to it. The French, when in their right mind, do this sort of thing much better."

After Schubert's Fifth Symphony, Ravel's Pavane, and Ibert's Capriccio came the Suite No. 1 from Stravinsky's music "after Pergolesi" for the ballet "Pulcinella." My correspondent discusses the music and the orchestration separately; and of the music he estimates roughly that 60 per cent is Pergolesi, 5 per cent Stravinsky imitating Pergolesi, and the rest Stravinsky "imitating (very badly) his first style (30 per cent)" or "inadvertently succumbing to his old mannerisms (5 per cent)." Of this "the Pergolesi . . . is often very charming indeed, even (up to a point) with Stravinsky mannerisms sticking through, as in the Overture." But the results are very bad when Pergolesi gets mixed up with early Stravinsky. "He very nearly wrecks the Serenata (which should be a very lovely thing) in this manner by introducing some very unnecessary snorts and groans into the middle section. . . . The Duetto is a nightmare: as if Stravinsky dreamed up all that was worst about his early work and flung it into a short number for small orchestra. It has nothing whatsoever to do with Pergolesi, nor with anything else in the suite except the Finale. The little Menuetto starts out well enough, but before it has got very far it is enveloped in a transition almost like the one that leads into the coda of "The Firebird" (Stravinsky imitating himself), which leads into the Finale, which is some more imitation of the early Stravinsky: hammer-like rhythms mercilessly pounded out at the top of the orchestral voice, and small phrases thrown around and repeated *ad nauseam.* These two movements alone are enough to prove that Stravinsky hasn't the slightest idea what 'after Pergolesi' really means; one is not forced to examine the many minor incongruities to demonstrate the matter."

Of the orchestration 0 per cent is Pergolesi, 70 per cent modern French school, and 30 per cent "Stravinsky imitating his early orchestrations (i. e., Russian school, post-Rimsky-Korsakov). That is to say, the larger part of the suite (roughly . . . the part in which Pergolesi predominates) is scored in an intelligible manner for small orchestra, without recourse to Stravinsky's arsenal of (often misguided) orchestral virtuoso effects. It is the kind of orchestration a cultured French composer of the time might do: Honegger might have orchestrated the larger part of the suite; Ravel would have done it with greater sensitiveness"; and it shows "the extent to which [Stravinsky] had become identified with his adopted environment. The old Stravinsky crops out only when he is imitating himself: then we have such things as duets in the double basses against dissonant melodies in the trombone, and cries and wails torn from the extreme ranges of the winds, and snorts and grunts from the horns." And, my correspondent might have added, the notorious jazz glissandos from the trombone.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

JOACHIM JOESTEN is an assistant editor of *Newsweek* dealing with foreign affairs. He is the author of "Stalwart Sweden," published recently by Doubleday, Doran.

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DONALD W. MITCHELL, professor of political science at Sam Houston State Teachers College in Texas, is at work on a history of the United States Navy since 1883, for which Alfred A. Knopf has granted him a literary fellowship of $1,250.

BOGDAN RADITSA was named chief of the foreign-press division of the Yugoslav government in 1940, but was removed before taking up his duties, at the intercession of the Axis foreign ministers, Ribbentrop and Ciano. His antifascist articles in the European press had made him undesirable. He is the author of "Conversations with Guglielmo Ferrero" and "The Agony of Europe."

RALPH BATES lived in Spain from 1923 until the end of the civil war, and was an organizer of the International Brigade. His books include "Lean Men," "The Olive Field," and "Sirocco."

GEORGE JOEL is an editor of the Dial Press. He has written reviews for a number of newspapers.

Letters to the Editors

Lida Gustava Heymann

Dear Sirs: Your readers will be grieved to learn of the death of one of the most prominent women in Europe: Lida Gustava Heymann. She was one of the strongest among the leading personalities of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She was a world citizen in the widest sense, complete in integrity and nobility of spirit and temperament, magnanimous in what she gave and thought and did, of unbending will and unshakable civil courage.

Few of her international coworkers and friends suspected that she was a member of a prosperous Protestant commercial family of Hamburg. They knew her only as the firebrand who stood always on the side of all victims of injustice. She founded the first progressive kindergarten in Hamburg, the first progressive school for girls, the first training school for girl clerks; and her movement for the abolition of brothels and the regulation of prostitution left an enduring impression on the social institutions of her home town.

Then, shortly after 1900, came her move to Munich and decades of happy and fruitful work with Anita Augspurg: the building of an independent woman-suffrage movement, work for universal, equal, secret, and direct votes for men and women, and work for international peace. Together with women of other countries she organized the International Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915 and played a leading part in its meetings and in the International Women's Committee for Permanent Peace, which it founded. When, in 1919 in Zürich, this committee took the name of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, she became its vice-president and the leading spirit of the German section.

In the spring of 1917 she was expelled from Munich because of her opposition to the war. She returned there, however, when the war was over. When women obtained suffrage in 1918 she founded a periodical, *Woman in the State,* which she edited with Anita Augspurg for fifteen years. As she stood against the World War during 1914 to 1918, so later she stood against the civil war in Germany. When in Bavaria White and Red troops stood facing one another, it was at her suggestion that women went to the soldiers and induced them to agree not to fire on one another. When Hitler began his Putsches, she and her coworkers demanded his banishment from Bavaria, but the Bavarian government was afraid of "making martyrs."

In 1933 she was again an exile, but her energies did not lessen. In a little attic in Zürich she wrote her books, made regular contributions to magazines and newspapers, and helped hundreds of members of the Women's International League who had been driven from home and were living in many different countries. A whole generation of internationally minded women are deeply conscious of their great indebtedness to Lida Gustava Heymann and will find strength in the memory of her vitality, her elemental power of intuition, and her faith in women's active and creative powers.

GERTRUDE BAER

New York City, August 20

A Natural Tory Retorts

Dear Sirs: In your issue of August 14 appeared a letter from Edward J. Leonard which I quote: "I am willing to grant that certain minds which are truly informed might honestly arrive at a reactionary conclusion, a conclusion which I would reject. These are natural Tories and not all of them are uninformed or unintelligent. Their limitation is one of heart rather than of head. They are ungenerous and lack a social conscience. They need more of the milk of human kindness. Also, usually, they are unimaginative."

The most irritating quality of the so-called liberal is his confusion of his political principles with universal moral laws. He is never willing to allow the conservative another interpretation of justice and morality, even a misguided one. His is the right one, and there is nothing more to be said. The conservative must be either a fool or a knave. The conscientious conservative will acknowledge the good intention and integrity of the radical whose ideas he detests, but he seldom has this courtesy reciprocated. Further, the conservative will read the opinions of representative liberals in such publications as *The Nation,* if only to see what he has to contend with from the party which is predominant, at present, in the field of ideas. Yet the liberal will seldom, if ever, concern himself with the writings of intelligent conservatives, past or present, since he, in his enlightenment, can gain nothing from such stuff.

I am not a Republican and never have been, but I am one of Mr. Leonard's natural Tories and not ashamed of the name. Conscientious Tories are capable of devotion to duty and principle quite equal to that of any liberal.

NELL JOAN RANSON

Houston, Texas, August 16

Riga or Niger?

Dear Sirs: The reference in your issue of May 29—I've just been running through my *Nation* file before turning it over to the Extension Division—to "the young lady of Riga, who smiling rode out on a tiger," raises a number of interesting questions.

Historically speaking, in so far as history is recorded in literature, wasn't it a young lady of *Niger* who rode out thus? Incidentally, wouldn't Niger give a more convincing background for the episode? Where would a young lady of Riga get a tiger to ride out on?

Psychologically speaking, could we account for the change to *Riga* through our contemporary Russian alliance? Then, linguistically—or perhaps better, dialectically—speaking (if we concede *Riga* instead of *Rega*), what about the end rhyme? The Eastern trick of pronouncing "r" where it isn't instead of where it is puzzles a Westerner, even of New England antecedents. If the Easterner pronounces "Rig*er*," what becomes of "tig*ah*"? If a Westerner has to be called in to say "tig*er*," what becomes of "Rig*a*"?

Material here for a doctor's thesis!

R. MORGAN

Lawrence, Kansas, August 20

[Mr. Morgan's linguistic argument is stronger than his geographic one. After all, the Niger is a river and not a place, and there is no suggestion that the young lady was a water nymph. Moreover, the authorities do not support his theory. "The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations" gives the stamp of its approval to the Riga version, crediting it to Langford Reed's "The Limerick Book."—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Hard Choice for Italy

Dear Sirs: On August 12 a domestic broadcast of the OWI stated that the press in Italy is not free, because it is Badoglio who appoints the editors. His régime, said the OWI broadcast, is therefore like the Fascist. On the same day it was announced that the newspaper *Corriere di Catania* had started publication under the direction of the Amgot.

The OWI broadcasts say that there has not been any change in the Italian régime because the different parties are not legally recognized. The Amgot has suppressed for the duration all political activities in Sicily and has prohibited any contact with anti-Fascist exiles.

The Atlantic Charter promises freedom of religion. According to an A. P. dispatch General Alexander, governor of Sicily, has recommended that Sicilian schools be put under the jurisdiction of the Catholic church. This dependence was abolished in Italy after the Bourbons' régime.

In occupied Italy the people are violently eliminating the Fascists. In Sicily the Fascists, if not too compromised, are preserved in the administration. And Amgot selects Cardinal Lavitrano, one of the most fiery Fascists in Sicily, as "spokesman" for the Sicilians. How can the Italian people make a decision? How can they, under the air attacks, choose between the Badoglio régime and that of the Amgot?

AURELIO NATOLI

Woodside, L. I., August 16

Fathers Should Fight

Dear Sirs: What's all the hullabaloo about drafting fathers? Why all this sudden, solicitous slush and sentimentality? It all seems to emanate from sources which, in the past, were none too cooperative in the war effort.

When it came to defending their respective countries, England, Russia, and China, our allies, made no distinction between sons and their sacrosanct fathers. Are we to pamper our adult men now? A fine example and inspiration for our boys in the service! It was the fathers who passed the act directing our boys to shoulder arms; how about their pitching in a bit themselves?

It's about time for the people to speak loud enough for every official in and out of Congress to hear and fear. On the whole, our armed forces have done a splendid job to date. The draft is primarily of military necessity and concern. The isolationists, the sob-sisters, and the crackpots, do they think they can do better than our Commander-in-Chief and Generals Hershey and Marshall? They have done enough damage already.

P. S. My only son, God bless him, enlisted before being drafted. I wouldn't mind being in the service, too. Yes, I've applied. M. H. COHN

South Orange, N. J., August 20

Variations on the Four Freedoms

Dear Sirs: During a midwinter blackout two of us happened to be on a country hillside reviewing the Four Freedoms. Being nonconformists at heart, we felt that perhaps what this particular section of civilization needed at the moment was four quite different freedoms, freedoms less orthodox and more honest, freedoms which offered more challenge than security.

For one thing, we were tired of being forced to comment on everything. On a moment's notice we all had to be for or against Giraud, for or against the British stand in India, for or against Ruml's Pay-As-You-Go Plan. We were expected to revise our judgments hourly. Not only that, but we had to say what we thought as soon as we had thought it. If we hadn't thought yet, we had to cook up some ambiguity. We had to comment on the commentators who were already commenting too much. And then our comments were commented on, and so it went, getting nobody anywhere and completely clouding the issue. Freedom *from* speech, at least until everyone let his thinking and knowledge catch up with his comments, seemed to have very definite advantages.

As for freedom of religion, it seemed to us that perhaps what the gods needed was not so much ceremony as cooperation. If you could be ceremonious and cooperate at the same time, fine. But if there had to be a choice, we favored freedom *from* ceremony in behalf of freedom *for* cooperation. That reminded us of a road sign we had seen back in 1941 when things—cities and ideologies, races and creeds and ships—were beginning to be demolished at an alarming rate: "Danger—construction ahead." How much danger there is in construction we should have learned by this time.

At this point we heard a panther very close by us in the bushes. It breathed heavily and moved nearer. Freedom *from* fear was fast proving more of a strain than freedom *of* fear. We wanted to be afraid of the dark and of panthers. It seemed more honest somehow. We wanted to be afraid of what was going to happen next both on the hillside and in the war. We wanted to be afraid that we might not live happily ever after. We were quite sure we wouldn't. We wanted to be afraid of Germany and Japan. They seemed formidable. We wanted to be afraid of what our own statesmen would do, and we thought they might do wiser things if they were afraid too. People in general didn't seem half enough afraid. The panther in the bush never jumped. But that didn't make us less fearful of panthers we have met since. Some people wouldn't ever believe there *were* any panthers. We saw its tracks in the snow the next morning.

We knew that freedom from want in its present strenuous sense was not to be toyed with. We longed desperately for the day when no one would be unfed, unclothed, and unsheltered—and unhappy. And yet, taking liberties with the word "want," we knew that if the day came when no one wanted something he didn't have, progress and civilization would be at an end. When cows stop reaching under the fence for the grass on the other side, when men stop wanting to make better wheelbarrows and to write better poetry, freedom will lose its meaning. We resolved to encourage freedom *of* want. As far as we were concerned, we were going to let people want anything they wanted to want. It is a promising sign when people want things they haven't got or want to do things better than they have ever done them. And it is a still more promising sign when some of the people want other people to have things they haven't had and perhaps haven't even had the freedom to want.

MARY COOLEY

Milford, N. J., August 20

The Late Raymond Knister

Dear Sirs: Mr. Rolfe Humphries expertly disposes of Moult's "Best Poems of 1942." It is also gratifying to have Mr. Humphries protest the inadequate representation of Canada. I think, however, I can explain why Raymond Knister did not write one of the "best" poems of 1942. He's been dead eleven years. RALPH GUSTAFSON

New York City, August 23

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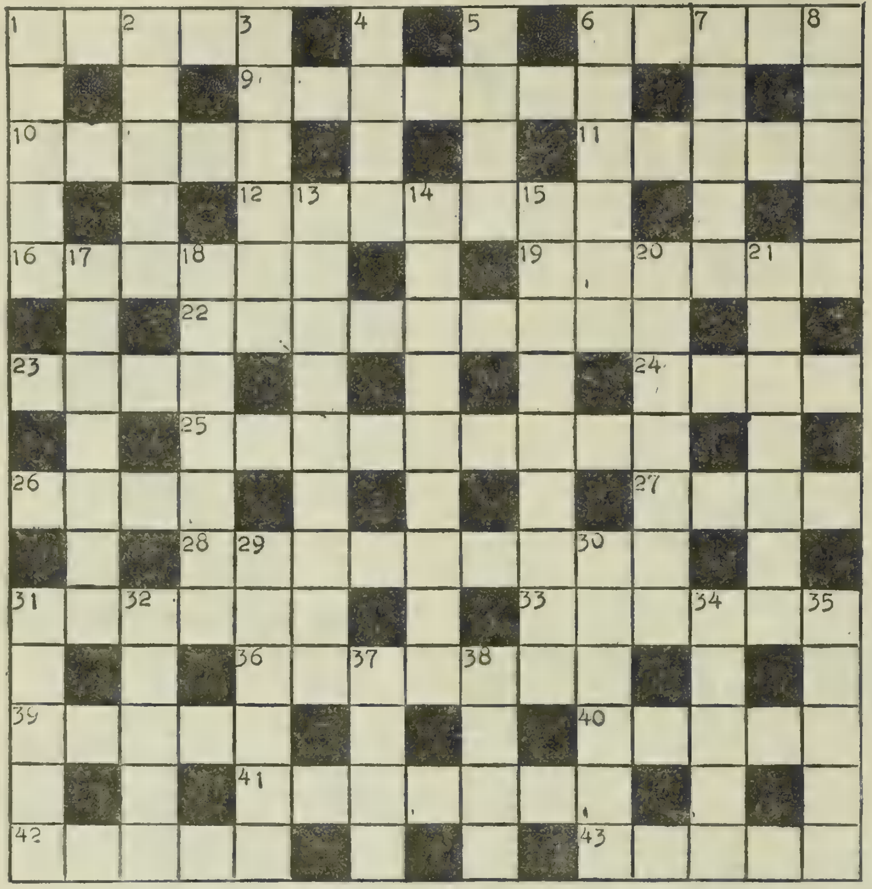
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 28

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 A poem in manuscript
6 Torso gone to sleep
9 Little Brass Hat
10 "- - - - -, believe me, appear the Immortals, - - - - - alone" (Coleridge)
11 People who forge this generally take lead
12 Publishers
16 A beard (anag.)
19 Lost, eh? Try the inn
22 Inattentive
23 Conspire to get a Victory Garden?
24 Shout to attract attention
25 Let me, Lena (anag.)
26 It loses its horns when it reaches maturity
27 A restless hankering
28 Oil obtained from the pedal extremities of oxen (hyphen, 5 and 4)
31 "An - - - - - - crying for the light, and with no language but a cry" (Tennyson)
33 A settlement in Spanish America
36 Same lie! (anag.)
39 Useful girl to have around when you're mixing a Martini
40 It isn't vulgarly [illegible] blemish
41 Weaving implement with the top closed
42 Fairy-like creature
43 He goes on back to get forward

DOWN

1 Food from above
2 One kind of sole with many above
3 "The sun's rim dips; the stars rush out: at one - - - - - - comes the dark" (The Ancient Mariner)
4 Home-keeping youth have ever homely ones, said Shakespeare
5 It's an ill wood wind that nobody blows very good
6 "On life's vast ocean diversely we sail, - - - - - - the card, but passion is the gale" (Essay on Man)
7 A bit of overtime
8 Not a permanent wave, thank goodness.
13 Separate from others
14 There never will be - - - - - - - - - peace, people always will get married
15 It periodically changes the direction of an electric current
17 It would be a blessing if everyone were excluded from it
18 The insect world's contribution to radio
20 Fifth century counterpart of the modern flagpole squatter?
21 Concerned with morals
29 She-men (anag.)
30 Routes (anag.)
31 Images that might become solid
32 Falderal
34 Love proverbially is
35 Piece of pottery that is hunted
37 Source of arrowroot
38 Do I owe thanks for such a trifle?

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 27

ACROSS:—1 LICK INTO SHAPE; 10 RIMLESS; 11 TERRAIN; 12 NERVINE; 13 PROWLER; 14 ILLNESS; 15 SKEPTIC; 16 GOURMET; 20 TANGLED; 23 OPINION; 24 ROADMAN; 25 GROWTHS; 26 OPERATE; 27 ON A PLANTATION.

DOWN:—2 IMMORAL; 3 KHEDIVE; 4 NESTERS; 5 OCTOPUS; 6 HORMONE; 7 PLAYLET; 8 DRINKING SONGS; 9 UNPRECEDENTED; 17 UNICORN; 18 MAINTOP; 19 TUNISIA; 20 TURNOUT; 21 NEATEST; 22 LUMBAGO.

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THOSE WHO ARE INCLINED TO HOVER WITH anxiety over American-Russian relations must find their nerves somewhat jangled after developments of the past week. Ever since the formation of the Free Germany Committee in Moscow, Stalin's wry announcement that he had not been invited to Quebec, and the recall of Ambassadors Maisky and Litvinov, the atmosphere has been charged with doubt. It would be remarkable if this were not the case, despite Brendan Bracken's fatuous attempt to belittle the ambassadorial shifts as routine diplomatic moves. We sympathize with the desire of the Administration to dispel suspicion, but its chosen method can hardly be said to have cleared the air or inspired confidence. The approach has been threefold: to make no public acknowledgment that any differences exist, to repeat over and over again that relations are "cordial" and that the Soviet government "has been kept fully informed" of all Anglo-American decisions, and to lash out hysterically at critics who suggest that we have not done all we might to satisfy the complaints of our Russian ally. The week was notable for the concentration of statements by the President, the Secretary of State, and Assistant Secretary Berle affirming in the most general terms the solidarity of Soviet-American relations and defending the political record of the State Department. As though in support was Churchill's speech at Quebec, eulogizing the Russians extravagantly while rebuffing their demand for an immediate second front. And to top off the week came Hull's savage assault on Drew Pearson, who had accused the Secretary of wanting to see the Soviets "bled white," and the even more savage coup de grace administered to the columnist by the President of the United States.

*

IF THIS BLEND OF DEFENSIVENESS AND truculence betrays nothing so much as an acute attack of jitters in Washington, the alarmed observer will have to look hard for reassurance from other quarters. As if deliberately spurning the verbal advances on this side of the Atlantic, the Soviet government picked this particular week to allow *War and the Working Class*—an increasingly favored, if unofficial, mouthpiece—a field day of criticism at the expense of Britain and the United

BURLINGAME

States. "Notwithstanding repeated Soviet offers," writes a Russian general in that journal, "the Allies never once expressed a desire to have troops side by side with our armies on the Soviet-German front." The Sicilian campaign once more is belittled and the refusal of the Russians to give our airmen Soviet bases from which to attack the Ploesti oil fields is defended on the ground that we had refused to base aircraft on Russian soil for joint attacks against Germany, the "real enemy." Elsewhere in the magazine the Allied Military Government is raked over the coals as "based on principles which have nothing in common with the principles of democracy." On the brighter side, two steps are informally reported from Washington: a prospective meeting of the foreign ministers of Britain, Russia, and the United States; and the creation of an Allied Mediterranean Commission with Soviet representation. These moves may herald a great deal, or they may prove to be no more than makeshift responses to heightened pressure. The effects of a second front in Western Europe are easier to predict. Lacking the military omniscience of Earl Browder, we do not insist upon that long-awaited operation this afternoon, but when it does come it should in fact sweep away the ugly fog that has settled down over American-Soviet relations.

⁂

WINSTON CHURCHILL CANNOT BE COUNTED on for colorless routine even on the occasion of receiving an honorary degree, and his remarks at Harvard are bound to be variously and vigorously interpreted according to the interests and prejudices of the interpreter. They are sure to be ascribed by some to schemes for an Anglo-American Century and equally sure to be put down by the lunatic, or McCormick, fringe of Anglophobes as the opening gun in a campaign to return the United States to the status quo ante 1776. Hypersensitive Russophiles will perhaps see in its exclusiveness a slight to the Soviets, and naturally there is the usual quota of Republican statesmen who see in this, as in every manifestation human and divine, a facet of the conspiracy to elect Mr. Roosevelt for the fourth time. For our part, we welcome Churchill's proposal to retain the present machinery of Anglo-American cooperation after the war. It seems realistic to us, in the light of the past, to assume that the armistice will find us with no specific plan for the peace. The Anglo-American machinery which is functioning so well in the war offers something in the way of a concrete and already operative basis for further development. Besides the Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee, Mr. Churchill presumably has in mind such effective agencies as the combined boards for shipping adjustment, export markets, food, and production and resources. We would much prefer to see Russia and China, not to mention all the other United Nations, in a workable agency of collaboration immediately after the armistice. But until such machinery can be set up, it would seem to us inexcusable to permit the extinction of the one tangible advance that has been made in this direction.

⁂

THE ATTACK ON MARCUS ISLAND APPEARS to be more than merely another harassing raid on Japanese outposts. Reports from Tokyo indicate that it was made in great force, with battleships and two or more carriers participating. While there is no evidence that an attempt has yet been made to land troops, the size of the operations suggests that they may be preparatory to an attempt to seize the island. Of all the Pacific islands under Japanese control, Marcus would be the biggest prize at this stage of the war. Unlike Midway, Wake, or most of the other mid-Pacific islands, it has sufficient area for adequate air fields. It is within easy bombing range of Tokyo for Flying Fortresses or Liberators, but it is far enough from other Japanese-controlled islands to make it safe against Japanese land-based fighters and light or medium bombers. Since it lies on the most direct route to Japan proper, some military observers suggest that this sortie may mark the beginning of the main attack against Japan. But there is a strong possibility that it is a feint designed to draw the Japanese navy away from the Bay of Bengal or some other area in which the United Nations are preparing to strike. The secret of successful warfare lies in keeping the enemy guessing.

⁂

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, WHICH met in New York City last week, registered an overwhelming vote in favor of the Zionist idea. The conference was made up of some 500 delegates elected from every section of the country. Only four voted against the resolution calling for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and these four votes seemed to indicate disagreement principally on the question of timing. The conference's spirited demand for the opening of Palestine to Jewish immigration under control of the Jewish Agency and for immediate nullification of the White Paper of 1939 reflects the tremendous increase of support for the Zionist program among American Jews as a result of events in Europe. Recent reports seem to bear out the assumption that by the end of the war no more than a million and a half—at most two million—Jews will be left alive in Europe. The delegates to the conference apparently made the further assumption that anti-Semitism has been so systematically and widely propagated by the Nazis that the Jews who survive will find it impossible to resume a normal life in Europe. Palestine, on the other hand, now offers, in their opinion, a final solution. Observers recently returned claim that with the development of the system of irrigation and hydro-electric power a million additional Jews can be absorbed into agriculture —and this in turn would open the way for a million new workers in industry. Certainly the emigration and settlement of those Jews who wish to turn their backs on Europe should be facilitated and the United Nations, acting in concert, should assume the responsibility of working out a permanent policy for Palestine which will take into account the interests and welfare of all concerned. But we cannot accept—and we think it dubious strategy for any minority to accept—the proposition that Jews will not be able to live in Europe after a war fought and won in the name of democracy and racial equality.

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THE BEHAVIOR OF THE RIGHT-WING LEADERS of the Kings County American Labor Party at its recent convention in Brooklyn is vividly described by Richard Rovere in our correspondence pages this week. He draws the obvious lesson from a performance on the part of avowed liberals and democrats which was nothing short of scandalous. Mr. Rovere makes the point that the left wing would have acted no better if the roles had been reversed. What he does not say clearly enough is that it was the Communists who introduced this species of behavior into the proceedings of the A. L. P. and that they have been guilty of it day in and day out since the party's founding. We may be sure that they will exploit for all it is worth the right-wing's use of their own tactics. We hope liberals will not be misled by their crocodile tears. The behavior of the right-wing leaders in Brooklyn was inexcusable; but it does not make the left wing, which started the totalitarian infection, any the more worthy of support.

The Fifth Year

THE superstitious Hitler had no need to consult a soothsayer for evil omens as the fifth year of the war began. At midnight on August 31—four years after the opening of the war—the R. A. F. was over Berlin inflicting the heaviest attack ever suffered by the German capital. Three days later, on the anniversary of England's entry into the war, Montgomery's gallant Eighth Army poured across the narrow Strait of Messina to begin the invasion of the European Fortress. For days American and British airmen had pounded the chief communication centers of southern and central Italy. While military experts say the Italian campaign may take months, there is a strong possibility that Badoglio may surrender to prevent needless destruction. On the other side of Europe, a powerful Russian army is on the march along a 600-mile front. Hitler's invincible Reichswehr is retreating from the fabulously rich coal and iron region of the Donbas; to the north it has already given up a huge area in the Ukraine where Hitler promised to find *Lebensraum* for land-hungry Germans, and it looks as if a forced withdrawal to the Dnieper has begun.

Within Europe rebellion has reached an advanced stage. Denmark, hitherto relatively quiet under the German yoke, has found countless ways to express its anger at Nazi brutality. The scuttling of the larger part of the Danish navy and the escape of the remainder to Sweden must have brought home even to the German people the utter collapse of the much-vaunted "New Order in Europe." While the Germans checked further open demonstrations of Danish feeling with their customary cruelty, the manner in which General von Hanneken vacillated between ruthless repression and attempts at conciliation reflects an uncertainty never before evident in Nazi policy. In southeastern Europe, Bulgaria's future role in the war has become highly uncertain as a result of the death of King Boris. While Premier Philoff seems determined to keep his country among the Axis satellites, there are strong intimations of popular opposition to this course which might easily lead to his overthrow. Should Italy suddenly withdraw from the war, the collapse of the Balkans would probably not be long delayed. Despite all of this, it must be remembered that Hitler still controls virtually the whole of Europe. The fact that a second front has not yet been opened across the English Channel indicates the respect with which the Allied military commanders still regard the German military machine. The occupation of Italy will not weaken the Reich's military power very much. The Russian advance is potentially of greater significance; but the approach of the fall rains makes it doubtful whether a major break-through can be achieved before winter. It is still possible for Alfred Rosenberg to boast that the Ukraine is yielding millions of tons of grain to feed the German army. Although the portents are increasingly favorable, it must not be forgotten that the great battles of the war still lie ahead.

Food and Lend-Lease

WHEN Congress convenes we may expect a flood of demagogy to make it appear that the American people are going hungry, and agricultural processing industries being disrupted, to supply food for lend-lease. An advance taste of what may be expected was provided by former Governor Alfred M. Landon in a speech at Kansas City last week. Governor Landon, who managed to go through the 1936 presidential campaign without stooping to the cheaper forms of tub-thumping, seems to have lowered his standards since then. "The New Dealers," Landon told the Cooperative Club, "are proposing to take our food—our money—away from our own, and hand it over to someone on the other side of the world. And they think we should say 'thanky sir' while they are doing it." The *Wall Street Journal* charges that the New Deal is about to ruin the livestock industry by putting the American people on a cereal diet so more food can be sent abroad.

It would be to the credit of the American people if, at a time when other peoples are starving in the United Nations' cause, we really pulled in our belts to help feed them. But the principal reason for the supposed food shortage is that in normal times many Americans do not earn enough money to eat decently, and comparatively few can afford to feed themselves as well as Uncle Sam feeds them in the army. Increased civilian purchasing power and army requirements, rather than shipments abroad, account for most of the food stringency at a time when crops are the greatest in our history. Actually, as we pointed out in an editorial paragraph last week, we are shipping less food abroad in this war than we did in the last.

We summarize the figures given in the President's latest lend-lease report to Congress because so few papers paid any attention to them and because lend-lease food shipments are likely to be so prominent in Congressional oratory. Here is a comparison of food shipments now and then:

(000,000 Omitted)		(000,000 Omitted)	
1915	$ 978	1940	$255
1916	1,085	1941	530
1917	1,331	1942	993

And here is the comparison in terms of percentage of food output exported, whether under lend-lease or for cash:

1917	16.6%	1941	5.5%
1918	20.0%	1942	8.0%
1919	24.4%	1943	11.0%

These figures should be read in the light of the fact that many Allied countries, by reverse lend-lease, are providing large quantities of food for American troops stationed on their territories.

During the first half of this year, lend-lease cut most deeply into our supplies of dry skimmed milk, (41.8 per cent), canned fish (31.4 per cent), and dried fruits (20.1 per cent). But it took only 7.7 per cent of our meat output and 0.1 per cent of our butter. The beef taken by lend-lease "was one per cent of our supply for that period, an amount equivalent to two-tenths of an ounce per week for each person in the United States." By comparison the needs of our Allies are severe, their diets at rock-bottom. Before the war, the United Kingdom produced only 40 per cent of its food needs. In the Soviet Union about 40 per cent of the most fertile crop land has at one time or another been under Nazi control. "The Nazis," the President's lend-lease report says, "now occupy for the third consecutive growing season one of Russia's greatest agricultural regions, the Ukraine. In the summer of 1942, the Nazis also overran her second great agricultural region, the North Caucasus." Americans are enjoying princely fare compared to the rations of the British and the Russians.

Britain and Russia

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

London, September 2, by cable

IN New York whenever an international crisis boils up we wonder what people in Britain are saying. And we seldom find out until the newspapers arrive from England three or four weeks later, by which time some new event has usually stolen the show.

Today Britain is talking about Russia, and I hope a report of some of its remarks will be interesting to Americans. But readers should be wary. Criticism of foreign policy, especially if it involves American foreign policy, is very restrained. Indeed, caution and politeness are carried to an extreme, and one must look under the camouflage to get an indiluted opinion.

Before getting down to details, I want to report that the reception by the press of the Prime Minister's Quebec speech was friendly but rather guarded. The *Daily Herald* said the public reaction would be that the powers should stop talking about meeting and meet. The Manchester *Guardian* also urged an early tripartite conference. The *News Chronicle*, welcoming Mr. Churchill's remarks as a hint that things were moving at last, said his recognition of the "paramount importance of a coordinated political policy for all the Allies" was the outstanding pronouncement of the speech. It concluded, "As things stand, there is a danger of our winning the war in the field before we have settled the broad foundations on which Europe's future must be built. That would be sheer tragedy." The *Times* approved the Prime Minister's statements "provided that the practical measures come up to specifications." The *Worker*, as might be expected, was politely gloomy, demanding both talks and a second front without further delay.

Of course the presence of Maisky in London offers hope that conversations will at least take place despite Hull's non-committal remarks yesterday. But most objective people with whom I have talked are pessimistic about basic tendencies. Some look upon America as the devil in the piece and cite the current reactionary swing as an omen of worse ills to come. But many feel that in Britain as in the United States the expectation of victory, together with the enormous industrial and military operations, have as usual planted in the saddle men who naturally operate through old-established power relationships. The most optimistic views, strangely enough, have been expressed by certain leaders of the exile governments, and their hopes are frankly based on the great and growing strength of Russia.

So much for generalizations. A few samples of recent press opinion are worth quoting. Last week's *New Statesman and Nation*, appearing while the Quebec conference was still in progress, discussed at some length the problems that lie just under the surface of diplomatic negotiations. It scouted the idea of a separate peace but said that Stalin, "disappointed by the military contribution of the Western democracies to the common war against Germany and estranged by their approach to the political problems of the post-war settlement, might steer the U. S. S. R. on an independent course." Those are vague if ominous words. More specifically the journal argued that the ideological aims of the war are visibly changing: as victory approaches we find the great powers looking toward a restoration of the status quo ante bellum. It reviewed the long list of deals and reactionary arrangements and declared that Stalin doubtless sees in all this a purpose to install in Europe "non-political" administrations agreeable to Britain and the United States—even including resurrection of Pétain if necessary. It sees little in the apparent attitude of Roosevelt or in the resignation of Welles to encourage hope that matters will be mended. And it mentions as a typical symptom of America's state of mind an article in the New York *Times* describing Washington's policy toward Russia as based on "principle" instead of on "opportunism" as in the case of the British.

Even the London *Times,* which speaks with vast care, has insisted upon the need for closer coordination, political as well as military, with Russia. A recent editorial, for example, points out the futility of any policy toward Germany which lacks the full assent and collaboration of Russia. There are, it says, two possible bases for this collaboration. The first would be an arrangement by which Russia and the Western powers "concert together broad measures of policy applicable, in consultation with the smaller countries concerned, to Europe as a whole. . . . The second would be an arrangement by which Britain or Britain and the United States accepted the main responsibility for the organization of security in Western Europe and Russia in Eastern Europe, each cooperating with the countries in its own sphere but each renouncing any responsibility in the appointed sphere of the other. The arguments in favor of the first solution are exceedingly strong and British and American, as well as Russian, opinion appears overwhelmingly to support it. Yet by a baffling paradox British and American action in the past few weeks has perhaps unconsciously, but no less decisively, pointed toward the second solution. A failure to secure the participation of Russia in decisions of political import in Italy might appear to justify similar decisions elsewhere being taken by Russia without consultation and thus pave the way for the division of Europe into divergent spheres of responsibility." There is dynamite concealed in those measured phrases.

And curiously the same idea is developed to a more explicit and drastic conclusion in the current issue of the left weekly ***Tribune.*** In a most challenging analysis of the Russian campaign, that journal flatly declared that Stalin has embarked on a new foreign policy. The old methods of dealing with the West and the old ambassadors appointed to carry those methods into effect have failed to bring results. In place of Maisky and Litvinov, Stalin "has sent two young tough patriotic Soviet citizens who, above all, understand Russian interests in Eastern Europe. They will be found to be something new in diplomacy. . . ." The *Tribune,* like the *New Statesman,* assumes Russia is fed up with the delay in opening a Western front, with the Darlan-Mihailovich-AMG policy, and with the threat of an anti-Soviet federation in Eastern Europe. It interprets as evidence of Russia's new line its territorial claims in the Ukraine, White Russia, and the Baltic, and the abolition of the Comintern as another step toward "a more clearly determined national policy." The new magazine, *War and the Working Class,* is described as a shrewdly devised means of expressing demands and views which the government is not ready officially to sponsor. The article quotes a series of statements put out by the Free Germany Committee in Moscow as indicating that the Russians instead of demanding unconditional surrender would be prepared to deal with a German government which had overthrown the Hitler régime and withdrawn behind the frontier in the *East.* This, says the *Tribune,* "is not official policy—yet." It believes that the only hope of countering this trend lies in prompt action to overcome Russian suspicions, and it proposes the following three steps: large scale military operations on the Continent coordinated with offensives on the eastern front, acceptance of Russia's territorial claims, and an end to the practice of supporting "men and cliques who have only the backing of unpopular reactionary groups."

The fear that Russia will adopt a lone-wolf role as either a nationalist or a revolutionary power or both is very general. But many people assume that Britain will prevent this catastrophe. Even officials with whom I have talked, however cautious they might be about commenting on American policy, have insisted that Britain will stick to its Russian alliance at any cost. "We live too close to the Continent," they say. They realize that European equilibrium requires Russian collaboration. The position was put very simply by a member, not of the British, but of an Allied exile government. "Russia," he said, "will take whatever it thinks it needs for its own security. Great Britain and your country know this. Why do they act as if it were not so? Why not, for a change, recognize the facts and then try to create a situation so nice and reassuring that Russia will have fewer fears, fewer suspicions, and will want less." It is so obvious that I think it will happen. I admit the obvious often has not happened. But the war has perhaps taught people what logic could not. In any case, I think a sensible policy toward Russia will be agreed upon, if only because the alternative is really a little too nasty and dangerous to contemplate.

V for Vituperation

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 2

THE Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press was pleased, but most Washington correspondents were shocked, by the President's unprecedented, ill-tempered, and unfair attack on Drew Pearson as "a chronic liar." Relations among the correspondents are generally friendly, irrespective of political differences, and there is a certain professional solidarity. Distrust of the White House is widespread, on the left as well as on the right, and many felt, as Raymond Clapper said, that "it is barely possible they are using Pearson to put the fear of God into all of us." To be called "a chronic liar" by the President is a deadly blow for any correspondent, but one can hardly take Mr. Roosevelt into court and demand that he either prove his words or eat them. It was rumored at first that Pearson's Merry-Go-Round column might be dropped from the Washington *Post*, and relief and admiration were widespread when its publisher, Eugene Meyer, who grows steadily more progressive, came to his columnist's defense in a vigorous editorial. The *Post* regarded the President's conduct as "unworthy" and "unbecoming" and "a gross libel on some fearless and necessary work done by Mr. Pearson."

Like the rest of us, Drew Pearson has made his quota of mistakes, but "chronic liar" is a strong term and the press corps has long memories. It easily recalls the many occasions on which the State Department—and the White House—has indignantly denied Merry-Go-Round stories which were later confirmed. The destroyers-for-bases deal with Britain was one of them. The $100,000,000 loan the State Department wanted to make Franco was another. Hull has been quarreling with Pearson for a long time, at least since 1938, when the Secretary publicly denounced the columnist for revealing that the State Department was permitting the sale of arms to Germany in violation of our 1921 treaty with the Reich. It can fairly be said that the State Department has chronically misrepresented to the American people the facts concerning our foreign relations, and the White House itself does not come into the controversy with clean hands. I cite the amazing statement made by the President to Congress last January 7: "Even today we are flying as much lend-lease material into China as ever traversed the Burma road"—an assertion that bewildered us and embittered the Chinese.

Much more than Pearson's reputation is involved in this affair. It has raised the most serious questions in the minds of all of us. The first and most important concerns our relations with the Soviet Union. Arthur Krock, whose staunch defense of the President and Hull in this case is amusing and significant, suggests that they attacked Pearson in order to prove their friendship for the Russians. It seems strange that the goat picked for this worthy purpose was not one of the anti-Soviet brigade but a man who has been consistently anti-fascist and pro-Soviet. An attack on anti-fascist newspapermen is certainly the feeblest alternative to a second front that has yet been suggested. Pearson called Hull anti-Soviet, and Krock says the President and the Secretary "feared the Russians might believe it, and decided to take no chances." The best that can be said of this is that it is naive. The Russians have been dealing with the State Department for a good many years, unofficially before 1933, officially since. Their personal contacts and negotiations with its members have given them far broader bases of information and judgment than anything the best newspapermen can obtain from the outside. The President certainly understands, if his Secretary doesn't, that neither Pearson's assertions nor Hull's denials are likely to affect the views of the Kremlin.

The conclusion most of us find inescapable is that the two Hull statements and the remarks of the President were intended for home consumption. While the State Department has been doing a good deal of whistling in the dark over Russian affairs, officials here are genuinely worried. They are worried over the possibility of a separate peace by a victorious Russia with a vanquished Germany, and perhaps even more over the blame that would accrue to them at home in such an eventuality. I think Hull can honestly deny that he literally wants to see the Soviet Union bled white, but I wouldn't say as much for all his advisers; and if the Russians weren't as strong as they are, they would hardly be saved from that fate by Mr. Hull's policies. But the Secretary is smart enough as a politician to realize the danger of a domestic uproar over deterioration in our relations with Russia. The left was blamed for endangering the lives of American soldiers by its inability to swallow Darlanism in North Africa. Is the Administration now maneuvering to blame the left if our relations with Russia go sour?

One of the reasons why the President and Hull may be so bitter against Pearson and other Washington correspondents who took up the defense of Welles is that both are startled by the reaction of the country to the Under Secretary's forced resignation. Neither dreamt that Welles was so highly regarded. The repercussions of the press in the United States—and in Latin America —indicate how closely Welles's fate is linked in the popular mind with the future of our Russian relations, and how much value is attached to those relations in all ranks of the population. Hull had hoped that by announcing the resignation of Welles and the appointment of his successor at the same time, he would avoid much debate. Roosevelt had hoped that by appointing Welles to a roving ambassadorship, he could similarly avoid a debate in which severe criticism of Hull was inevitable. The leak of the news to the press gravely embarrassed both Hull and the President and upset their plans so badly that although Welles's resignation was accepted on August 22, it has yet to be announced. Hull is now so angry that it is difficult for the President to give Welles another diplomatic assignment, but the clamor over Welles, on the other hand, is so great as to make it politically unwise to drop him altogether. This is the President's dilemma and the source of his annoyance.

The Pearson affair may have domestic political consequences. It is only the latest example of Roosevelt's contemptuous attitude toward those who have been his most consistent journalistic supporters; the slap at Samuel Grafton was another. Pearson is one of the few who have defended the New Deal in columns published by a long list of anti-New Deal papers. It has not been easy for him to do that, and the President's attitude toward him makes us wonder about his attitude toward the rest of us. Is he, on his present rightward course, trying to demonstrate that he has as little use for the pro-New Deal journalists as the anti-New Dealers have? Certainly he never called Mark Sullivan or David Lawrence or Arthur Krock or Frank Kent "a chronic liar" even in the days of their bitterest campaigns against him. This rift between the President and his veteran supporters will be welcomed at the State Department, where it will be taken as further evidence of Hull's political agility. Until now, Roosevelt has used the department as a lightning rod to divert public criticism of the Administration's foreign policy. Hull has now maneuvered the President into the front-line trenches, and into a head-on collision with New Deal forces.

A Peace Plan for Asia

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE Japanese have always insisted that the Western nations do not understand the peculiar ways of the East, and that a system of world organization which might keep the peace in Europe and America would not work in the Orient. This, of course, is largely nonsense. The idea was manufactured chiefly for home consumption to justify Japan's violation of all of the laws of nations. But there is just enough truth in the statement to make it worth discussion. It is perfectly clear that the concept of world citizenship is not yet understood in Japan, or in most of the vast Pacific area. And all Oriental peoples have suffered sufficiently from the white man's imperialism to distrust a system of world organization that appears to give white men continued domination.

Most of these peoples have, by now, had a taste of Japanese domination and they would probably prefer to return to Western rule. I say "probably" because there is very little real information as to what is happening in the Japanese-occupied areas. Some reports indicate that the Japanese have been fairly successful in setting up puppet governments in certain areas, and there are doubtless groups in every occupied area that would rather have the Japanese than the white man. But it is likely that a great majority of the Eastern people will be ready to help in any settlement that excludes the Japanese. For their sake as well as for our own and the future peace of the world, it is imperative, then, that Japanese military power be crushed completely. Japan, in its way, is fully as serious a problem as Germany. The military tradition is deeply imbedded in the Japanese mind. The people are readily disciplined, fanatically loyal to their Emperor, and extremely ambitious for national glory. As the most highly industrialized country in Asia, Japan will undoubtedly try again for dominance unless it is destroyed militarily beyond hope of recovery.

Fortunately Japan can be destroyed militarily without imposing fresh burdens on the Japanese people. The basis of Japan's present strength is in its empire. Its naval and air strength has been multiplied severalfold by its possession of strong and widely scattered bases in Korea, Manchuria, Formosa, Hainan, and the mandated islands of the South Seas. Korea has furnished cheap labor; Manchuria has provided much of the iron and some of the coal of Japan's newly developed armament industry; North China has some coal and iron and is a rich source of salt, cotton, and cheap man-power; while Sakhalin has been the most convenient source of oil.

Manchuria and North China are, of course, integral parts of China and should be restored in entirety to that country without any strings. Formosa is in much the same category. Although it was taken from the old Manchu Empire fifty years ago, it is inhabited almost entirely by Chinese and should be regarded as part of China. Japan's

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outlying island possessions, including the mandated islands, have no link to any other country. If the United Nations take these ill-gotten possessions from Tokyo and place them in more constructive hands, and destroy the Japanese navy, Japan will have lost much of its capacity to menace the peace of the world.

This will be particularly true if China is given every opportunity to develop into a world power. China has made great strides in the past twenty years. It has attained a greater degree of political unity than at any other time in modern history. Thousands of miles of modern highways have been opened up, linking the rich interior provinces with commercial towns on the seacoast. Some railways have been built, and there has been some industrial development in the far interior. By our standards, however, China is still a non-industrial country. What factories it has are chiefly devoted to textiles and light manufacturing. China has no steel industry worthy of the name and no aluminum industry; it lags behind India in its capacity to turn out the tools of war. It has fewer miles of railroad per person than any other important country in the world. If China is to be strong enough to discourage further aggressive tendencies on the part of Japan, it must receive help from the United Nations in developing a modern industry, in expanding its transportation facilities, and in reconstructing its agriculture.

China can support a modern industry only if its four hundred million peasant farmers become more productive. When we speak of increasing farm production, we are likely to think of tractors, combines, commercial fertilizers, and rotation of crops. None of these would mean much to China under present conditions. The average Chinese farm is much too small to apply the methods of large-scale cultivation used in this country, and the Chinese peasant has little to learn from us, apart from seed selection, regarding agricultural methods suitable to his small plots. Our methods of cultivation could be used only by the development of cooperative or state farms such as may be found in the Soviet Union. In many areas the Chinese farmer is desperately handicapped, however, by an archaic system of land tenure, heavy indebtedness at usurious interest rates, and lack of capital for even his simple operations. And much of China is too dry for intensive farming. Its agricultural production could be greatly increased by new irrigation projects to supplement those that have been in existence for thousands of years. United Nations assistance might well be made available also in encouraging mass education on the pattern set years ago by the American-trained Jimmie Yen, and in extending the public-health activities started by the Health Section of the League of Nations. This is an ambitious program, but there is no task facing us in the post-war period of greater importance than the strengthening of China so that it may take its rightful place of leadership in the Far East.

This does not mean that America can safely abandon all interest in Asia after we have helped place China on its feet after the war. For years before December 7, 1941, many Americans argued that we had no stake in the Far East worth fighting for, and that we should withdraw altogether. For all practical purposes, Washington accepted that argument. It did not even object strenuously when Japan took over Manchuria and North China and froze American trade out of that area by a series of special regulations. It protested the sinking of the Panay, but took no retaliatory step. It arranged to give up the Philippines. And long after it became clear that Japan had embarked on a career of aggression and conquest, we continued to provide it with vast quantities of oil, copper, scrap iron, and other sinews of war. Previously when trouble imperiling our interests threatened in the Far East, we rushed troops and warships to the scene. But in the face of Japanese aggression we withdrew our troops and marines from China and kept our so-called Asiatic fleet at token size.

Obviously, it would have been a risky policy for the United States to have stood alone against Japanese aggression during the decade from 1931 to 1941. But it would have been less risky than the futile attempt to run away from our responsibilities. For it is now evident that we had a stake in the Far East that was very much worth fighting for—a commercial stake in the oil, rubber, and tin of the East Indies, a political and strategic stake in the Philippines, and, above all, a stake in preserving the rights of weak nations lest anarchy spread over the world and engulf us in a titanic struggle against great odds.

The Nine-Power Pact was meant to keep us in Asia, and to protect the peace by joint action of all the powers. But the Nine-Power Pact had many defects. It was an imperialist instrument which assumed special rights for the foreign powers, including Japan, in China. Although it supposedly guaranteed the Chinese Republic's sovereignty and administrative integrity, the pact had no teeth and was never taken seriously by some of the signatories, notably Japan. Furthermore, although Belgium, Italy, and several other countries with minor interests in the Far East participated in the Washington Conference which formulated the agreement, the Soviet Union—which ranks as one of the greatest of the Pacific powers—was not represented.

Probably the most effective way of tackling the special problems of the East would be through the creation of a permanent Pacific council. This council would presumably function as a branch of a World Council and would have delegated authority over all matters pertaining to the Pacific. Membership in the council should be restricted to the countries having vital interests in the Pacific area. In addition to the Big Four of the United Nations—America, Britain, China, and Russia—Australia, New Zealand, India, an Indonesian federation, the Philippines, and Japan should be adequately represented. It might be found desirable to set up a separate international court for disputes originating in this region. But the foundation of peace in the Pacific, temporarily at least, must be an implemented Pacific security pact in which all of the participating nations agree, acting through a world council, if possible, to safeguard each other's territorial integrity. Ultimately, the enforcement of such an arrangement should be put in the hands of an international army, but until such an army is created the United Nations must assume the obligation.

One thing is very clear about the post-war organization of the Pacific area. The preponderance of power must rest with the Pacific peoples themselves and not with Western nations that have "interests" in the Pacific. It must, in other words, be free from the taint of imperialism. What success Japan has had in gaining the support of other Asiatic peoples has been achieved by capitalizing on the existing resentment against the white man's rule. It will doubtless be argued at the peace table, as it has been so frequently in the past, that the Western nations are more enlightened than others and that therefore they are more likely to have the welfare of the native population at heart than native rulers. This may or may not be true in parts of the Orient, but it certainly is not true of the Orient as a whole. Some form of international supervision may be necessary for years to come in Indonesia, the Pacific islands, Indo-China, and possibly Korea. But that must not be taken as an excuse for the perpetuation of white man's rule. The supervision should be in the hands of a Pacific council, in which Chinese, Indian, Australian, and Filipino influence would be predominant.

Because democracy has never gained roots in Asia, many observers exclude the peoples of the Orient from consideration in determining the final settlement. This has been possible in the past; in fact, little else has been possible. But the war has given a new sense of dignity and responsibility to the peoples of this region. They have seen the white man's power collapse because it ignored the potentialities of the common people. In China, millions of farmers and village folk have not only ruled themselves these past years but have started to build up a cooperative industry and have conducted constant guerrilla warfare against the Japanese without help from their central government. India and Indonesia have also experienced a democratic awakening. All of this is, of course, just a beginning. Large parts of Asia are still politically backward and wholly unprepared for the responsibilities of democracy. But it is vital that every step of international organization in this region give the utmost encouragement and assistance to the growth of democratic aspirations. For in Asia, as in the rest of the world, the only final guarantee of peace lies in making government policies subservient to the will of the people.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE MORE the plans of the Allies who are intervening in Russia are unfolded, the more dubious becomes the outlook. . . . Meantime it is apparent enough that Russia is seething with revolution. The reported death of Lenin by assassination turns out to have been untrue; but the presence of foreign troops, supporting one government here and opposing another there, will encourage every revolutionary group or faction which aspires to make something out of the disorder to try its hand.—*September 7, 1918.*

APART from the prosecution of the war itself, there is no more urgent problem before the American people than that created by the threatened collapse of the teaching profession. . . . The critical situation of our schools will never be genuinely remedied so long as teachers' services are regarded as a commodity to be purchased at the cheapest obtainable rate.—JOSEPH SWAIN, *September 7, 1918.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: Barrie, J. M., "The Admirable Crichton" . . . Barbusse, H., "The Inferno" . . . Drieser, T., "Free and Other Stories."—*September 14, 1918.*

THE CLOSING of Camp Upton to the public furnishes abundant evidence of the serious menace of the Spanish influenza epidemic. Boston reports sixteen deaths in six hours from the disease—ten of them among naval men. . . . Surgeon-General Rupert Blue, of the United States Public Health Service, has expressed fear that the disease may spread over the entire country within the next six weeks.—*September 21, 1918.*

THERE HAS come before us a remarkable manifesto signed by a number of socially prominent women, protesting against the playing of bridge in war time. "We believe," says the preamble, "that by playing bridge men and women of wealth and leisure give to the exponents of class hatred a weapon to wield against the unity of the United States and its long-cherished institutions." . . . Can the Socialists, we ask impatiently, stand unmoved in the face of such august, such stupendous sacrifice? Will the I. W. W. never be satisfied? Will not Eugene Debs and Emma Goldman hear the tidings in their seclusion and hang their heads in shame at their low and revolting agitation against a society capable of purging itself thus relentlessly?—*September 28, 1918.*

LUSTRA, by Ezra Pound. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $1.50 net. . . . Mr. Pound delights in the semblance of passion, while scarcely valuing its reality. . . . His rich variety of accomplishment has left him in a sense unschooled. . . . He who forsakes the wife will often forsake the mistress, and beauty perhaps will not reap an abiding loyalty from those who have renounced all other loyalties in its behalf.—O. W. FIRKINS, *September 28, 1918.*

Let's Look at Labor

VII. THE OPPORTUNITY FOR LEADERSHIP

BY JULIUS HOCHMAN

LABOR is worried. The passage of the Smith-Connally Act over the President's veto last June came as a terrific shock, powerful enough to stir labor leaders into action. William Green announced soon after that the American Federation of Labor was determined to defeat every Congressman who had voted for the bill. The Congress of Industrial Organizations set up a Committee for Political Action and called upon its affiliates to prepare for the 1944 elections. Similar moves to accumulate and apply political pressure to the best effect were initiated by labor groups in a number of states and communities.

Yet, for all this activity, there is something disappointing in the lack of realization on the part of the labor movement that the Smith-Connally Act is more than an isolated incident. It is in fact the newest link in a chain of events that has been in the making for years. The very forces that put over the Smith-Connally Act are still at work. Their program embraces the nullification or dilution of the labor and social-security legislation of the past decade and has as its basic aim the destruction of the trade-union movement.

In summing up the history of the American labor movement, Selig Perlman and Philip Taft, in their "Labor Movement, 1896-1932," have this to say about the attitude of American employers toward unionism:

> To the American labor movement the conquest of the right to exist was ever its paramount problem. . . . To American employers unionism has always remained the invader and usurper to be expelled at the first opportunity. American employers were endowed by America's history with a will to power unrivaled for persistence and effectiveness by employers of other countries . . . for unionism, however conservative in its objectives, is still a campaign against the absolute rights of private property of the employer.

This attitude on the part of management prevails today, as it did in 1932. Neither the depression, nor the New Deal, nor the war, has had any effect upon our industrial totalitarians. The catastrophe of 1929 shook their self-confidence. They wavered and were uncertain for the first time in decades. But by 1933 the National Association of Manufacturers, the spokesman of totalitarian industrialism in America since the beginning of the century, was back in the fight, seeking ways and means of rehabilitating its damaged prestige. Not all employers are members of the N. A. M., of course, and many important industrialists are out of sympathy with its aims and methods. Because of the gigantic corporations that control the N. A. M., however, it sets the pace and provides the leadership for the great mass of business men and manufacturers.

American industrialism after 1929 felt the impact of antagonistic public opinion. The New Deal, in lightning succession, could enact laws that had in the past been bitterly and successfully opposed by the N. A. M. Much of this legislation was aimed at eliminating the anti-labor weapons so dear to that organization. Public opinion was behind the President, and the N. A. M. could do nothing to stop him. The next best thing was to see to it that the achievements of the New Deal should be merely temporary. To accomplish this the N. A. M., through its National Industrial Information Committee, entered upon a campaign of "public relations."

Whatever the N. A. M. does it does in a big way. As usual, experts were engaged, surveys were made, and a public-relations policy was evolved. The objective was quite simple: to identify "management" with everything good in American life and to make the public believe that any interference with the totalitarian power of industry was somehow treasonable.

THE BILL OF GOODS

America's entry into the war provided the opportunity. The need for immediate conversion to war industries and for immense expansion of industrial production was eagerly seized upon by the public-relations counselors of the N. A. M. and the great corporations as the point of vantage upon which industry's prestige could be rebuilt. All credit for the war effort was to be appropriated for industry, while the blame for any shortcomings that might arise was to be shifted to labor and the New Deal. All of the resources at the command of the N. A. M. were thrown into the effort. Labor was pictured as a selfish, arrogant group seeking only personal gain at the expense of the nation at war; the New Deal as a "bungling bureaucracy" constantly hampering "industrial genius and efficiency." Fabulous sums were and are being poured into this campaign, and the press has proved only too eager to help. As a result a picture has been created in the public mind completely out of focus with the truth.

Although the facts show that organized labor has loyally adhered to its no-strike pledge (99.95 per cent compliance), the average citizen and the average member of our armed forces believe that workers are constantly on strike. Although absenteeism has been proven to be due to many causes—most of which are the responsibility of management—millions of people throughout the country and in the armed forces are convinced that it is wilful abstention from work on the part of union labor that is slowing down production. Although organized labor has accepted a ceiling on wages in the face of constantly rising prices, while corporation profits and executive salaries are rising daily, the public at large is convinced that union workers are coining big money out of the war in callous disregard for the national need. The public's natural fear of bigness, born of its bitter experiences with trusts and monopolies, has been skilfully deflected into a fear of the growing size and influence of the trade-union movement.

Political activity has never been overlooked by the N. A. M. Continued Roosevelt majorities were disheartening to its leaders, but they accepted the election of 1942 as a victory won largely through their efforts and as a go-ahead signal to intensify their political campaign. Their success so far is damaging enough, but it is to be regarded as merely a softening-up process for the final blow. Should the N. A. M. succeed in keeping public opinion in its present temper, it will utilize the transition from war to peace-time production, with its painful problems of demobilization and dislocation, as the occasion for delivering the long-planned knock-out of the labor movement. It will by no means be a one-sided fight. Labor will not take this threat to its existence lying down. The determination of the organized employers to crush the trade unions will be matched by the unconquerable will to live that American organized labor has displayed throughout the century and a half of its existence.

Should such a battle have to be fought, the costs to the nation would be incalculable. The struggle would deal the country a stunning blow economically and would seriously interfere with the fulfilment of our obligations in the post-war world, not to mention the severe strain to which it would subject our whole social fabric. Therefore, the most vital task confronting organized labor today is to recognize the danger ahead and take steps to head off the clash before it is too late.

The winning of public opinion is the pivotal point in this task. Labor's position will remain precarious until the trade-union movement achieves acceptance and recognition by the public as a permanent and basic institution of American life. Unless labor secures this one fundamental condition, all other achievements necessarily remain in jeopardy.

The task is not impossible. The N. A. M. has not won the public to its side to the degree which its propagandists would have us believe. The average man is not yet convinced of an "all-consuming interest in the public welfare" on the part of the corporations that make up the N. A. M. On the contrary, there is discernible the resurgence of suspicion in the public mind that these groups are again angling for a strangle hold on the political and economic life of the country.

Nevertheless labor's own position with the public is not good, and this unfortunate circumstance can be changed only by positive action. There are many issues on the home front which afford labor an opportunity to serve the vital interests of the general public and to win an immediate and wide following. The first of these is inflation.

The rising cost of living affects all consumers. It is the most serious immediate problem facing all classes of the population. Congress has played politics with inflation. It has done everything possible to discredit and hamstring the Office of Price Administration and to obstruct the President's program on prices. Big business has tried to soft-pedal the issue, and the press has been neutral. Labor has a magnificent opportunity to rise to its responsibility, to become the champion and spokesman of great masses of the American public. On the basis of a broadly conceived program against inflation the labor movement could take the initiative by launching an educational campaign, by calling conferences and meetings throughout the country, and by using the machinery of the labor movement for the circulation of petitions asking Congress to take effective measures against further price rises and effect a roll-back of prices in conformity with the President's program. Millions would join with labor in demanding that Congress appropriate sufficient funds for enforcement of price regulations and elimination of the black-market scourge. Most state and city governments have thus far done nothing to compel observance of price ceilings. They should be petitioned to take immediate and effective measures to compel compliance. By a campaign of this scope labor would emerge as the recognized leader of a great public movement in the national interest.

THE POLITICAL FRONT

Despite the obvious importance of immediate issues, however, labor's principal concern must be to plan and put into effect a broad public-relations policy which would find expression in an active and extensive participation in American politics. Labor must realize that its ability to function in our complicated modern democracy is closely tied up with the functioning of our government. The greatest gains in the history of the American labor movement were achieved during the past decade. These gains would have been impossible without the social reforms embodied in New Deal legislation, without an executive branch sympathetic to the purposes of these laws and determined to enforce them, and without the evolution of the judicial attitude from the standards of the injunction era into an enlightened comprehension of modern social processes. Understanding the vital and positive link between progressive government and a progressive trade-union movement, labor must make its organized influence felt as strongly on the political front as on the industrial.

Labor cannot, however, achieve these objectives unless it enters into a permanent working partnership with other elements of the population. There is a sound basis for close relations between labor and the general public. Other groups whose aims and aspirations are not incompatible with organized labor feel the same need for legislative action. They too are concerned with preserving the social advances of the past decade and want to beat back the attacks of industrial totalitarianism. An alliance between organized labor and many of these social groups, gradually cemented by common action on vital issues, should take permanent form. A conference should be called to deal not only with immediate issues but also with broader general problems, such as the development of a post-war program that will really tackle the tremendous problems of demobilization, including adequate provision for the ten or more million men returning to civilian life, the reconversion of industry to peace-time production, and the probability of general unemployment. All the New Deal legislation of the past ten years should be surveyed and needed improvements worked out jointly.

Permanent public-policy committees might be established which would function nationally, by states, and locally. Fortunately labor has bases in practically every community in the country around which local committees could be built. Such an organization could bring an immense weight to bear at the polls if its members united in support of candidates who genuinely accepted its program. Labor could thus continue its non-partisan political policy, while rendering it far more effective by bringing many other groups within its orbit. The committees would, of course, have to be kept active between elections to see that public officials supported by them stood by their pledges. Such an approach would prove of momentous significance for the inner life of the labor movement as well as for the country as a whole. A purposeful, well-planned campaign along the lines suggested here would electrify the rank and file of the trade unions and enormously stimulate their morale.

A program of such dimensions calls for a large, professional public-relations department under expert leadership. This agency should include an extensive research staff which, among other tasks, would conduct periodic polls to determine public attitudes and test techniques. Its function would be to develop and carry out a broad, long-range program of keeping the public informed of labor's aims and aspirations in the war and post-war world. It would tell the story of labor's record as a force for democracy, its achievements in behalf of the nation in peace and in war. And, it would serve to focus attention on the really vital issues affecting public welfare. While the main emphasis should be positive, the correction of misinformation in the press and on the radio should not be neglected.

THE PROBLEM OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY

One may well ask why labor has done so little to win public sympathy. The reason lies partly in the rapid growth of trade-unionism in the last few years and partly in the organizational structure of trade unions. It should be remembered that for fifteen years before the New Deal labor could do little more than fight a disheartening series of rear-guard actions, and that even since 1933 much of its energy has been absorbed in winning the elementary right of collective bargaining and in defensive struggles to keep what it has gained. It has had to fight every inch of the way against the evasive tactics of large corporations determined to elude the provisions of the Wagner Act and other statutes designed to safeguard labor. The greater part of the trade-union movement as we know it today—nearly the whole of the C. I. O. and much of the A. F. of L. as well—is the creation of the past decade, and the unionization of most of the basic industries has occurred in little more than half that period. Moreover, this rapid expansion in numbers, power, and influence has been accompanied by a split in labor's ranks. Its strength has been drained off in a futile struggle for supremacy by contending groups.

The second major factor in the situation is the organizational structure of the unions. The average union man centers his loyalty upon the immediate organization that gives him economic security and control over his job, and that is usually his local union. The international union absorbs much less of his attention, and very little thought indeed is given to that rather remote entity, the general labor movement. Traditionally and constitutionally, the A. F. of L.—and particularly its executive council, which acts for the federation between conventions—has quite restricted powers. The autonomy of the affiliated internationals is very real and is jealously guarded. Within the C. I. O. matters are somewhat different, but not as different as may appear on the surface. Yet, if a public-relations program is to have any promise of success, it must be centrally guided and directed, adequately financed, and endowed with sufficient prestige to speak for organized labor. A way must be found to concentrate authority in this field without interfering with the essential autonomy of the affiliated unions.

A public-relations policy for labor does not mean a hastily conceived, tricky publicity campaign, based on clever catchwords. The broad, long-range strategy outlined here is designed to build a solid foundation of common understanding between labor and the general public. The nation itself will be the greatest beneficiary of such an understanding. The basis exists, awaiting only the initiative of a great, well-organized, and dynamic social force. Everything points to organized labor as that force.

[*This is the seventh article of a series of eight on the problems confronting the American labor movement. The eighth will appear in two weeks.*]

The Cloying Good Neighbor

BY BENJAMIN SUBERCASEAUX

Santiago de Chile, August 28

WE ALL know that it is easier to build a ship in ten days than to change a South American into a Yankee in the same length of time or teach a North American to speak Spanish. That is why I have been irritated by the standardized, mechanical, and unimaginative applications of the Good Neighbor Policy. As a South American, I have no patience with North American magazines that publish articles pointing out our virtues. I am also disgusted with the hypocritical and absurd eulogies of North America by some South Americans who believe that, in these times, it is still possible to write on this subject exclusively on the basis of courtesy, as one might praise his host's fine dinner, even though it were to induce an attack of indigestion. In short, I am so fed up with everything connected with the Good Neighbor Policy that I am almost sick of this very article as I write it.

Consequently, let me make it clear that I am not going to discuss the same old political and commercial questions which have created resentment in South America toward our northern "big brother"—who has, in the past, often conducted himself as big brothers generally do. In a world where nations are separated and joined with a facility heretofore possible only in Reno it is perfectly useless to look back, like a dog with a can tied to his tail, to acts which have now lost their meaning.

What is really important and permanent, not subject to political changes or the whim of circumstance, is the instincts and temperament of the mass of our peoples. That is the only solid, material thing upon which to build.

Hundreds of North American politicians, intellectuals, and business and professional men have suddenly become preoccupied with the Good Neighbor Policy, pressing on us a new love for which we are not prepared. In the future, the times through which we are now living will certainly be known as "The Period in Which Men Were Not Prepared for Anything."

There have never existed, perhaps, in the entire history of the world, greater material and intellectual resources than we now possess. Never have politicians been better informed, laboratories better equipped, or conditions more competently studied by statisticians and scientists. Nevertheless, the world has never known more surprises or been less well fitted to cope with unexpected problems. The great virtue of the United States has been precisely its ability to get out of trouble quickly, to improvise an admirable defense against a surprise attack. However, we all must agree that it is easier to repulse aggression than to make friends. Self-protection is a simple matter of will power, muscle, and steel; whereas friendship involves the subtleties of spiritual adaptation.

Nothing would be gained by saying that North America is an illegitimate child of England, and South America of Spain. Such assertions are no longer true. But the fact remains that, in spite of our mixed racial strains, the North American is English in many respects of which he himself is not aware, and the South American is Spanish in all things in which he prefers not to be. Probably the corruption we have both suffered in the New World has done more than anything else to bring us together; it is the chief experience we hold in common. Our good qualities separate us; our defects make us brothers.

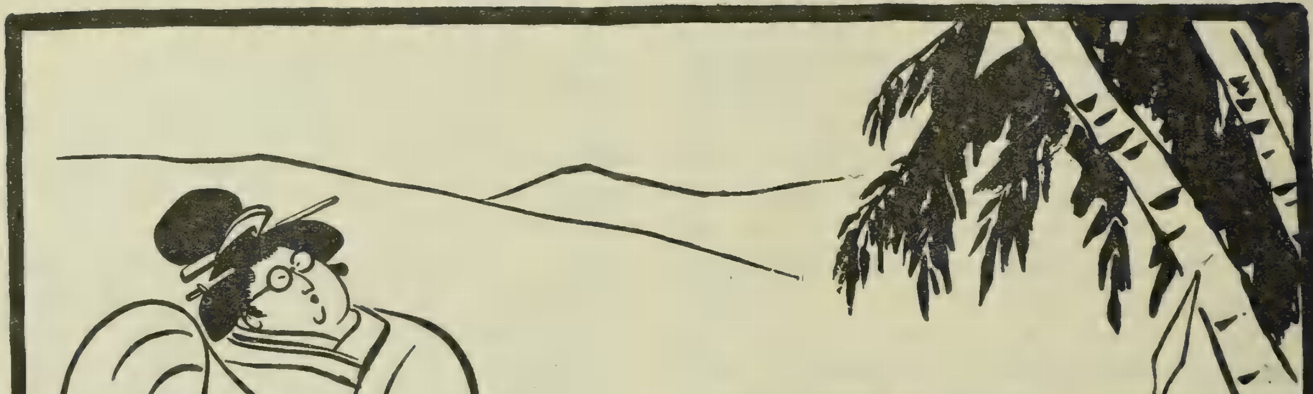
I think I know the character of North Americans well enough to say that it is only natural and logical that we Latins should make a profoundly unfavorable impression on them. When I find myself with a North American who genuinely likes us I am ready to psychoanalyze him as an abnormal character. He is an artist or he is an amorist; he has exceptionally bad taste or exceptionally good taste; he is an apostle or a pervert. Of course, he may not belong in any of these categories; in that case, we are probably faced with an erudite fool.

All North Americans are aware that South America has color and passion, that it is primitive and overflowing with natural beauty. Thus the artist should be in his milieu. Further, South America has a warm and temperate climate; love should flourish there better than in Greenland. Thus the amorist is in his element. South America also has beggars and plenty of unwashed people with skin diseases and blemished faces. It often cultivates an artificial, elaborate, and tremendously vulgar art and literature. Thus it is a paradise for the American with very bad taste. But South America also has a marvelous indigenous art, and Spain and Portugal bequeathed it the best of their architecture; its literary and artistic leaders have won international recognition. It contains people with sculptured bodies and sensual mouths such as may be found on no other continent; its aristocracy is as fine and cultivated as any in the old societies of Europe. Thus the North American with very good taste cannot help but love our part of America.

Unfortunately, South America also has many wretched people. Most of them lie without shame. There is little sense of gratitude or honesty—treachery flourishes everywhere like a poisonous nocturnal flower. Those among us who fall into vice fall extremely low; and those who free themselves from it always climb too high and repel the rest by their virtue. In South America the people work little and drink much. We are cruelly exploited by one another and almost never respect human personality, with the result that each, in his private life, feels himself tyrannized by the others. Therefore, our continent is ideal for the apostle who would like to save a few souls and also for the pervert in search of filth to wallow in.

The average, normal North American should be and is allergic to us, as he finds out from any prolonged contact. Why? For a very simple reason that no one has yet ventured to mention: because we South Americans haven't had the slightest experience of democracy and lack the moral values which it engenders in a nation. The North American, on the other hand, is a prime example of democracy in spirit and behavior.

However, do not be deceived by what I say; do not believe that we Latins accept tyranny and love submission, or that we sympathize with régimes based on force. No, in some ways we are a thousand times freer than you, but we have a kind of freedom that creates disorder and injustice. And we love this awful liberty so much that a workman or a tramp in my particular country (in spite of what some romantic Communists say) would


HON HORN OF PLENTY
FREE
BEAUTIFUL SHINY NOSE-RINGS
Imitating Nazi tactics, Tojo is trying to persuade captive Pacific peoples that ruthless exploitation is the same thing as freedom and prosperity.
LOW

"HON COLLABORATION, YES?"

much rather forego the comfortable home, high salary, and numerous community diversions enjoyed in your country than accept the discipline which those things entail. In the long run the average South American would willingly do without all the advantages of North American life, provided he could go on staring at his neighbors, making fun of people, lying freely, spending his week's salary in a single night in order to feel like a prince, scattering trash all over the place, and scribbling on the first wall he comes to. In short, he would never consent to give up his personal liberty, even though it was retained at the cost of collective advantage.

This sordid but magnificent South American individualism, although it fosters the artist, makes it very difficult for governments to rule their people, for teachers to educate their students, and for the inhabitants of the North and South to understand and respect each other. You North Americans have achieved as much comradeship as is compatible with capitalism. And most (not all) of you are content. You have succeeded in cutting down injustice and suffering; you have created a kind of material and spiritual happiness which is within the reach of the majority. But from our standpoint you have renounced that basis of animal enjoyment and freedom which primitive man possessed and which we do not wish to give up at any price. You do not regret such renunciations because you were born into a world of self-controlled people. Yet, when we live among you, it appears to us that life has lost all savor and that each dawn lacks the hope and stimulation which we need to live through the day. We are like the Polynesian whom the missionary has forced to wear a shirt.

It is true that we South Americans spend our time complaining about our life, but we are much more discontented when we find ourselves obliged to live a different one. Your formula of life is logical and human enough, if one identifies "human" with "civilized." And we are on the road to ruin, judged by the standards of Western Christian civilization. Nevertheless, we are closer to the natural life in which both good and bad instincts are tolerated in eternal interplay and strife. Ours is the formula of life *par excellence*, every organism aspiring to a biological felicity, an artistic felicity, and, finally, a moral and rational felicity.

At present, the world is bankrupt of moral values. This is something that invites meditation. On the other hand, it does not invite an enthusiastic change from the simple life (with all the effort that complexity demands) when the result is not clear and the success of so much effort is uncertain. Especially is this true in a generous and sparsely populated continent like ours, which will permit us to enjoy, for many centuries to come, a more varied and freer life—the luxury of those who need not submit to the complications of wealth or the terrible problems, spiritual and physical, produced by overcrowding.

In the Wind

THE OPA, says the *Washington Review* of the United States Chamber of Commerce, "has found it expedient to send a personnel specialist to Chamber headquarters to discuss the names of business men who could assist Chester Bowles, OPA general manager, put the agency on a businesslike basis. . . . The Chamber staff gladly cooperated."

MANY NEGRO WOMEN placing want ads in suburban New York newspapers now specify that they will work only in Christian homes.

THE CASA ITALIANA at Columbia University, now known informally as the Red Cross Building, still bears this inscription above its entrance: "Italy, Mother of Arts—Once Our Guardian and Still Our Guide."

A NEW YORK bookstore offers Frederick Palmer's "This Man Landon" for ten cents.

"THE FORCED RESIGNATION of Sumner Welles in his contest with the fascist elements of the State Department aroused wider comment." The *Daily Worker?* No. The Merchant's Point of View, a column in the business section of the New York *Times*.

WHEN Lucius Cliett, a Negro jeweler of Albany, Georgia, bought $3,000 worth of war bonds, the Albany *Herald* quoted him as saying, "I am buying shares of freedom," and the Atlanta *Journal* editorialized thus: "It would be difficult to persuade Lucius Cliett that he is underprivileged or downtrodden by a ruthless majority. His ability and industry and thrift have met with abounding success in a small city in the Deep South, where—the radicals and the busybodies at the North will tell you—the Negro has no chance."

A HANDBILL advertising the *Cure*, official organ of the American Army for the Abolition of Poverty, says it is "first in all history to advocate the abolition of Interest, Taxes, Unemployment, Poverty, and Crime for monetary gain, by sure and peaceful methods without disturbing private ownership. A sure cure for Fascism, Nazism, Socialism, and Communism."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Sudeten Germans are complaining that all the best political jobs go to Germans imported from the *Alt Reich*. The former Sudeten leaders are forgotten. . . . A Belgian shot a Nazi policeman from a moving street car. The car was stopped and searched, but no revolver was found and nobody had seen the shooting. . . . Anton Mussert, Holland's Quisling, has had to give his two personal riding horses to local Nazis. He appealed to General Friedrich Christiansen, German military commander of Holland, but his appeal was turned down.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

BURLINGAME

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Who Are the Guilty?

BY MARCELLO MAESTRO

DURING the bitter years of hunger and poverty that gave birth to fascism in Europe, many men all over the world were eager to foster and promote it. American bankers gave it financial support; industrialists in England, France, and America clamored to do business with Hitler and Mussolini. There were statesmen and diplomats who had only praise for the energy with which totalitarianism had "introduced order" in Europe. Eminent journalists extolled Mussolini as one of the most admirable political figures of the twentieth century, and laughed off Hitler as an impotent psychotic.

They did not dwell too sadly upon the sufferings of the Italian masses, nor did they plead the case of the Ethiopian people. They did not condemn the invasion of Spain by Italian and German armed forces, and they greeted with silence the monstrous crimes perpetrated by fascism against democrats and Jews.

These people are as responsible for the horrors of the past years as the fascists they espoused. But they will not be punished. Now, ironically, they are vociferous in demanding punishment for the "war criminals." Now they seek "vengeance" against the enemy nations whose leaders they succored.

Obviously, these enemy nations—Germany, Italy, and Japan—contain many individuals who countenanced the criminal behavior of their leaders. But they contain others who did not. How, then, are we to establish peace without injustice? How bring the guilty to trial without inflicting undeserved punishment upon the innocent? Newspapers and magazines carry many letters and articles telling us that the defeated nations must be punished *as nations*. But nations are not homogeneous units. Must everyone be punished, even those who have languished in prisons and concentration camps for years because they opposed Mussolini or Hitler?

Italy was a full-fledged, active democracy before the outbreak of the First World War. The democratic spirit of its people was genuine and deep-rooted, and tolerated no racial prejudice or discrimination. Everybody enjoyed fundamental freedoms, and social reform, cooperative enterprise, and trade-unionism were integrated with political life.

After the First World War the demand for further economic and social reforms brought a strong reaction from the privileged classes. The Fascist movement came into being, supported by big business but clearly opposed by the great majority of the people. In the 1921 elections Mussolini could not collect even 5 per cent of the votes for his party. He had, however, money and weapons. And for two years, from 1920 to 1922, he terrorized the country in an attempt to crush popular resistance. Four thousand Italians were killed, hundreds of buildings were destroyed.

In October, 1922, Mussolini became premier as a result of a military coup d'état and with the connivance of the King. The fight went on. In 1924, after the Matteotti murder, Mussolini's régime—still not a full dictatorship—was on the verge of collapse. The British Foreign Minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain, arrived in Rome on a friendly visit, which gave Mussolini enough prestige to stave off disaster. But one year later the financial situation of the dictatorship had become desperate. In December, 1925, a consortium of American bankers headed by the house of Morgan floated a loan on behalf of the Italian government. The $100,000,000 loan, at 8 per cent, enabled Mussolini to stabilize the lira and to remain in power.

By the end of 1926 Mussolini had taken full dictatorial power—crushed the opposition, filled the prisons, established concentration camps, and gagged the press. All this was hailed by American, British, and French statesmen and business men as a great accomplishment, and only indifference was accorded Italian anti-Fascists. Pius XI praised Mussolini as the "man sent by Providence." The Fascist aggression against Ethiopia was openly favored by the French government, while the British Tories did their best to prevent any measure which would seriously hamper the campaign. Mussolini's intervention in the Spanish civil war would have been impossible had not the British Foreign Office connived with Franco, Mussolini, and Hitler. No wonder that Mussolini appeared stronger and stronger in the eyes of the Italian people.

It is clear that fascism, from the start, was an international issue, Italy only the battleground. Reactionaries in all countries did their best to intrench the most despicable elements of the Italian people. In its turn, fascism did its best—through propaganda, violence, and blackmail—to eliminate everything decent in Italy and to transform all Italians into criminal fanatics. If such a result was not attained, it is to the credit of the Italian people. I do not know if, after so many years of fascism, any people could have been expected to show greater ndependence of spirit and thought than the Italian peole have exhibited lately in Milan, Genoa, and Turin.

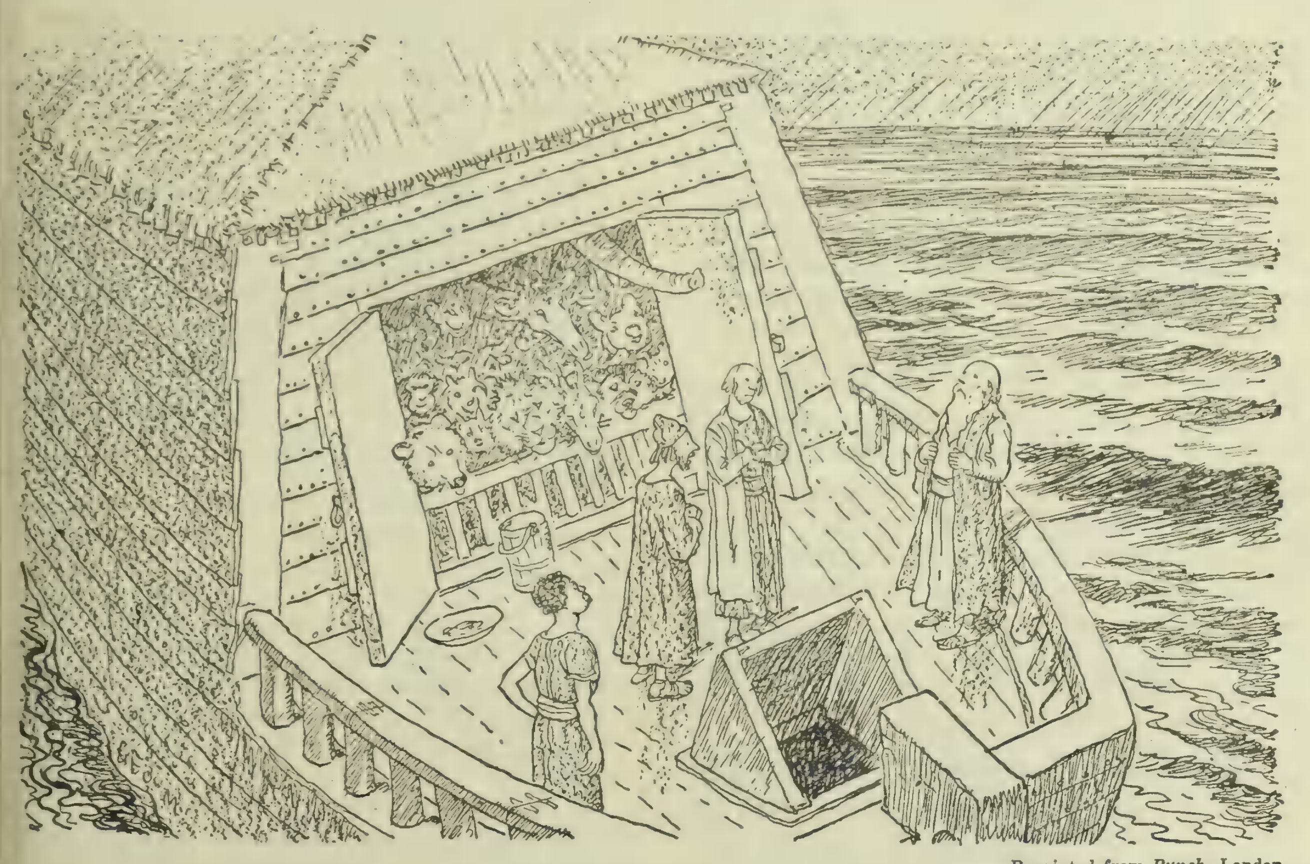
Mussolini entered the Second World War on the side f Germany, but *from the start* the Italian people showed eir unwillingness to fight. Had fascism won over the ass of the Italian people to its so-called ideals, the alian armies might have had a decisive influence upon e course of the war. But Mussolini knew how the Italns felt. He never dared call to the colors more than a action of Italy's total man-power. The war was opposed y all methods: soldiers surrendered on the field; at home eople clearly showed their reluctance to cooperate with e government; sabotage and strikes spread. Thousands f people were "purged" and interned.

When the armies of the United Nations began to gain n the battlefield, the movement took a decidedly deatist turn. Speeches and statements during the last year e evidence that the Fascist régime was less and less able cope with an increasingly difficult situation. Finally, ussolini had to give up. And, significantly enough, adoglio, in order to keep the Italians in the war, was rced to dissolve the Fascist Party, to abrogate all racial d Fascist laws, to set free many political prisoners, and promise free elections four months after the terminaon of the war.

On the day of Mussolini's fall, the people of Italy ve expression to their joy. Once more, however, the democratic impulse of the Italian people was discouraged by the great powers, and an attempt was made by the British and American governments to deal with the King and Badoglio—to avoid "chaos and anarchy," it was said.

Any genuine anti-Fascist must feel closer in spirit to those millions of Italians who never accepted fascism than to the "neo-anti-Fascists" of today—those statesmen, clergymen, bankers, and journalists who for a decade and a half had only praise for the great accomplishments of the Duce and contempt for the "disorderly" Italian nation of the pre-Mussolini era. Any genuine Italian anti-Fascist will approve the most severe punishment of the Fascist hierarchy and of leading Fascists abroad. He will reject collaboration with the minor Fascist authorities with whom the Allied Military Government is so eager to deal in Sicily.

But to punish the millions of Italians who were the victims not only of Mussolini but of the "pro-Mussolini" vogue in the Allied countries would constitute an absolute denial of justice. To be sure, Italy must be disarmed, and the United Nations are entitled to maintain military control over Italian territory until disarmament becomes an accomplished fact. No sensible Italian will resent this measure provided military control over Italy is limited to the strictly necessary period and the United Nations do not establish an unjust rule of their own.



Reprinted from *Punch*, London

"And this evening there'll be a meeting of the Post-Diluvian Planning Committee on the after-deck."

There is no danger of a recurrence of fascism in Italy if the Italians are left to themselves. A democratic republic would probably be the choice of the majority. Should, however, the American and British governments try to prevent the Italian people from finding their own way, should they try to set up a reactionary régime, we may see an exasperated Italian people turning to communism as their only alternative.

The story of the war criminals did not begin in 1939 or 1940. It began in the twenties, and some of its protagonists were men who now boast of their democracy as if by so doing they could wipe off the record the support they once gave to fascism. It will be impossible to administer justice to all of them. But it should be in the power of the peoples of the United Nations to see that punishment is meted out to the Fascist leaders, and not to the helpless masses that have suffered under them.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THINGS are never what they seem. When Maisky and Litvinov went home and unfriendly words passed between Russia and its allies, it was to be expected that the German propaganda machine would make the most of the friction. "Disunity among the Allies" has always been one of its favorite themes—but now it has turned about-face! The German people are being told that the apparent disunity is only a trick to deceive them. As the Berlin *Börsenzeitung* put it on August 10:

> The alleged tension between the plutocracies and their Bolshevik ally looks suspicious to us; particularly suspicious is the apparent candor of their discussions about it. The motive of the whole thing is to make the European nations believe that the plutocrats, in the event of their victory over Germany, will check Bolshevism.

No, says the paper, they will not check Bolshevism.

This new twist of German propaganda, already briefly noted here, is made more emphatic every day. Goebbels apparently believes he has now discovered his best "line." In this country we should understand the reason for the new tune. It is well known that the German public is alarmed by nothing so much as by the possibility that Germany will be occupied by Russians or Bolsheviks, the two words being interchangeable. The Germans have a traditional horror of being Russianized, since for centuries they have considered the Russians an inferior race; and now they have in addition a horror of being Bolshevized. This is the source of what a Swedish newspaper calls an increasingly evident "wave of Anglophilia." England, and to a lesser extent the United States, are regarded as saviors from Bolshevism. The burden of Goebbels's new line, endlessly reiterated, is that any hope of salvation from these nations is illusory, since t Russianization or Bolshevization of Germany has alrea been agreed upon by London, Washington, and Mosco

There is general agreement among observers in Ge many on the phenomenon of "universal Russophobia paralleling the universal Anglophilia. The Swiss *Appe zeller Zeitung,* for example, said on August 3:

> It is revealing how uniform the general attitude toward Bolshevism is. Propaganda and descriptions by returning soldiers have endowed Bolshevism with terrifically distorted features. . . . The opinion is frequently expressed that it would be preferable to kill one's whole family rather than deliver it to the Bolsheviks.

And the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm *Ti ningen* wrote on August 7:

> The army youth brought up in the spirit of Hitlerism, and very large sections of the population, particularly the middle class, live in constant fear of Bolshevism. It might even be said that this fear is clearly expressed by the unwillingness of many Berliners to evacuate the city eastward.

This aversion, this fear, is by far the strongest weap of the Nazis in their fight against defeatism. There hardly any need for them to propagandize against Russ they now propagandize against the hope that the weste enemy will protect them from the eastern. They are co centrating their fire against this hope.

The News Mirror, the most popular German rad program of national scope, presented on August 19 report of a conversation with a fictitious person who w described as naive and a fool:

> He closed his eyes to the Bolshevik threat and assured me that England and the United States would never permit a Bolshevik conquest of Germany. I could not help asking him how England and the United States could prevent such a development even if they wanted to. . . . But once again it has been proved that England and the United States have no objection to handing Germany and Europe over to the Bolsheviks. Their reasons are clear: they are not in a position to prevent it, and they do not want to prevent it.

And Gauleiter Wagner told a meeting at Freibu on August 15:

> It is completely wrong to assume that, if Germany and its allies were defeated, the democracies would be the victors. If Germany is defeated, the victors will be the Bolsheviks, not the democracies. Only the dullest fools can fail to realize this.

All these quotations give an idea of the point of vi the Nazis are trying to sell the Germans now. Obvious they are preparing their people, in the event of defe to surrender to the English and Americans, but not the Russians.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE JEWISH WIFE

BY BERTOLT BRECHT

English version by ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

THE scene is laid in Germany soon after Hitler came to power. It is evening. A woman is packing a bag. She is picking out the things she wants to take with r. Sometimes she takes an article out of the bag again and ts it back in its place so that she can pack something else. e hesitates a long time over a large picture of her husband ich is on the dressing-table. In the end she leaves it where is. Getting tired of packing, she sits for a few moments a suitcase, her head propped on her hand. Then she goes the telephone.

THE WIFE. Judith Keith speaking. Is that you, doctor, w are you? I just wanted to call up and say that you must k around for a new bridge partner. Yes, I'm going away. , not for very long, but it won't be less than a couple of eks. I'm thinking of going to Amsterdam. Yes, the spring uld be lovely there. No, friends, in the plural, unbeliev- e as it sounds. How can you play bridge now? But we en't played for two weeks. Certainly, Fritz had a cold . When it gets so cold bridge is impossible, I said so too. no, doctor, how could I? Thekla had to accommodate mother. I know. How should I suppose that? No, it lly didn't come suddenly at all, it's just that I kept put- it off, but now I must. Yes, we'll have to call off our vie date. Say hello to Thekla for me. Perhaps you'll call sometime Sunday? So long then. Well, gladly, of course. odby.

(She hangs up and calls another number.)

udith Keith speaking. I'd like to speak to Frau Shoeck. te? I wanted to say a quick goodby, I'm going away a time. No, I'm quite well, I just want to see a couple new faces. Yes, what I wanted to say was that Fritz is nging the professor here for the evening next Tuesday, perhaps you could come too. As I said I'm leaving to- ht. Yes, Tuesday. No, I only wanted to say I'm going y tonight, that has nothing to do with it, I thought you ld come then too. All right, let's say: *although* I'm not e, O. K.? Of course I know you're not like that, and if you were these are troubled times, and everybody's ful now. You'll come then? If Max can? Oh, he will be to, the professor'll be here, tell him. I must hang up . Fine. Goodby.

(She hangs up and calls another number.)

that you, Gertrud? This is Judith. Sorry to disturb you. nks. I wanted to ask you if you can look after Fritz, I'm g away for a couple of months. I think that you as his r— Why wouldn't you like to? But there's no likelihood of not in Fritz's case. Naturally he knows that—er—you and dn't get on too well together, but— Then *he'll* call *you*, u wish it. Yes, I'll tell him. It's all pretty much in order, though the apartment's a bit too big. His study? Oh, Ida knows how to look after it, just leave that to her. I find her quite intelligent, and he's used to her. And another thing, please don't misunderstand me, he doesn't like to talk before dinner, could you remember that? I've always avoided it. I don't want to discuss it now, my train leaves soon and I've not finished packing, you see. Look after his suits and remind him he has to go to the tailor—he's ordered a coat—and take care that his bedroom's well heated, he always sleeps with an open window and it's too cold. I don't believe he should "become inured" to it, but now I must stop. Thank you so much, Gertrud, and we'll write to each other. Goodby.

(She hangs up and calls another number.)

Anna? This is Judith. Look, I'm leaving right away. No, it has to be, it'll be harder later on. Too hard? Yes, no, Fritz doesn't want it, he knows nothing, I have simply packed. I don't think so. I don't think he'll say much. It's simply too hard for him, I mean outside. We've agreed on nothing. We never even spoke about it, never. No, he was not different, on the contrary— I want you to be good to him a little at the first. Yes, especially Sunday, and advise him to move. The apartment is too big for him. I'd like to say goodby to you, but you know— The janitor? Goodby then, no don't come to the station, by no means. Goodby, I'll write. Surely.

(She hangs up and calls no more numbers. She has been smoking. She now burns the little book in which she looked up the telephone numbers. She walks up and down a couple of times. Then she begins to speak. She is trying out the little lecture which she wishes to give to her husband. One sees that he is in a certain chair.)

Yes, I'm going now, Fritz. Perhaps I've stayed too long already, you must forgive that, but—

(She stands thinking and begins again.)

Fritz, you shouldn't keep me here any longer, you can't do it. It's obvious that I'll be your undoing. I know you're not cowardly, you're not afraid of the police—but there are worse things than the police. They won't take you to the concentration camp but—tomorrow or the next day—they won't let you into the clinic. You won't say anything then, but you'll be sick. I won't see you sitting around here turning the pages of the newspaper. I'm going out of pure egoism and nothing else. Don't say anything.

(She stops again. She starts again.)

Don't say you're not changed. You are! Last week you found—quite objectively—that the percentage of Jewish scientists is after all not so great. It always begins with objectivity. And why do you continually say to me now that I never was such a Jewish nationalist as now. Naturally I am! It's so catching! Oh Fritz, what has happened to us?

(She stops again. She starts again.)

I didn't tell you I wanted to go and have wanted to go a long time because I can't talk when I look at you, Fritz. What is wrong with them? What do they actually want? What do I do to them? I've never meddled in politics. Was I for Thaelmann? No. I'm just a bourgeois, a housewife who keeps servants and so forth, and now suddenly only blonds can carry on that way. I've often thought lately how you said to me some years ago: "There are valuable people and less valuable people. The valuable people get insulin when they have sugar in the blood, the less valuable get none." I agreed with you, little fool that I was! Now they've made a new dictionary, and I belong to the less valuable. It's right that it should happen to me.

(She stops again. She begins again.)

Yes, I'm packing. You mustn't act as if you hadn't noticed it in the last few days. Fritz, everything is tolerable except one thing: that we're not looking each other in the eyes during the last hours that remain to us. That they shall not achieve—the liars who set everyone lying. Ten years ago when someone maintained that no one could tell I was Jewish you quickly said: "Oh, yes, they can tell." And I liked that. It was clear-headed. Why evade the issue now? I'm packing because otherwise they'll take away your position at the clinic. And because they already cut you there to your face and because already you can't sleep at night. I don't want you to tell me not to go. I'm going in a hurry because I don't want to have you tell me I should go. It's a question of time. Character is a question of time. It lasts for a certain length of time, just like a glove. There are good ones that last a long time. But they don't last forever. Of course I'm not angry. And yet: I am. Why should I always be so understanding? What's wrong with the shape of my nose and the color of my hair? I should quit the town where I was born lest they should need to give me butter? What kind of men are you all? What kind of a man are you? You people discover the quantum theory and let yourselves be led by half-savages; you may conquer the world and not be able to have the wife you want. Artificial respiration and every shot a hit! You're monsters or the bootlickers of monsters. Yes, this is unreasonable of me, but what use is reason in such a world? There you sit watching your wife pack and say nothing. The walls have ears, don't they? And you say nothing! One lot listens and the other lot doesn't speak. Christ! I too should refuse to speak. If I loved you, I'd not speak. I love you really. Give me that underwear. Those have sex appeal, I'll need them. I'm thirty-six, that's not so old, but I can't do much more experimenting. It mustn't be this way in the next country I come to. The next man I get must be allowed to keep me. And don't say you'll send money, you know you can't. And you shouldn't act as if it were for four weeks. This business doesn't last a mere four weeks. You know it and I know it too. So don't say, "Well, it's only for two weeks or so," as you give me the fur coat which I'll not need till winter. And don't talk to me about misfortune. Talk about shame. Oh, Fritz!

(She stops. A door is heard. She hastily puts herself to rights. Her husband comes in.)

THE HUSBAND. What are you doing, tidying up?

THE WIFE. No.

HUSBAND. Why are you packing?

WIFE. I want to go.

HUSBAND. What do you mean?

WIFE. We've talked sometimes about my going away for a time. Things are not too good here these days.

HUSBAND. That's a lot of nonsense.

WIFE. Shall I stay then?

HUSBAND. Where do you intend to go?

WIFE. To Amsterdam. Away from here.

HUSBAND. But you have no one there.

WIFE. No.

HUSBAND. Why don't you stay here then? You certai mustn't go on my account.

WIFE. No.

HUSBAND. You know I've not changed, don't you, Judit

WIFE. Yes.

(He embraces her. They stand, silent, between the bag

HUSBAND. And there's nothing else to make you go?

WIFE. You know the answer to that.

HUSBAND. Perhaps it isn't so stupid. You *need* a breath I'll bring you back. Two days on the other side of the fro tier, and I'll feel much better.

WIFE. Yes, by all means.

HUSBAND. This business here can't last too long. A co plete change will come—from somewhere. All this will ca down again like an inflammation. It's really too bad.

WIFE. It certainly is. Did you meet Shoeck?

HUSBAND. Yes, that is, only on the stairs. I believe h sorry again that they cut us. He was quite embarrassed. the long run they can't hold us intellectual beasts of burc down like this. Nor can they make war with completely spi less wrecks. These people are not so unresponsive if c confronts them boldly. When do you want to go?

WIFE. Quarter past nine.

HUSBAND. And where shall I send the money?

WIFE. General delivery, Amsterdam, perhaps.

HUSBAND. I'll get myself a special permit. My God, I ca send my wife away with ten marks a month! What a m everything is in. I feel awful about it.

WIFE. When you come for me, it'll do you good.

HUSBAND. To read a paper for once that has someth in it!

WIFE. I called up Gertrud. She'll look after you.

HUSBAND. Quite unnecessary—for a mere two weeks.

WIFE. *(Who has begun to pack.)* Hand me the fur c now, will you?

HUSBAND *(Gives it to her.)* After all, it's only for t weeks or so.

Blind Anger

BETWEEN TEARS AND LAUGHTER. By Lin Yuta
The John Day Company. $2.50.

WE HAVE learned to respect and appreciate] Yutang as a kind of Wise Man from the E Beginning with "My Country and My People," in wh he interpreted Chinese culture for the West, he expoun a philosophy which in our Western tradition would be cal Epicurean but which he defined as a combination of Con cian and Taoist viewpoints. He gloried in the earth-bou and sober common sense of Confucianism and poured scorn upon the heaven-storming fanaticisms of the West

Perhaps he intended the same spirit to permeate his r book, for we are told that the Chinese title, literally tra ted, means "weeping, laughter, both wrong." But the gedies of the war have long since drawn him out of his rtly Epicurean and partly Stoic equanimity. There is little this volume of the "law of measure" which the title tokens. The fact is that Mr. Lin is very, very angry. Anger ay, on occasion, distil more wisdom than serenity does; the thor's anger is therefore no explanation of the fact that is book will add nothing to his reputation or stature. It is rident in tone, sometimes cheap in expression, full of conadictory opinions, and lacking in both nobility of spirit d significant illumination of the problems under discussion.

The cause of the author's wrath is fairly clear, though not all clearly defined. The cause is the white man's pride. It not clearly defined because Mr. Lin alternately accuses the estern world of arrogance, of power politics, of "matealism," and of undue reliance upon science. Since the rogance of Western man is undoubtedly one of the chief zards to the creation of a world community in which the siatic peoples can find their rightful and due place, one ay well regret that the author's anger has not found a more fective vehicle, and that he allows absurdities and contractions to destroy the force of his accusation.

When indicting the West Mr. Lin is never quite certain hether he wants to include the whole West or whether he aiming primarily at Britain, while claiming America as an ly. Mr. Churchill is his chief whipping boy. The Prime inister's intransigence on the issue of the freedom of India akes him a natural and proper object of attack. Sir Norman ngell falls under his condemnation less plausibly; and he ever adequately or justly defines Sir Norman's approach to orld problems. Though he seems at times to regard America essentially free of the prejudices which arouse his scorn, speaks at other times as if the late Professor Spykman's American Strategy in World Politics" were the definitive proach of our country to world problems.

Spykman offers a good foil for the author's charge that e West plays power politics. "I remember," he declares, during World War I the term 'power politics' used to be ritten *Machtpolitik* and had a German flavor; now it is not ecessary, Germany has conquered from within." Against the Western realization that all politics is power politics, in the nse that political life is never a purely rational accommoation of interest to interest but a dynamic harmony of vital rces, Mr. Lin presents Confucian moralism as the answer the problem of a global community. I seem to remember at in his "My Country and My People" he admitted that l the Confucian words of advice to the powerful did not sure justice. The simple moralism in this book throws no ght on how the world is really to be organized justly.

Furthermore, when it suits his purposes, he easily discards e picture of the pure morality of the East in contrast to e cynical devotion to power politics of the West, and reatens us with force in the following terms:

> The only logical way to keep Asia down permanently would be to keep the knowledge of the use of rifles and guns from the Asiatics, as we are trying to keep the American bombsight from the enemy. Stretch it across the decades and you know it cannot be done. For a century the discrepancy in arms alone maintained the white empires in Asia. What the Second World War suddenly revealed

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> is that now the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians have guns. This fact is going to change world history.

I think that the observation is true and the implied threa justified. But it stands in strange contradiction to the monotonous indictment of "power politics" in the rest of th volume. The real fact is that the author has never meditate very profoundly on the relation between power and justic and how to make the former a servant of the latter.

One of his charges against the West is that it trust science too much. It is not quite clear whether his case agains science is that it makes value judgments on the basis c inadequate criteria, or that it fails to make such judgment or that it is incapable of measuring the "imponderables" c human life. A very plausible indictment against Wester confidence in science can be written; but it would have t be made with more discrimination than the author reveal

Among many other vagaries in this disjointed diatrib against the West is the idea that experts are interested onl in facts, while the common people have a sure hold o "principles." This charge becomes particularly implausibl when applied to foreign policy. Most of the national policie against which he inveighs were forced upon statesmen b the reluctance of ordinary citizens to assume responsibilitie for political order and justice beyond their own nation an by the inability of the common man to foresee coming event

We shall just have to write off this book and hope tha the author will regain his poise in the future. If he is goin to write about politics, he might well study a little politic science, however hateful scientific discipline may seem t him.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Sweden's Dilemma

STALWART SWEDEN. By Joachim Joesten. Doubleda Doran and Company. $2.50.

THE Sweden Joachim Joesten first went to "was a happ care-free land," he says. That was in 1934, long befo the days of war, which have shown Sweden that the neutral lot is not a happy one. Neutrals are disturbed from withou and within. The belligerents prod them. They suffer psychological mutations because they pretend to stand upon th moon while they try to live in the world. Neutrality nurture a sort of introversion accompanied by anxious self-questioning. Is neutrality honorable? Is neutrality wise?

Now Mr. Joesten adds to the store of unhappiness fo neutral Sweden by setting out to show that throughout th war the country has been an unneutral thorn in the Allie side. "Up to the end of last year," Mr. Joesten writes in h little book, "I was convinced that Sweden, if forced into th war, would side up with Germany."

His conclusion had an especial interest for me because no long ago I was in Sweden trying to assay its point of view My opinion on leaving was that the Swedes fundamentall were pro-Allied but had been disillusioned and mad timid by international political events. In the years betwee wars they had sought a system of cooperation among a powers great and small, in the form of the League. Ethiopi Spain, and Munich discouraged them, and today they mak inward reservations when faced with arguments about th oral earnestness of what they call the "Great Powers."

I thought Mr. Joesten's book might convince me I was rong about the Swedes and that I would discover they really e pro-German. The evidence he gets into his book does ot make a case. He devotes a long chapter to Axel L. enner-Gren as a friend of Germany, but Wenner-Gren as been out of Sweden since the war's beginning and he is sliked among his fellow Swedes. He does not influence veden's war-time policies from his safe retreat in Mexico.

Mr. Joesten stresses the censors and newspaper publishers ho appear to help Germany, but the press in the main is o-Allied. The newspaper with the largest circulation, the ockholm *Dagens Nyheter*, is anti-German. Stockholm apers carry more American news than British papers. He arges that Sweden is unfair to anti-Germans who are seekg asylum because he was put into an internment camp in 940 when he was discovered traveling without papers under n assumed name, but Stockholm is filled with Czechs, Ausians, Poles, and Norwegians who have found refuge there.

The events leading up to Mr. Joesten's internment occupy good many of his 205 pages. He has a grievance against weden, and his book might have been more telling if he ad given the grievance less emphasis. He adds a good deal the existing lore concerning German fifth-column activities. ut he weakens his case again by stressing the essential curent pro-Germanism of Swedes related by ancestry or marage to Germans. Mr. Joesten himself was born a German, nd he has shown that nobody can be more anti-German an a German.

BLAIR BOLLES

hildren under Fire

AR AND CHILDREN. By Anna Freud and Dorothy T. Burlingham. Medical War Books. $3.50.

THOUSANDS of Americans were genuinely moved by the motion picture "Journey for Margaret." Undoubtdly many among them sensed, even in the very popular ortrayal of the work of the English nursery, something of s special quality. The nursery shown was intended to depict ne of three operated by the Foster Parents' Plan for War hildren under the direction of two highly trained psycholoists, Anna Freud, daughter of Sigmund Freud, and Dorothy iffany Burlingham, an American child-analyst. "War and hildren" is their own presentation of their work and the heory behind it.

Convinced that emotional shocks and deprivations are uite as serious a threat to the child's normal development s dietary deficiencies or bodily dangers, these women have nade unusual efforts to meet the psychic needs of their harges and to repair the damage already done.

Their trained awareness of this aspect of the war problem ends a unique value to their observations of the actual beavior of children and parents and to their deeply thoughtul commentary. One might add, parenthetically, that it is efreshing and somewhat unusual to find the parents recogized throughout as human beings whose problems and conlicts were increased by the abnormal situation, and who eeded help and consideration if their children were to be enefited.

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Small children, the authors point out, are very little affected by repeated bombing experiences, provided they are in the care of their mothers or trusted mother substitutes at the time. "But it is a widely different matter when children are separated from or even lose their parents." If, on the other hand, the parents themselves are unusually agitated and upset, their fears are communicated to their children, even to very young babies incapable of understanding speech or appreciating the dangers around them. "The war acquires comparatively little significance for children," we are told, "so long as it only threatens their lives, disturbs their material comfort, or cuts their food rations. It becomes enormously significant the moment it breaks up family life and uproots the first emotional attachments of the child within the family group. London children, therefore, were on the whole much less upset by bombing than by evacuation to the country as a protection against it."

Why this was true, what measures might be taken to safeguard children's mental health when evacuation is necessary, how these particular nurseries attempted to meet the problem for the children in their care, and how they assisted in the rehabilitation of children already harmed by evacuation experiences are some of the very practical matters discussed.

The vital importance of the mother relationship is stressed again and again. The authors are convinced that every effort must be made to keep it alive. Repeated temporary upsets due to the partings following visits are found much less dangerous than the apparent calm of complete separation.

A discussion of considerable theoretic interest probes the meaning of these experiences for children at various ages and levels of psychological development. Regression or—in younger children—complete failure to repress early aggressive and instinctual drives is linked with disturbance of the mother relationship at a time when the child's struggle toward civilized standards is still dependent on love for the parent. There is also an important note on the disturbance of this civilizing process due to contact with adult aggression and destructiveness. "The real danger," we are reminded, "is not that the child, caught up all innocently in the whirlpool of the war, will be shocked into illness. The danger lies in the fact that destruction raging in the outer world may meet the very real aggressiveness which rages in the inside of the child. At the age when education should start to deal with these impulses, confirmation should not be given from the outside world that the same impulses are uppermost in other people. Children will play joyfully on bombed sites and around bomb craters . . . but it becomes impossible to educate them toward a repression of, and reaction against, destruction while they are doing so."

Space forbids any attempt to reproduce all the important insights of these authors. The book should prove fascinating reading for all who are concerned about children in war time. While eminently sound and thoughtful, it is brief and free from forbidding psychological jargon. One wishes it had been more carefully edited to eliminate repetitions and occasional grammatical errors. But these are minor flaws in an otherwise excellent piece of work. HELEN G. STERNAU

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BERTOLT BRECHT, one of Germany's leading poets and dramatists, is now living in this country. His "Ballad of the Dead Soldier" circulated by word of mouth throughout Germany in the last war and won him the lasting hatred of the Junkers. He has the honor of holding fifth place on the Nazi murder list. Only two of his books are available in English: "A Penny for the Poor" and "The Trial of Lucullus."

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RECORDS

ME people, I find, think that Mr. etrillo is forbidding the record anies to manufacture copies (cor- nding to photographic prints) of ecordings (corresponding to photo- hic plates or films) already in exist- . Actually he is forbidding members is union to accept employment by ompanies to make new recordings. s doing this as an act of pressure— tly on the record companies, in- tly on the broadcasting and juke- companies—to secure an agreement will protect the living musician nst the machine—an agreement that increase the employment of living icians and compensate those thrown of work who cannot be reemployed. s far as I can judge, the pressure is effective, and the action is hurting employed musician without doing unemployed the slightest good. The rd companies cannot record per- nances of symphonic and other ssical" music; but all this means is they are saving the expense and ble involved in new recordings while devote their plant, materials, and r to manufacturing copies of already ting recordings of such music in ntities which do not even remotely e near meeting the demand; and can go on doing this until record- is resumed in Europe and they begin eceive a fresh supply of new record- . They cannot record performances the latest popular songs; but again means that they save the expense trouble involved, and that they ufacture more records of "classical" ic which sell for 75 cents and a dol- and less records of popular music ich sell for 35 cents and 50 cents. large broadcasting systems continue roadcast the living performances of phony orchestras and celebrated jazz ds. The small broadcasting stations ch depend on records continue with existing recordings of symphony hestras and celebrated jazz bands— ugh one can foresee that their audi- es may tire of the recordings of the popular songs, and that as a result re may be pressure on the stations ome to terms with Mr. Petrillo. The e pressure may be even greater on manufacturers of juke-boxes, which only records of popular songs. The ll broadcasting stations and juke-box npanies may, then, be hurt—to what ree, and with what effect for Mr. rillo's purpose, I don't pretend to know; but meanwhile the members of symphony orchestras and jazz bands are losing the money they would be earning at recording-sessions, the symphony orchestras are losing the royalties they would be receiving from the new recordings, the song-writers and the arrangers are losing their royalties, and when the juke-box companies begin to be hurt the celebrated jazz bands whose popularity is built up in large measure by the records in juke-boxes will begin to be hurt with them.

In a recent letter to the New York *Times* Sir Thomas Beecham questioned whether Mr. Petrillo's action was a good way to achieve his end, and suggested a better way. Accepting Mr. Petrillo's statement that his quarrel was not with the record companies but with the broadcasting and other companies that "live partly or mainly upon mechanized music to the disadvantage of unemployed musicians," Sir Thomas suggested that the protection of copyright be extended to records, so that these companies, which now can use them without paying anything, would have to pay a fee for each use. "A very large income would be forthcoming to the creators, artistic and mechanical, of the records. They, I am sure, would be only too willing to hand over to the [musicians' union] the larger portion of [the] fees." And the union could use the money for unemployment relief or to create employment: "Why should not the Federation . . . found orchestras of its own?"

On the same page a week later a Mr. Herbert A. Speiser pointed out that "when [the musician] makes a record he creates a substitute for his services and so dispenses with the need for his own employment"; and went on to show that the musician who made this record was not fairly compensated for his work. "If I am asked by another to grant him the use of something which I have created, I inquire into what the use is and how much money he will make. If I find he will profit $100 I will ask a fee of, say, $10. But if he will profit $1,000,000, should I receive but the same $10?" That, wrote Mr. Speiser, was the situation of the musician, who was paid a fair fee for making a record intended to be played in the home, but who was unable to collect anything out of the huge profits which the broadcasting stations and juke-box companies made out of it, because of the federal copyright law passed thirty-four years ago which protects the author, the composer, the inventor, but not the performer. Attempts to amend the law have been defeated by "the pressures of strong economic influences, among which are the very interests which gain the fabulous profits from the use of musicians' talents on records. The public interest, if considered, was lost in the lobby. Now that the musicians have taken an aggressive and brave stand, Congress talks suddenly of the public and wastes its time on investigations of the rights of A. F. of M. and its energetic leader. If Congress has the public interest at heart, the remedy is clear and simple—give the musician the same protection of the law which every other creator has."

And a week later, on the same page, an article by Jack Gould gave Mr. Petrillo's views on the matters discussed in the preceding letters. He too believed that the copyright law should be extended to recorded performances, and that this would make possible a long-range solution of the problem; but he contended that a short-range solution was necessary meanwhile because previous attempts had demonstrated the difficulties in the way of getting the copyright law revised and the time this would take. Each such attempt had been defeated by the quarreling of the parties involved, of whom the record companies and the musicians' union were only two among a larger group. Only recently Mr. Petrillo had offered the companies a combination of long-range and short-range solutions: his cooperation in an attempt to secure revision of the copyright act, if over a period of five years the companies would make payments to the union totaling $18,000,000; and the offer had been rejected by the representatives of the broadcasting companies, who had both negative and positive reasons for opposing both the short- and the long-range solutions—who, that is, had not been hurt financially by the Petrillo ban, who did not want to pay $18,000,000, and who did not want a revision of the copyright law which in the long run would compel them to pay far more than $18,000,000 in increased royalty fees.

This discussion in the *Times* has caused the problems, the issues, the possible solutions, the forces working for and against these solutions to emerge clearly defined from the previous confusion. But the comment they call for will have to wait until next week.

B. H. HAGGIN

COMING SOON IN *THE NATION*
"What to Do with Italy." By Gaetano Salvemini and George La Piana.
Reviewed by G. A. Borgese.

Letters to the Editors

Is This Clean Politics?

Dear Sirs: Simple honesty should be the basis of liberal and labor politics. Our quarrel with the right and with totalitarianism is, in large measure at least, ethical. If we are to work for more democracy—in politics, in economic life, in world affairs—our own democracy must be above reproach.

I am moved to these remarks by a scandalous violation of democratic procedure in an organization dedicated to social progress and clean politics. On August 30 I attended, as a duly elected county committeeman, the 1943 convention of the Kings County (Brooklyn) American Labor Party. The ostensible purpose of the meeting was to elect officers and name candidates. Actually, as every party member knew, the meeting was to be a final test of strength between the two leading factions, known generally as the right and left wings. The left wing consists of those who have followed a political line parallel to that of the Communist Party and have unfailingly urged current Communist policies upon the A. L. P. The so-called right wing, to which I adhere and on whose ticket I was elected in the primaries, is held together less by any political line than by its opposition to the left wing; we feel that left-wing control of the party would mean Communist domination pure and simple and that all hope for liberal political action in New York State would die.

That, roughly speaking, was the issue. The primaries had been so close that no one could tell which side had won. The right-wing leaders, who control the party machinery, called the convention and examined all credentials. When they determined that a quorum of accredited committeemen was present, they declared the session open.

What followed was outrageous. From the moment the first *viva voce* vote was called, it was clear that the left-wing was a large majority. Even those with a high regard for Communist lungpower could not claim that the right wing outnumbered the left. Yet John Gelo, chairman of the convention, had the audacity to award the decision to his followers. And so it went all evening. The left wing roared and the right wing squeaked, but the chairman, who had refused to permit the Honest Ballot Association to send a representative, always found his side in the majority. Left-wing representatives got the floor only by taking it without permission. During the whole evening, only one of their motions was entertained—then "voted" down by Mr. Gelo's followers. The rest of the time they could not even raise a point of order or a point of information. On the only hand-vote of the evening—on a new slate of county officers proposed by the left wing—my side was outnumbered three or four to one. At least so it seemed to me, sitting up in an advantageous seat in the balcony. So it seemed to everyone about me, of both persuasions. So it seemed to all the newspapermen and police present. Certainly the left had more than half the votes. After refusing to allow any left-wing members to act as tellers, Mr. Gelo calmly announced that the right had 1,357 votes to the left's 1,149. The left challenged the count and demanded a roll-call vote. Mr. Gelo adjourned the meeting.

I hold no brief for the left wing. I believe that those of its members who are not Communists have been deluded by Communists. I realize if the left had controlled the meeting, the right would have received no better treatment than it dealt out. Still, the left wing was in the majority and should have won. The county leaders accepted the credentials of every delegate present and signified their willingness to decide the issue democratically. But they flouted democracy at every turn. Even if, by some miracle, it should be proved that the count of the hand vote was accurate, the county leaders would be suspect for (a) their refusal to turn the balloting over to the Honest Ballot Association or even to introduce printed ballots of their own, (b) their refusal to grant left-wing leaders their parliamentary rights, (c) their refusal to check the vote by roll call.

I propose to George S. Counts, chairman of the American Labor Party, and to Alex Rose, executive secretary, that they immediately appoint a committee to investigate the Kings County convention. Representatives of both sides and impartial outsiders should study the results and examine the conduct of John Gelo, Kings County chairman, and his subordinates. I realize that if the investigation shows what I and many others suspect it will, our side may well lose control of the state organization the party. That would be too bad. But would be no worse than having t party controlled by men who can't ke their prejudices and their arithme separated. RICHARD H. ROVERE

Brooklyn, N. Y., August 31

How About It?

Dear Sirs: In his very interesting artic England Teaches Its Soldiers, in *T Nation* for August 21, Reinhold Ni buhr says, "I have the uneasy feeli that the failure of American educato to interest themselves in the problem army education is responsible to a lar degree for the comparative educatio backwardness of the American army."

In the fall of 1941 I was receivi letters from former students of mi at the University of Chicago who we in various army camps. They said it w disturbing to realize how many of t soldiers had no idea what nazism w and thought this was just another w Having been granted leave of. absen by the University of Chicago to take the cudgels against isolationism, I wr to Secretary Stimson that I was goi to Washington and should like to s him. He replied that he would be New York when I was there but t Mr. John J. McCloy would see n When I called on this gentleman summoned Oveta Culp Hobby, at t time the morale builder of mothers American soldiers. They were not i pressed by extracts from the letters had received, or by my plea for t recognition of the psychological aspe of this war. Mr. McCloy finally end the interview with, "All soldiers ne to know is how to shoot."

In the fall of 1941 I offered services for nothing. I have raised price now! British army discussi groups are often led by women. have women over here, too, who ha taught young men and have had wealth of experience in leading disc sion groups. I am going over to Engla soon for a couple of months but I do some evening work when I get ba I have another job, but in war tim can take on a "victory shift" of ex work. How about it, Mr. McCloy? H about shooting *plus* education?

MARY B. GILSON

Boston, Mass., August 24

ers and the War

Sirs: I have just finished reading editorial, Work or Fight, and I you have missed the chief reason the failure of fathers in non-tial jobs to transfer to essential I refer to the resistance put up by mployers in the said non-essential When, for example, a man in a vely well-paid position having rity and pension rights is drafted, rm usually promises to take him after the war, if at all possible, same seniority and pension level d when he was called. If, how- he responds to the government's ishments, quits his job, and goes defense plant, not only does he do oubtless, at a great financial sacri- being untrained in mechanical but his firm takes the position e quit; it therefore drops his name its list of employees and if, after ar, he wants to get back into his job he must begin at the bottom. it, therefore, surprising that he pre- o take his chances with the draft? gures, too, that his family would almost as much in one case as in ther, what with the bad living con- s in defense areas and the rela- low wages that he, as an untrained er, would be able to earn.

we want the young fathers to h jobs we'll have to put pressure e employers, I think.

KATHRYN R. FREY
LEOPOLD FREY

go, Ill., August 31

So Shallow

Sirs: The argument of Rolfe Hum- s's two-page review of the Moult logy in *The Nation* of August 21 e, I think, about which there can ttle disagreement. I said many of me things in a review of the pre- issue of Mr. Moult's perennial.

wever, Mr. Humphries's generali- about the "shallow ponds of the ican provinces" does a serious dis- e to a number of literary magazines e United States which are pro- l in no sense except that of their of publication.

e magazine *Fantasy* (Pittsburgh), Mr. Humphries names among showing that the anthologist's erican impulses are much more ncial," has as much first-rate poetry e 152 pages of its current issue— ding work by Richard Eberhart, R. Hays, Clark Mills, Kenneth en, W. T. Scott, Byron Vazakas, Oscar Williams, etc., etc.—as there is in any American or British periodical which I have seen.

Some of the "shallow ponds of the American provinces" are fairly deep, and offer much of the best poetry which is being published today.

COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

Washington, D. C., August 23

The Postal Case

Dear Sirs: Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544—C. I. O., is now serving a five-year prison term solely because of his loyalty to the principles of trade-union democracy. He has been a worker and trade-union militant for thirty years; he is also a veteran of the First World War. The Kelly Postal case is as flimsy a frame-up as were the Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti cases.

In June, 1941, a long-standing conflict concerning the question of trade-union democracy between Local 544 and Daniel J. Tobin, president of the Teamsters International, A. F. of L., came to a head. Local 544 decided, by a virtually unanimous vote, to disaffiliate from the A. F. of L. and to join the C. I. O. Postal was one of the militant leaders in this struggle. Daniel J. Tobin made his first move personally against Postal, and also other leaders of Local 544, when he made an explicit appeal to President Roosevelt for help. Postal was one of those indicted in the Minneapolis labor case of 1941. He was cleared of all charges by the jury. But the campaign against him was continued. He was indicted by the Hennepin County attorney for embezzlement. He was not accused of having misused union funds personally. He was accused on this charge because, acting as treasurer of the local, he obeyed the democratic vote of the membership and transferred the union funds as he had been directed to. Judge Hall, sitting in the first trial, directed the jury to discharge Kelly Postal. He was re-indicted, and convicted on practically the same evidence and by the same witnesses as were introduced in his first trial. The Supreme Court of Minnesota sustained this convicton.

The Michigan C. I. O. has condemned the frame-up of Kelly Postal and urged its locals to give full moral and financial support to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the authorized representative of his defense. In its resolution, the Michigan C. I. O. declared: "The conviction . . . violates and jeopardizes the democratic rights of trade-union members to decide for themselves the disposition of their funds, and endangers trade-union democracy fully as much as . . . the Smith-Connally Bill." A dangerous precedent has been established: a militant trade-unionist has been railroaded to jail. The Civil Rights Defense Committee is conducting a national campaign to free Kelly Postal. It asks all trade-unionists, all defenders of civil liberties to join in this effort. It asks that letters be sent to Governor Edward Thye, St. Paul, Minnesota, urging that he pardon Kelly Postal. The defense of Kelly Postal is the defense of trade-union democracy in this country; the freeing of Kelly Postal will be an important victory for trade-union democracy in the face of a wave of reaction which seeks to enchain labor by gag acts and other means.

JAMES T. FARRELL, Chairman
Civil Rights Defense Committee

New York, N. Y., August 26

Misplaced Credit

Dear Sirs: In your drama review in *The Nation* of August 28 an amazing error was made. Discussing the Negro as a basis for folk drama, your editor said: "In 'The Green Pastures' Marc Connelly created a charming extravaganza based on Marc Connelly's conception of the Negro's idea of Heaven."

I should like to point out that "The Green Pastures" is merely Marc Connelly's adaptation of Roark Bradford's concept of the Negro idea of Heaven. Too little credit has been given Mr. Bradford and his "Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun" (published by Harper and Brothers in 1928), on which Marc Connelly's play was based. The book supplied a well-worked-out idea of charm and originality, which Mr. Connelly translated into the medium of the stage and movie. I realize the public cannot be blamed for not knowing this when little recognition and billing has been given Roark Bradford, but surely the literary editor of *The Nation* should be better informed. And for her information and delight, I recommend "Ol' Man Adam" to her.

HERMIONE W. ADLER

Birmingham, Ala., August 29

[My abject apologies to Mr. Bradford for a quite inexcusable lapse of memory. I am doubly ashamed because I too am extremely annoyed when the credit for a good piece of work goes to the adapters and producers rather than the creator.—M. M.]

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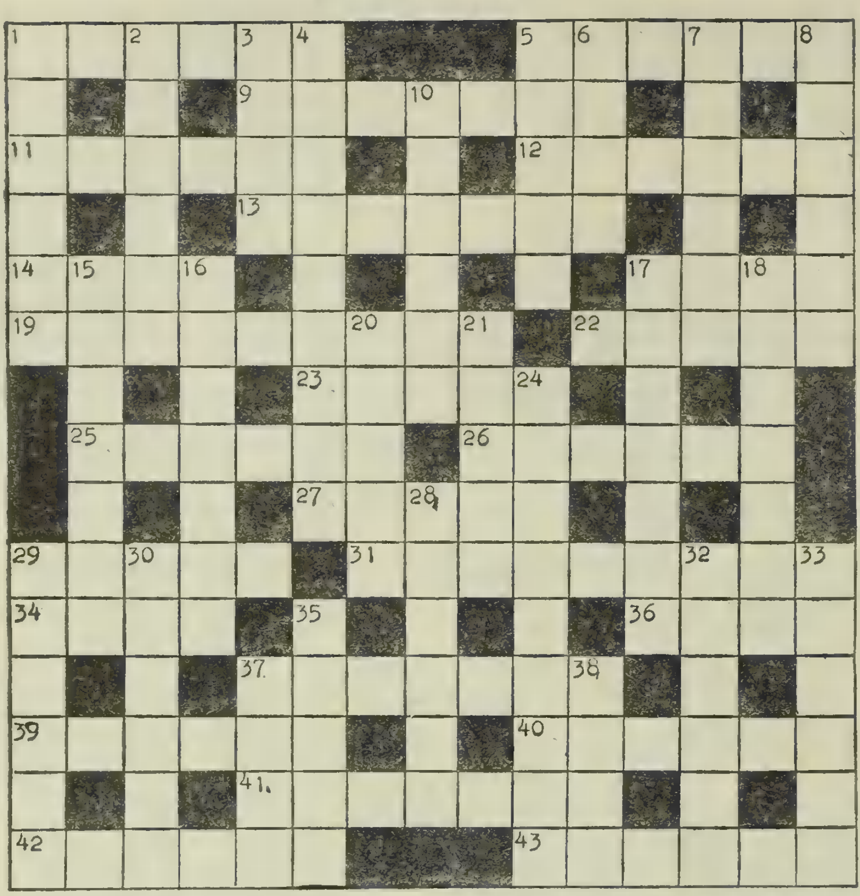
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 29

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The home of the brave
5 Undressed kids
9 Though no actor, he knows his lines
11 One of the storekeeper's overhead expenses?
12 Bird that might get caught in its tail
13 I lose it (anag.)
14 Pronoun: always singular, now unusual
17 He sounds competent
19 Spanker, but not required for a spanker
22 Rapacious bird of biblical repute
23 Supposed dwelling-place of the Muses
25 Having the gift of the gab
26 Insurance is about the only thing that covers him
27 The evil spirit that upsets the world abroad
29 Man once swore by it . . . now he swears at it
31 Ancient lights
34 Something of a libertine, but useful in the garden
36 East Indian palm
37 P. T. O. to reform (two words, 3 and 4)
39 Mother and offspring provide this fruit
40 Animals unaffected by beheading!
41 Cloth-headed cold-blooded creature with slate tail
42 Eve's O. K. (anag.)
43 Told tales

DOWN

1 You will have to alter the law to make it
2 Hot stuff this, so you'd better get a drink first!
3 Where stands Pisa today? On this
4 Not a name to conjure with; just the rod (two words, 5 and 4)
5 Mud volcano
6 This is one
7 Rising in Germany. (Surely the Reds have nothing to do with it!)
8 Pay up
10 Stocked up (two words, 4 and 2)
15 Look for this pest in a hop leaf (hyphen, 3 and 4)
16 A corresponding word
17 Palefaces
18 I'd get in (anag.)
20 A helot is hidden in the inn
21 The nut pine
24 Fair game (two words, 4 and 5)
28 Implement that seems to make me tall
29 This kind of path is not an aisle, though it sounds like one
30 One way to carry arms
32 A picker-up of unconsidered trifles
33 Pickled, and thus consumed
35 Czech statesman
37 Thames lightship known possibly to Americans in England
38 Hopper

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 28

ACROSS:—1 MODES; 6 ROOST; 9 THIMBLE; 10 NEVER; 11 AHEAD; 12 ISSUERS; 16 ABRADE; 19 HOSTEL; 22 NEGLIGENT; 23 PLOT; 24 YOHO; 25 ELEMENTAL; 26 MOON; 27 ITCH; 28 NEAT'S-FOOT; 31 INFANT; 33 PUEBLO; 36 MEALIES; 39 OLIVE; 40 TAINT; 41 SHUTTLE; 42 SYLPH; 43 RIDER.

DOWN:—1 MANNA; 2 DOVER; 3 STRIDE; 4 WITS; 5 OBOE; 6 REASON; 7 OVERT; 8 TIDAL; 13 SEGREGATE; 14 UNIVERSAL; 15 RHEOTROPE; 17 BALLOON; 18 ANTENNA; 20 STYLITE; 21 ETHICAL; 29 ENMESH; 30 OUSTER; 31 IDOLS; 32 FRILL; 34 BLIND; 35 OTTER; 37 ARUM; 38 IOTA.

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 157 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · SEPTEMBER 18, 1943 NUMBER 12

The Appeal to the Italian People

"THE hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its own people," President Roosevelt might well have said on that fateful summer day of 1940. For when Mussolini made of Italy a German stepping-stone to Africa he charted at least one invasion route for the United Nations. He thereby decreed that the Italian land should become a battleground for two mighty forces, the Wehrmacht and the Allied armies.

And still another consequence derived from the Duce's reckless crime. The Italian people, who had for long given proof that they did not wish to make war against us, have never had the chance of winning peace by surrender. Ever since the German failure to hold North Africa delivered Sicily into our hands, they have been confronted with the inescapable duty of joining us in the war against Hitler's Reich. And even though the terms of the armistice do not specifically demand that this warfare be continued after the completion of our occupation, that consequence is implied both by the text of Articles 2 and 9 and by the logic of the situation in which we and the Italians find ourselves. Italy cannot return to neutrality. That is the cardinal fact from which all thought about the future of the Mediterranean war front must proceed.

That the Italian population as a whole must, at least temporarily, take part in this revolutionary struggle was at last conceded by the President and Mr. Churchill in their joint appeal of September 10. That message signaled a fundamental and inescapable truth which will prove to be permanent. If we seize upon it, if we develop to their fullest the rich implications of the situation, the consequences which our impending military gains must necessarily have in the Balkans will be greatly multiplied. Never have we been given such an opportunity, and, to accept the logic of history gladly, never have we been given so clear a duty. The responsibilities which we were offered and which we shirked in the case of France are as nothing compared to those that challenge us in Italy.

There must be no pretense that our established foreign policy has played any part in bringing about the Italian surrender. Not the silent wizardry which certain conservative writers claim to be the special skill of our State Department but far more stringent arguments have overthrown Mussolini and humbled Badoglio. Three main causes stand up with Himalayan clarity above the confused geography of minor events. The causes of the Italian collapse were: first, the German military crisis, induced by the colossal failures on the Russian front; second, the progressive conversion of the Italian people's refusal to fight into a revolutionary will to be out of it; and third, the imminence of our invasion. No characteristic part of our foreign policy was even designed to effect the conjunction or intensify the action of these causes. Indeed, the State Department has consistently disclaimed having a hand in major developments of this war, preferring to assign responsibility to the military. Its present dependence on the will of the Italian people should suffice to establish the necessity of intelligent political warfare.

But it may not suffice. Our leaders may still fail to realize that the peoples of Europe can have no enthusiasm for a Metternichian peace and no profound loyalties to governments designed to be consonant with such a peace. The present regime, referred to as a government in the terms of the armistice, has already given proof that it cannot be regarded as a satisfactory leadership. It has vainly attempted to deny the unmistakable imperative of the Italian people's will. It has shown itself to be in every way as repressive in intention as the old Fascist regime. Its repression, indeed, was at first confessedly directed toward keeping Italy in the war on the Axis side.

We are making minimum charges that do not depend upon any theory concerning Badoglio's ultimate political motives but merely recite the salient facts. That he resisted the forces that are working in conjunction with our military effort should be sufficient. Nor should it incline us toward clement judgment that when he had already realized that our invasion and his collapse were inevitable, his dictatorship sought to maintain the old anti-democratic structure until the Germans should take over. That is to say, he did absolutely nothing to encourage the Italian people, whether in the army or out of it, to implement those terms of the armistice which call for military action. Only in Milan and other northern cities where the liberal movement has come to life was there serious resistance to the Germans. It is clear that Badoglio was, in reality, a nonentity having no force to oppose us and very little will to aid us.

But Badoglio did more than resist the popular imperative. Since Italian troops had demonstrated in Sicily that the palace revolution inspired them no more than naked fascism had done, Badoglio's bargaining power with us derived principally from the German army's presence. There is too much evidence that between July 25 and the second week in August, when the first peace overtures were made, he invited Hitler to send strong reinforcements to his aid. That part of Hitler's speech of September 10 which asserted the contrary referred to Badoglio's refusal to proceed with the inacceptably few divisions the Führer had originally agreed to dispatch. The essence of Badoglio's entreaty, according to a report that appears to have its source in the London Foreign Office, can be summed up in these words: "Either send at least 35 divisions, together with enough airplanes to defend all Italy, or permit me to bargain for neutrality." Whether or not at heart Badoglio would have preferred to remain loyal to the Axis, the fact is that his policy enabled Hitler to organize and strengthen his defenses. The price that must be paid in life and destruction will be far higher than the emerging democracy of Italy would have made it.

If Mussolini long ago charted the line of our military advance, the Italian people have surely indicated what political route we should follow. The London report already referred to states that the three powers concerned have made no binding contract to maintain Badoglio in power. It hints also that London is not unalterably opposed to acknowledging the existence of the opposition parties in Italy. It would have been better had the implied offer of partnership been made with the unmistakable timbre of a choir of orchestral brass. Italian democracy would have been far more encouraged had there been no vague suggestion that it was regretfully regarded as a last-minute alternative to military dictatorship.

It is still not too late to initiate a sound policy. One touch of living democracy is a powerful restorative that quickly banishes the effects of past sickness. Clause 10 of the armistice actually facilitates the restriction of purely military government by the Allies to regions judged by General Eisenhower to be of paramount operational importance. We shall not attempt to guess what this suggestive clause will be held to mean by our diplomats. Article 12 also states that other conditions of a political nature must eventually be accepted by the Italian government. We are thus at liberty to collaborate with a genuine Italian democracy or with those forces which will seek to recreate it. Will our fears and our past errors once again hold us back?

The Shape of Things

WHILE ASKING FOR A SECOND FRONT THAT would bring about the withdrawal of 60 German divisions from the eastern front, the Russians have been engaged in pushing westward the entire German army of some 200 divisions at about as rapid a rate as could possibly have been achieved by any Anglo-American action. Having completely smashed the German lines in the Donbas and in the sector halfway between Kursk and Kiev, the Red Army has moved forward with unprecedented speed. Advances as great as twenty miles in a single day have been reported. From an economic point of view the freeing of the Donets Basin with its rich coal deposits is far more significant than the more spectacular gains of last winter. Coal trains already are reported to be arriving in fuel-starved Moscow, thus making certain that that city will not have to pass another winter in cold and darkness. The only flaw in the prospect is the likelihood that the Soviet offensive may soon be stopped, not by the Nazis, but by the heavy autumn rains which are reported to have already begun in some sections of the Ukraine. This would, of course, give the Germans time to reform their lines and might hold off the recapture of Kiev and the Crimea until winter.

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IN THEIR RELIEF OVER RUSSIA'S ROLE IN THE negotiating which preceded Italy's surrender, many Americans failed to note that France, the country most directly concerned in many of the arrangements, was ignored altogether. The French Committee of National Liberation has issued a strong statement pointing out that it had earlier informed the Allied governments of "terms which it regards as indispensable to safeguard the vital interests of . . . France," and that these conditions have been disregarded. This new snub to the National Liberation Committee appears to be a direct result of the equivocal recognition accorded it by the United States and Great Britain, under which it is not considered the government of France in the same sense, even, that the refugee governments are presumed to represent their countries. This policy is particularly difficult to justify in view of the progress made within the committee itself in the past fortnight in bringing it in line with patriotic French sentiment. François de Menthon, a leader of one of the largest of the French underground organizations, has been added to the committee and named to the key post of Commissioner for Justice. Moreover, the commission that is to supervise the purge of former Vichyites from the armed services includes three representatives of the underground among its five members. Plans have also been drawn up for a new consultative assembly to meet in Algiers on November 3. The various political parties are to be represented in the assembly in the same proportion as in the last Chamber of Deputies elected in France. Thus, while the American and British governments still treat the Committee of National Liberation as if it were a stepchild of the United Nations, the committee itself is rapidly taking on the stature of a real government.

*

A MOMENTOUS STEP WAS TAKEN BY THE Republican Party's Post-War Advisory Council at Mackinac Island last week, and we wish we knew what it was. It had to do with foreign policy, and we have the solemn editorial assurance of the most influential papers that it marked a turning-point in the history of the party, which with this remarkable achievement is said to have come of age, to have awakened to its national responsibility, and to have pointed the way to a bright future for all the world. After seven readings of the unanimously adopted report the only achievement we can detect is the council's astonishing success in equivocating at a moment when decisiveness at last seemed inescapable. The delegates voted for "responsible participation by the United States in post-war cooperative organization among sovereign nations." But they hastily added that in the event of a conflict between national interests and international obligations, we must adhere to our own Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights. Force in international affairs was condemned and a proposal made for the "attainment of a peace that will prevail by virtue of its inherent reciprocal interests and its spiritual foundation. . . ." But since no sacrifice of sovereignty was countenanced, we can't imagine what the council would use in place of collective force should some sovereign power fail to reciprocate sufficiently or relax in its appreciation of the spirit. Delegates of the most conflicting views came away from Mackinac rejoicing over the party's escape from a crippling internal row. " 'But what good came of it at last?' Quoth little Peterkin. 'Why that I cannot tell,' said he: 'But 'twas a famous victory.' "

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BY CONTRAST WITH THE PERFORMANCE AT Mackinac, Secretary Hull's speech to the nation is bound to seem forthright. It does, in fact, clearly set the Administration's course in the direction of an international organization which will rely ultimately on the use of force to keep the peace. Mr. Hull's first major statement in more than a year of worldwide political turmoil is entitled to more study than we can give it at the moment of going to press, but beyond the pronouncement in favor of collective force, the address hardly leaves an initial impression of adequacy. In part it is a stale defense of past policies—Vichy, Franco Spain, Darlan—all of which are smugly credited with the military victories in the Mediterranean. We will have more to say about the Secretary's address in another issue. For the present we can at least record our pleasure over this tacit acknowledgment that the people are entitled to an accounting.

*

ON ANOTHER SCORE IT IS REFRESHING TO find ourselves saluting the Secretary of State for a job well done. His reply to Vice-Admiral Storni, Argentina's naive and now retired Foreign Minister, was a model of plain talk in a worthy cause. On behalf of the Ramirez government, which has been clapping anti-fascists in jail on the charge of communism at such a rate as to make Argentina a dream world for Martin Dies, Admiral Storni had the effrontery to ask the United States for lend-lease aid in the way of armaments and machinery. Far from pretending that the equipment would be used to carry out his country's unfulfilled pledge to aid in the defense of the hemisphere, Storni based his request on the desirability of restoring Argentina "to the position of equilibrium to which she is entitled with respect to other South American countries." As for Argentina's "prudent neutrality," Storni argued that it would not be "chivalrous" to break relations with the Axis now that it is doomed to defeat. To all of which Hull replied that, far from being benevolently neutral toward the United Nations, the Ramirez government, like its predecessor, has been fostering Axis agents and giving favorable prices on newsprint to Axis-subsidized papers. Lend-lease aid was refused with a bluntness that shook the pampas, and the Admiral was further left to infer that unless his country changes its tune it can hardly expect a seat at the table when the United Nations meet to discuss post-war plans. Having insulted the Nazis in the course of his gauche fling at diplomacy, the Admiral has jockeyed his country into what Buenos Aires wits describe as "true neutrality"—it is now on bad terms with everybody.

*

ALL CREDIT TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT AND Maurice Karker, chairman of its Price Adjustment Board, for their forthright attitude in attacking the big-business lobby now trying to stampede Congress into repealing or revising the contract renegotiation law. Karker, himself chairman of the Jewel Tea Company, no small concern, blamed the drive on a selfish minority, "the wilful 10 per cent whose excesses in the past have been responsible for the controls imposed on business." Karker declared that despite renegotiation 60 per cent of the companies whose contracts had been revised still averaged about 16 per cent in profits on their volume of sales. In Britain the profits of war contractors have been held to 7½ per cent on the capital used in their business. War profits here are enormous. Profits after taxes last year were greater than profits before taxes in 1929—$8,600,000,000 as against $8,400,000,000. The argument that renegotiation prevents the storing up of needed post-war reserves is utterly mendacious. Undistributed profits during the last four years total more than $16,000,000,000, and many firms already have plants on which all capital costs have been amortized out of war contracts.

*

C. B. BALDWIN, AFTER THREE YEARS AS Administrator of the Farm Security Administration, retires with honor to take a post in the State Department. The small farmer and the agricultural worker never had a better friend or a more courageous champion. Though the President accepted the resignation with words of praise for both Baldwin and the FSA, it is feared that Baldwin's going may be the end for Farm Security. Baldwin's new post, as Italian area director for the State Department, is one in which he will face much the same problems and obstacles he encountered in his former job. The protest made by James De Le Cron in resigning as chief of the Food Supply Division of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs indicates some of the difficulties Baldwin will face. Le Cron, long a close associate of Vice-President Wallace but himself a middle-of-the-roader, complains of "divided authority, lack of administrative organization, and want of directive policy in the State Department." Le Cron's letter of resignation details the annoying procrastination, petty interference, and sheer incompetence which so hamstrung his food-supply work in Latin America that he quit in disgust. We wonder how much Baldwin, for all his enthusiasm and ability, will be able to achieve in the bureaucratic morass of the State Department.

*

WE HAVE CONGRATULATED OURSELVES FROM time to time on the fact that violations of basic civil rights are fewer in this war than in World War I. That there is no ground for complacency, however, is shown by two recent events. In Oklahoma City three teachers were discharged because they objected to a clause in their contract barring them from membership in a labor union. One of the teachers blotted out the union clause before signing the contract and wrote in its place, "I am still a citizen of the United States." The others merely attached letters saying that they signed the contracts under duress and pointing out that the anti-union section was in conflict with their rights as citizens. In each case the discharged teachers merely stated a fact. Yellow-dog contracts of this type have been outlawed by federal law for many years, but unfortunately an appeal to the courts takes time and money. Equally serious in its implications is the court-martialing of Sergeant Alton Levy of the Lincoln, Nebraska, Air Base for expressing disapproval of the army's discriminatory treatment of Negro troops. Levy is reported to have warned against the danger of race conflict arising from such treatment, a warning that appears to have been justified, for later a riot broke out in his camp between Negroes and Americans of Mexican descent. It is gratifying to note that a group of distinguished citizens have appealed to Secretary Stimson and Judge Advocate General Cramer for a thorough review of the Levy case.

Congress Reconvenes

THE atmosphere of "getting on with the war" which has been evident in Washington for the past two months will be disturbed this week as Congress returns to its bitter partisan struggles. As was to be expected, none of the issues which rent Congress prior to adjournment has been solved by events during its recess. The chief responsibility before it remains, as was the case last January, the raising of sufficient taxes to head off inflation. It is expected that the House Ways and Means Committee will begin work on the tax bill no later than September 20. Although the President has asked for $16,000,000,000 as a minimum, a considerable amount of pressure may be needed to get even the $12,000,000,000 set as a goal by Secretary Morgenthau. Representative Carlson, sponsor of the Ruml skip-a-year tax bill, has already suggested that the surrender of Italy removes the necessity for higher taxes. Hope for a spendings tax which would tap the existing surplus of purchasing power and help curb unnecessary buying seems slight unless a considerable group of Congressmen have been sobered by their visit to their constituencies. Significantly enough, the Republican Mackinac resolution ignores taxation.

Even before the question of taxes comes up for consideration, a demand will be made for revising the Selective Service Act to prevent the drafting of pre-Pearl Harbor fathers. Most Washington observers agree that any bill carrying such a provision would be vetoed and could not be passed over the veto. Nevertheless, we must expect some such attempt to upset the Administration's man-power policies.

The capitulation of Italy should have the effect of building a fire under Congress on the vital questions of post-war policy, both international and domestic. The Fulbright resolution "favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery . . . to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace," having been passed by the House, goes to the Senate, where it should force a vote on the greatly superior Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill resolution. In the domestic field action is urgently needed on plans for post-war employment along the lines of the proposals submitted six months ago by the National Resources Planning Board. Unless plans are drawn up this year and the necessary groundwork carefully laid, the country may find itself as unprepared for peace as it was in 1918. In this connection, immediate action is also called for on the Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill for the revision of the Social Security Act. Under the law as it now stands demobilized service men have no social-security protection whatever. Congress has so far shown an extreme disinclination to grapple with post-war problems, but with the prospect, even though it be remote, that some of the service men may be demobilized before the next election, a change in attitude may be expected.

Our Good Luck

THE big question raised by General Marshall's biennial report as chief of staff is why so extraordinarily little war material was produced by American industry during the year and a half between the launching of the defense program in June, 1940, and the attack on Pearl Harbor. The report discloses a state of unpreparedness so bad as to make one wonder what would have happened if the Japanese had attempted to invade the West Coast and if the Nazis had decided to move west instead of east. "Immediately after Dunkirk in 1940," General Marshall says, "the British Isles were in effect defenseless so far as organized and equipped ground forces were concerned." A year later, in the summer of 1941, we seem to have been little better off. For when the Netherlands East Indies government begged for 25,000,000 rounds of a product as easily manufactured as small-arms ammunition, we had to "accept the hazard of reducing the ammunition reserve for the troops in movement to Iceland" in order to provide the Dutch with 7,000,000 rounds. How little this is may be seen from the fact that one plant due to get into production in October, 1941, was to turn out 7,000,000 rounds a day. "But that was to be too late," General Marshall says, "for the gathering storm in the Far East."

The gap between the scope of our military possibilities and the headlines on war production we were reading in the papers continued for months after Pearl Harbor. General Marshall tells how some six months after that Japanese attack we rushed "307 medium tanks and 90 self-propelled 105-mm. guns" to the Middle East from New York. This was at the time when the British were forced back to El Alamein and the Nazis had reached the Caucasus, and it looked as if the Near Eastern oil fields might be caught in a giant Nazi pincers movement. It would seem that production achievements were vastly exaggerated and that in the eighteen months before the war began business devoted most of its attention to civilian output, keeping armament to a leisurely sideline. This lackadaisical attitude, which permeated not merely business but the whole country, sets off in sharper relief the heroic story Marshall tells of the delaying action fought by our outnumbered and underequipped men in the Philippines. General Wainwright spoke for them when he said, just before Corregidor fell, "Although beaten we are still unashamed." The shame belongs to all but those few, foremost among them the President, who tried to speed military and naval preparations in the face of general complacency and inertia.

Anyone who reads the Marshall report will see how much we owe to British and Russian resistance. Had both or either crumpled, we should have faced a long and disastrous war on our own soil.

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Washington Fog

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 10

THE news from New York is that the Sanitation Department had to sweep up twenty-two tons of confetti, ticker tape, and waste paper after the report of Italy's unconditional surrender. No such burden was imposed on the authorities here, where official celebration was restrained. At the State Department Wednesday noon the press room was jammed, and we all felt happy and excited over the news. A bet was made that such an occasion could not fail to get a rise even from Secretary Hull, but your correspondent, who was one of the optimists, must report that he lost the wager. When the Secretary was asked whether he cared to comment on the surrender (after receipt of the official announcement by General Eisenhower), he said—this is as nearly verbatim as the rules allow—that he had nothing to give us, that he had no comment to make, and that he had nothing to say at that time. It would have been nice if the Secretary had at least smiled and said something like, "I haven't any formal comment but you all know how I feel. It's swell." But I suppose I'm being utopian again.

At the White House the only word Steve Early had from the President was that this was Eisenhower's show.

Yesterday Hull was slightly more informative. He said he hoped to be able to comment more fully, more definitely, at a little later stage. This would seem to indicate that there might be something more in the wind, though it is unsafe to rely on deduction from the Secretary's nebulous phrases. On Wednesday, for example, he was asked whether the Anglo-American-Soviet Mediterranean Commission would deal primarily with military matters. Hull's somewhat perplexing answer was that this was why he was not in a position to give out any information. That sounded as though the commission would be largely military and as though news of it would therefore have to be obtained from the War Department. But this morning Harold Callender, who has an inside track at the department, reported in the New York *Times* that through its representation on the commission the Soviet Union "will participate in economic and political decisions touching Italy and the entire Mediterranean basin."

The whole question of the Mediterranean Commission is mystifying. On Saturday, September 4, Churchill made a long "off the record" talk at a National Press Club luncheon. "Authoritative-source" stories followed in the next day's papers. The best of these was the four-column story by Paul W. Ward in the Baltimore *Sun*, and I recommend a careful reading of it to all who are interested in obtaining a clear view of British foreign policy at this time. Churchill is still the 1890 imperialist. At the luncheon it was revealed that there were under consideration plans, as yet tentative, for the creation of a Mediterranean Commission on which presumably Russia would have equal representation with Britain and the United States. Several days later this elicited some surprise "in the highest quarters" here. (I'm sorry to have to write this way but there are rules, and this will at least give the reader an idea of the fog in which reporters who cover foreign policy have to wander.) At the State Department Hull's first reaction seemed to be one of ignorance. It may be that the commission is a British idea and that the White House, with its close ties to the Vatican, is embarrassed at the prospect of Soviet participation in political decisions on Italy, even if Stalin is permitting the Russian Orthodox church to convoke a synod.

This talk of a three-power commission and General Eisenhower's announcement that the surrender terms had been approved by the Soviet as well as the American and British governments would seem to constitute the best news in some time on the diplomatic front. On what our government is planning for Italy's future I have, frankly, no real news. Neither has anyone else. I note that Salvemini and La Piana's excellent and indispensable new book, "What to Do with Italy," agrees generally with the Kingsbury Smith crypto-official article, Our Government's Plan for a Defeated Italy, in the August issue of the *American Mercury,* though the former is written from the anti-clerical left, the latter from the piously pro-State Department right. Salvemini and La Piana say we are in Italy to prevent a republican social revolution; Kingsbury Smith, to prevent anarchy. It seems fairly clear that we do not intend to force democracy on the Italian people. With one exception, official pronouncements here and abroad to the Italian people are uniformly lacking in any appeal that might be construed as an invitation to establish free government. The one exception was Secretary of War Stimson's reference yesterday to the Risorgimento as "a glorious chapter in the history of human freedom." The Secretary said it was our purpose to recreate this freedom. But, then, Stimson is unregenerate in his democratic beliefs, as demonstrated once before by his public appeal for the lifting of the embargo against the Spanish Republic.

Whatever our plans for Italy, an attempt will be made to use Eisenhower's victory to consolidate Hull's position. Arthur Krock has already discovered that the unconditional surrender was a triumph of State Department policies, though aided of course by "General Eisenhower's military expedients, which logically progressed from them." This is certainly putting a wee little cart before a very big horse. A Krock scoop is the discovery that by refusing to grant full recognition to De Gaulle we "encouraged hope in Axis-subjugated nations that they will be left free to select their own civil governments." What he really means is that by our attitude toward De Gaulle we encouraged trimmers like Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio to believe that no attachment of ours to democratic and popular forces would stand in the way whenever they decided that it had become profitable to shift sides. Another reflection of this is the anxiety of the Hungarian, Rumanian, and Bulgarian ruling classes to jump our bandwagon and get the protection of our troops against popular uprisings. This may hasten a Balkan invasion.

I never dreamed that Hull would some day force us to make a hero of Sumner Welles. An even stranger episode may be in the making. The indications are that Robert Murphy, now on his way home, will not return to North Africa. Department gossip suspects that Murphy has fallen out of favor with both Hull and Roosevelt because he was won over to full recognition of the French National Committee. Murphy seems to be regarded now as too favorable to the Gaullists. The President, it would seem, has never been closer in outlook to his Secretary of State. A new executive order is said to be in preparation which will greatly increase Hull's authority over Lend-Lease, Relief and Rehabilitation, the OEW, and other agencies operating abroad. One proposal is to make Stettinius and Lehman Assistant Secretaries of State. Silence, meanwhile, continues to reign over the unmarked political grave of Sumner Welles. I am told that the Secretary will wait until Congress convenes before announcing the Welles resignation and the name of his successor. It seems to be feared that an earlier announcement would give public opinion time to work up enough protest to make it difficult to obtain Senate confirmation of the new candidate for Under Secretary. If this is true, one would tend to conclude that Hull's choice is still someone of the type of Breckinridge Long or James Clement Dunn or Norman H. Davis.

Let's Look at Labor

VIII. RUSSIA AND LABOR UNITY

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, August 15

IT IS elementary to any rational thinking about the post-war world that there can be no secure peace either in Europe or the Far East save as a full understanding is reached between the United States, the Soviet Union, and ourselves. That need arises, in part, as a necessary recognition of Soviet power; and perhaps the exponents of *Realpolitik*, both here and in the United States, will regard this as the strongest argument in the case. But it arises, also, out of two other reasons, neither of which it seems to me can be legitimately overlooked or underestimated.

The heroic part played by the Soviet Union against Hitlerism has done more than twenty-five years of Communist propaganda to domesticate the idea of the Russian Revolution in the mind of the common peoples of Europe and Asia; we shall neglect, at our peril, the importance of finding terms of common friendship with that idea. And the development of the economic organization exacted by totalitarian war has made the danger of monopoly capitalism to the freedom of the workers greater, and not less, than it was in 1939. If that freedom is to be sure of protection and of growth in the post-war period, it is, in my own judgment, essential that the working classes of the three countries shall have reached a working arrangement before the war ends. Without it, there is the gravest danger that internal differences in each country will be used, as in Germany, Italy, and France, as the basis upon which the counter-revolution, of which Hitlerism is merely one expression, sweeps to power. It has therefore become imperative to find terms of mutual accommodation between the Soviet Union and the working classes of Britain and America as a safeguard against the danger that, even after the defeat of the Axis powers, the impersonal forces of our civilization may drag us, a third time, to a battle for the supremacy of the world.

It is well known that Britain and the Soviet Union are, so far as the labor movement is concerned, engaged in at least a preliminary effort to find these common terms. I do not exaggerate the importance of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee. I recognize that, so far, its significance has been rather in the realm of propaganda than of policy. I agree that it has not even sought to grapple with the delicate and difficult problems which arise out of the different status and purpose of the trade

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unions in Britain and in the Soviet Union. I do not deny that it seems to serve rather as a gesture of good-will than as an institution which seeks to shape events. But it is important that the committee is there. The very fact that it exists provides a basis upon which, at a later stage, a more adequate superstructure can be built.

In the 1943 conference of the British Labor Party I was authorized by its National Executive to give a pledge that, if the Soviet Union agreed, a delegation would proceed to Moscow at the earliest possible moment to discuss all outstanding differences between our two countries, and to find, if possible, a basis of lasting friendship between them. That pledge, I add, had the approval of the three ex-chairmen of the Second International—the eminent Belgian statesmen MM. de Brouckère and Camille Huysmans, and the Dutch Minister M. Albarda. They agreed with us that it would be the height of folly to maintain in the generation after the war the divisions within the working-class movement which, in the inter-war years, did so much to weaken its strength and frustrate its purposes.

The delegation has not yet gone because we are not of the opinion that the favorable moment has come.* But I reveal no secret when I say that we have reason to know that it will be welcome in Moscow, and that it is likely that it will proceed there within this next year to attempt to heal the divisions which have done so much harm. I do not know, of course, whether it will succeed. Its task, on any showing, will be both arduous and delicate; and it is obvious that, fairly early in its negotiations, it will become necessary to relate its discussions to the tasks of the working-class parties in Europe, if its agreements are to prove effective. The point I am concerned to make at this stage is the simple one of a growing recognition, both in London and in Moscow, that, in Benjamin Franklin's admirable phrase, the working classes in all countries must hang together in peace as well as in war or else they will hang separately.

II

The American trade-union movement has refused, so far as the A. F. of L. is concerned, to be a party to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee; and I gather that historical reasons prevented Sir Walter Citrine from making an approach to the C. I. O. On the political side, I have no knowledge of the attitude of the various divisions of the American Socialist movement in regard to the attempt to rediscover the terms on which the international working class might find unity. What, at this distance, alone seems clear is the fact that the generation of internecine conflict, both in the industrial and in the political field, between the American Communists on the one hand and on the other the American Socialists and trade unionists who are unable to accept the Communist Party creed, has dug an abyss which, so far, not even the partnership of war has been able to bridge. Though Hitlerism, whether in its European or in its Asiatic form, is not less the enemy of the American worker than of the Russian, it does not appear that the common danger has made the leaders of American labor or American socialism recognize that there are common interests which require an appropriate organization for their protection.

And those common interests will not end with the achievement of military victory. All of us in the working-class movement who are willing to face the future realistically must recognize how grave is the danger that though the United Nations win the war they may lose the peace. More, they must grasp the fact that losing the peace means, in essence, the emergence of circumstances in which there is a relentless drift to a third world war; and the main price, of both that drift and that war, would be paid, as the price of this war is being paid, by the working class. A third world war, if it were to come, would come because we failed to establish, after victory, those relations of production which, by making possible an economy of expansion, would enable us to establish conditions in which the Four Freedoms would be more than rhetorical phrases. Without an economy of expansion there can be no international security from aggression; without it all social policy is bound to be subordinated to strategic considerations. The alternative to an economy of expansion is a new industrial feudalism. And if that develops, I must be permitted to remark that the American workers will face a prospect not less bleak than that by which the workers of Europe and Asia will be confronted. I submit, with great respect, that the leaders of American labor, whether on its industrial or on its political side, ought every so often to reread the report of such a body as the La Follette Committee on Civil Liberties, and ask themselves what would happen to their gains of the last ten years if there were once again in the White House a President who assumed an identity between democracy and laissez faire.

I assume, in short, that any intelligent citizen now realizes that nations, however powerful, are interdependent; that modern technology and above all modern means of communication have made a policy of isolation as obviously impossible as it is unwise. And I infer from this the need to find ways and means of protecting the common interests of the workers in a unified world, just as business men find ways and means of protecting their special common interests. The clear implication of this, in my submission, is the folly of refusing to consider how the interests of American workers can be integrated with those of Britain and the U. S. S. R. The fact that our political systems are different is not, in my judgment, the decisive obstacle that the American Federation of Labor assumes it to be. I am willing to admit that the

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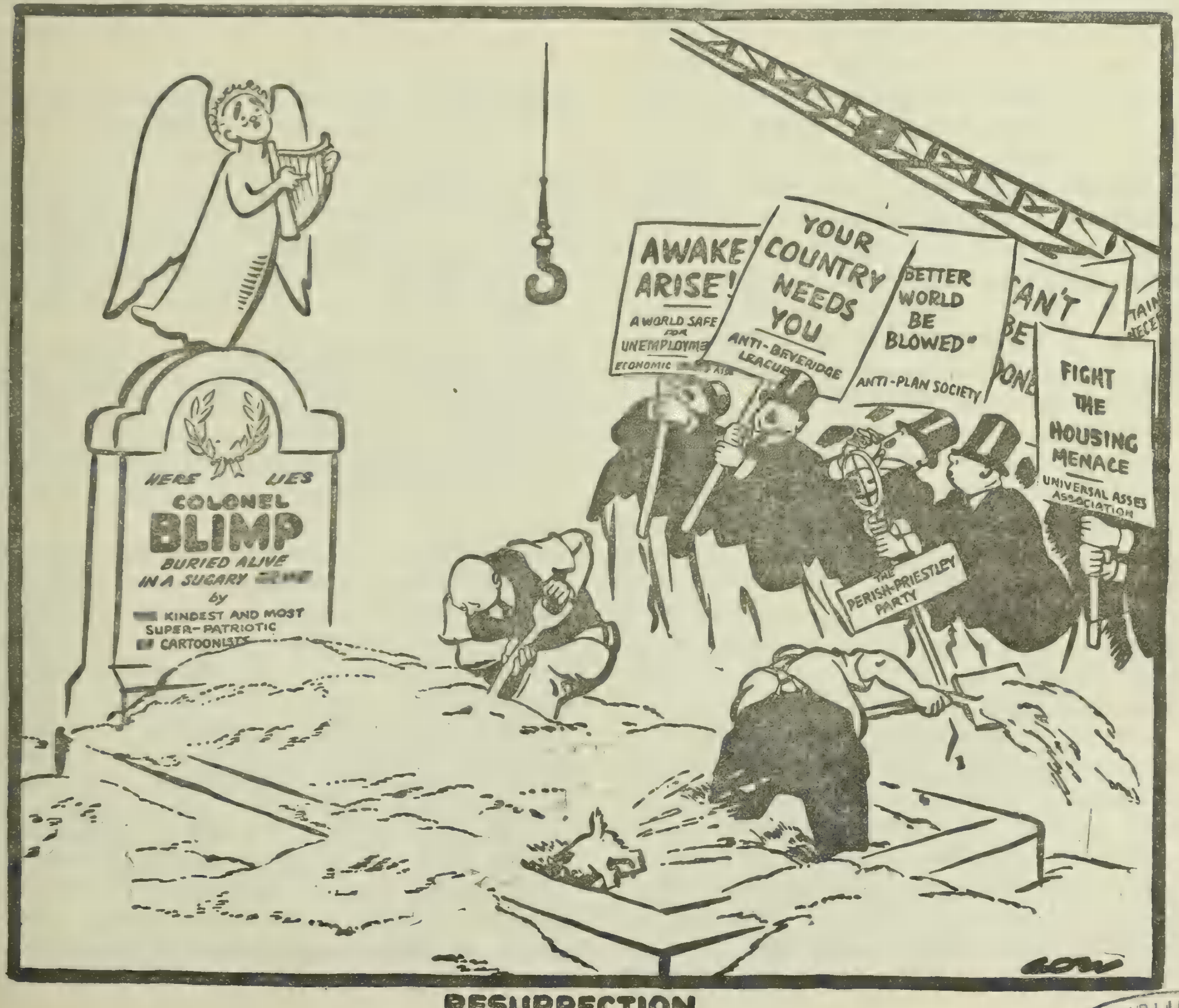
* Sir Walter Citrine, however, went to Moscow several months ago.—EDITORS THE NATION.

U. S. S. R. has made mistakes, committed blunders, been guilty, as the execution of Ehrlich and Alter testifies, of crimes. It is still the fact that whatever weakens the U. S. S. R. weakens the working class all over the world, that the transition to an effective democratic government in the U. S. S. R. is a function of its security from aggression after the war, and that its security from aggression depends, in its turn, upon our ability to organize an economics of expansion with the coming of peace.

Quite frankly, it seems to me unpardonable for the leaders of American labor, industrial or political, to assume that they can secure an economics of expansion merely by exercising pressure upon their own government. For, first of all, the history of the Roosevelt regime shows that, acting alone, they are not strong enough to do so; otherwise, the New Deal would not, in the period of peace, have been so constant a struggle between recovery and reform; nor would it, since Pearl Harbor, have been driven by big business to retreat into winter quarters. And, secondly, by refraining from helping to shape a common policy for the workers among the United Nations, they gravely detract from the influence these are in a position to exert in Europe and Asia. It is, indeed, not untrue to say that most of the dangers we shall face when the peace comes, many indeed of the dangers which are emerging as we move slowly to victory, come from the fact that the leaders of American labor cease to think once their vision reaches the frontiers of the United States, and that they have little more than spasmodic emotions about those international problems in which their people, not less than ours, are now inextricably involved. Until they come to understand that the thing we call Hitlerism, whether in its German or Italian or Japanese form, is a world phenomenon which summarizes vital and dangerous tendencies in the United States and Britain as well as among the Axis powers, they will be quite unable to formulate a policy proportionate to the dangers they confront. Until they understand that there is only a temporary truce in the battle they have been waging with counter-revolution in their own country and that, with the armistice, their historical enemy will begin again to deploy his forces against them, they will wholly fail to grasp the nature of the problem they face. And the sooner they recognize that,


HERE LIES
COLONEL
BLIMP
BURIED ALIVE
IN A SUGARY
by
KINDEST AND MOST
SUPER-PATRIOTIC
CARTOONISTS
AWAKE ARISE!
A WORLD SAFE FOR UNEMPLOYME
ECONOMIC
YOUR COUNTRY NEEDS YOU
ANTI-BEVERIDGE LEAGUE
BETTER WORLD BE BLOWED"
ANTI-PLAN SOCIETY
AN'T
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ONE
FIGHT THE HOUSING MENACE
UNIVERSAL ASSES ASSOCIATION
THE PERISH-PRIESTLEY PARTY
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to solve their problem, they need all the power and influence the workers of Britain and the U. S. S. R. can bring to their support, the sooner they will set their problem in the framework which gives them the hope of success.

III

I infer from this analysis that it is as wise as it is obligatory for American labor to play its full part with British labor in arriving at an understanding with the U. S. S. R. No one who looks carefully at the nature of the regimes which may develop among the United Nations when Hitlerism is defeated, who measures the significance of the social and economic forces implied in the candidatures for power which seek, and may well obtain, the patronage of the American State Department and the British Foreign Office, can avoid the conclusion that the Soviet Union is the central support upon which the future of working-class interests depends. In the degree that it is strong, they will be strong; in the degree that it is weak, they will be weak too. To arrive at a *modus vivendi* with its leaders is essential for two things. It is the one sure way to prevent the working-class divisions of the inter-war years from being perpetuated; if these divisions continue, monopoly capitalism will have little difficulty in establishing an authoritarian empire. It is, in the second place, the one sure way to safeguard the democratic element in the difficult and delicate relationship of capitalist democracy. For the stronger the U. S. S. R. is, the more able it will be to fulfil the potentialities of planned production for community consumption; and the greater the degree of that fulfilment, the more necessary will it be for Britain and the United States to embark upon that economics of expansion in the absence of which democratic government has no great prospects in the post-war years.

I do not argue for one moment that the *modus vivendi* will be easy to achieve. Twenty-five years of the *cordon sanitaire* have made the leaders of the U. S. S. R. nationalist, suspicious, secretive; and the immense burdens their people have borne since Hitler's attack have made them consciously virtuous in a degree that is irritating to the point of resentment. Moreover, as the midwives of the Socialist revolution, they tend to assume an attitude of effortless superiority which makes the particular of their special experiences seem to them, as it were, a universal image before which all other nations must bow.

Self-righteousness of this kind is an inevitable phase in any people which has wrung victory from disaster. Our business is to be patient with its gestures, to penetrate beyond them to the foundations they never wholly conceal. The Russian Revolution is a stage in the completion of that process of human emancipation in which the English civil wars, 1776, and 1789 were vital epochs. The present conflict, seen in its proper perspective, is essentially an attempt to arrest that process in the interests of privilege. It will be a tragedy indeed if the leaders of American labor fail to recognize the opportunity that is theirs.

[*This is the last of a series of eight articles on the problems confronting American labor.*]

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE TRIAL of the five men charged with the burning of the Reichstag has been set for September 21. . . . The chiefs of the Hitler government are undoubtedly the real incendiaries of the Reichstag. . . . The trial before the Nazi court at Leipzig will be a bloody farce. But the highly qualified international tribunal of noted jurists which is sitting in The Hague has already brought to light so much that proves the guilt of Göring, Goebbels, and their companions that the German government will probably not dare to carry out its murderous intentions.—*September 6, 1933.*

WE ARE DEEPLY SHAKEN by the black eye of Huey Long. It has been established since the incident at the Sands Point Bath Club that at least half the population of this country has longed to sock the Kingfish in the eye.—*September 13, 1933.*

LAST WEEK the *Reichspost,* the Dollfuss organ, was forced to admit that the Austrian Fascists control most important parts of the postal system of the country, that they open letters and telegrams, listen in on telephone conversations, and exercise a rigid censorship. A government that has permitted the National Socialist foe to gain and hold such strongholds in its own body politic cannot long endure.—*September 13, 1933.*

NEXT TO THE FRAILTY and corruption of local administration, the greatest threat to the success of NRA consists of sabotage from within. . . . There is evidence that deputies authorized to obtain codes from great industries utilized their contacts with great industrialists to feather their own nests.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, *September 13, 1933.*

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY has announced the domestic rates which will be available to consumers who buy current from Muscle Shoals. . . . For small users, those whose appliances, besides lights, include an iron, a toaster, a vacuum cleaner, it is estimated that the rate will be about $1.50 monthly. This contrasts with a domestic rate of $4.57 in adjacent Knoxville and $4.50 in New York. . . . The New York *Times* editorially views the new program at Muscle Shoals as a means "to beat into submission an industry which seems to have been singled out as an exception to the current theories of fair competition." To chide the Administration for ignoring the principles of fair competition in dealing with an industry which has never suffered competition of any kind, and has reciprocated for this privilege with unconscionable profiteering, impresses us as highly amusing.—*September 27, 1933.*

Pushing the Japanese Back

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

CONCENTRATION on Japanese problems at the Quebec conference was an indication that the tide of war is running in our favor in the Pacific as well as in the Atlantic. In fact, in every sector of the Pacific the enemy is now on the defensive.

Japan's present difficulty is the direct result of its earlier method of conquest. Instead of concentrating on one objective at a time, it struck in all directions at once. Owing partly to the mistakes of the Allies but mainly to their weakness, its arms were everywhere successful, and it soon acquired an enormous empire. Its conquests, however, could be held only loosely by the limited forces at its command, and their defense presented severe logistic problems because of their distance from the centers of power. With any increase of enemy force on the periphery of its holdings, it would naturally be obliged to contract them and either abandon outposts as it has done at Kiska or risk large losses as in the Solomons.

American strength in areas adjoining the Japanese conquests has in fact grown enormously. Official figures are of course unobtainable, but for more than a year our air power has outmatched the Japanese in quality and now is doubtless superior in quantity as well. After Pearl Harbor the navy, fortunately about equal to the Japanese in carrier strength, had just three sound battleships in the Pacific to the enemy's twelve or fourteen. Today the Pacific fleet, reinforced by the three battleships of the Idaho class from the Atlantic, the six new "North Carolinas," three of the Pearl Harbor casualties, and perhaps two new 45,000-ton "Iowas," has sixteen to eighteen battlewagons. Also at least ten regular carriers, some of them of the 10,000-ton converted-cruiser class, have been or are very close to being commissioned. The rate of reinforcement of the Pacific fleet, now one vessel a day, will increase still further in the future. It is hardly likely that the Japanese dockyards have been idle, but they are of materially smaller capacity than ours and have been encumbered with the repair of damaged vessels. The naval loss ratio, even counting Pearl Harbor, has been heavily in our favor.

It is these facts which explain the Japanese decision to abandon the fruitless foothold at Kiska rather than risk disproportionate losses by trying to maintain it. Bulldog tenacity, having failed to pay dividends, is apparently no longer being practiced. However, the strategic sense the Japanese have gained from experience should make them more rather than less dangerous in the days ahead.

In the southwestern Pacific as at Kiska the enemy was wise in not choosing to squander large forces in a probably losing fight along a line of outposts of no great strategic value. The fact that no attempt was made to hold them is an excellent sign, however, that the initiative is slowly but very definitely passing into American hands; of course, our gains in all zones have been as yet little more than pin pricks to the Japanese, and pricks far indeed from that nation's heart.

In view of the encouraging setup, what moves can reasonably be expected in the near future? Are we now ready for the decisive offensive?

In order to arrive at an answer we must consider certain fundamental facts about the Japanese war. It is, in the first place, a conflict carried on over areas so great as to dwarf those of any previous struggle. The logistics problems of both sides, but especially of the United States, are tremendous. Since the effectiveness of any force diminishes in direct ratio to its distance from its base of supply, an offensive deep into enemy waters requires much more than a margin of superiority; it requires, rather, overwhelming superiority.

In the second place, the offensive against Japan must not be allowed to interfere with prosecution of the war against Hitler. Sufficient force for a vigorous holding campaign is essential, but beyond this the effort must be made with that strength, mainly naval, which is not urgently needed in the European conflict.

With these limitations in mind, it is fairly clear that a major offensive in the Pacific must await developments elsewhere. The Japanese abandonment of Kiska is of only negative value. Planes now in production will enable us to bomb the northern Japanese islands, but until such aerial softening up can be provided, amphibious moves against the Kuriles are hardly likely. Action to test the obstacles on the southern route to Tokyo are sure to be continued. Hit-and-run raids by cruiser-carrier task forces, much like the recent expedition against Marcus Island, will form part of this pattern. Large numbers of the "stationary airplane carriers" north of the equator can be attacked with damaging results.

The success of this program, a necessary preliminary to a major campaign against Japan in the Pacific, is more threatened at the moment by the renewed drive for a separate air force than by the resistance of the enemy. An absolute essential to a successful campaign by the navy is the control and centralized direction of its own aviation. The divorce of air power from sea power, already proposed in Congress, would repeat an experiment which, when tried in the British navy, proved disastrous. The navy and its air corps are at present moving efficiently and smoothly together toward a victory that is in sight. If at such a point we abandon a type of warfare which is bringing results in favor of untried military "get-rich-quick" schemes, we deserve a very rude awakening. In the present war close coordination of all weapons and groups has been the key to victory.

As it happens, the Pacific is not, at the moment, the most likely arena for the next big battle against Japan. The most logical major move is unquestionably an invasion of Burma. Stakes here are so large as to justify considerable expenditure. The reopening of land communications with China and the resultant implementing of that nation's war effort would alone make such a move worth while. The reconquest of important oil reserves, the redemption of Anglo-American prestige, and the acquisition of bases for even more direct land and ultimately for air offensives are other advantages which would follow victory on this battlefield.

The only doubtful factor in a thrust here is sea power. The nearby Indian army is fifteen times as large as the estimated force of 100,000 Japanese in Burma. Superiority in air power is ours. It is to be presumed that the recent shifts in command made by the British have been partly for the purpose of organizing a more energetic back-of-the-lines system of supply—a fatal weakness of last year's invasion attempt. And even in shipping and naval power the United Nations are far better off than they were last year. The surrender of Italy, the multiplication of Allied air bases in the Mediterranean, and the output of British shipyards have produced so overwhelming a naval preponderance that diversions can now safely be made to the Bay of Bengal. It may be necessary to afford the protection of carriers to important troop convoys, and it is of course highly desirable to coordinate a land invasion of Burma with naval moves designed to keep the Japanese fleet in the Pacific.

Burma is not, however, an ultimate Allied objective any more than the Kuriles or Wake or New Guinea. Its conquest is an important preliminary step in driving land wedges through Japanese-held territory to the China Sea. If we can take this step and at the same time push our bases west and north in the South Pacific, we shall have an excellent chance of narrowing and finally severing the Japanese line of communications with the Indies. These possessions, cut off from Japanese support, could then be reduced at moderate cost. Then Japan would be near defeat.

These plans cannot be carried out in the immediate future, for we are not yet ready to concentrate all our efforts against our enemy in the Pacific. But our strength is steadily growing, and it is likely that the coming months will see the preliminary moves.

Those Post-War Miracles

BY FRANCIS WESTBROOK, JR.

THE fantasies of advertising and publicity are arousing in the American public, suffering from a war-time shortage of consumer goods, the expectancy that when the day of peace comes they will be able to cash in their war bonds and buy industrial miracles. The single curb on promises has been the limit of imagination. Automobiles, selling at temptingly low prices, will be made of strange new materials and assume shapes ranging from fried eggs to tanks. Business men will commute a hundred or more miles in helicopters, landing on the roofs of office buildings and in the back yards of their "suburban" homes. People will live in "dream" houses—will pass the day watching the events of the world on television screens while all kinds of electrical devices run these houses far more skilfully than could any human hand. The new vacuum cleaners, radios, refrigerators, and washing machines will make the pre-war models as obsolete as a Model T Ford.

To say that all of these dreams are impossible would be foolhardy, but it is misleading the public to give the impression that they will materialize right after the peace. The truth is that the first post-war models of most durable consumer goods, of automobiles and refrigerators, for example, will closely resemble those turned out in 1942. The radical changes, of which there will certainly be many, will not appear for at least a year—in some cases much longer. This time lag can have serious consequences, affecting the entire conversion of industry from war to peace-time production.

Stated in its simplest terms, the problem is this: the necessity of converting industry as fast as possible and of keeping employment at a maximum through the demobilization period indicates a return to models that can be placed in production at the earliest moment, but the consuming public, misled by "juicy" advertising, is expecting revolutionary products. A definite sales resistance is therefore bound to develop when the old models appear. People will ask themselves whether they cannot make the best of what they have until the improved goods come on the market. Even when the changes do begin to appear, they will be gradual. Meanwhile a monkey wrench will have been thrown into the conversion process. The more thoughtful industrialists are worried.

The problem is most clearly illustrated by the prospects in the automobile industry, which in 1941 was little short of a four-billion-dollar business and is generally considered a keystone of the American economy. Though the entire capacity of almost every automobile factory today is engaged in war production, much of the machinery for producing peace-time cars in the 1941 volume is available in storage, only waiting to be moved back into place to turn out the latest pre-war models. It has been estimated that this can be accomplished in three or four months, while to retool and prepare designs for models incorporating many of the proposed changes would require a year at least. It will be remembered that when Ford changed from the Model T to the Model A some years ago, all production was stopped for about this length of time.

The manufacturer will be influenced by three legitimate considerations: the desire to place a salable car on the market as soon as possible; the obligation to maintain the greatest possible employment during conversion—a complete retooling for radically new models would mean a year or more of idleness for a great number of workers; and the possible necessity of meeting a transportation crisis caused by a shortage of usable cars at the end of the war. It has been estimated that automobiles are wearing out at the rate of two and one-half million a year. If the war should be long, the situation could become serious.

The consumer, in deciding whether or not to buy a new car, will be influenced first by how badly he needs one and secondly by how important he thinks the eventual improvements will be. These have been pictured in glowing terms with very little reference to how long it will take to make them realities. The consumer will need some clear information about what is coming and how soon.

The most important advances are likely to be in the use of new materials, such as plastics, the light metals now widely used in aircraft, and new tough alloys. These alloys, because of their strength and heat resistance, will make possible far lighter engines. It has been predicted that use of these materials may bring the weight of some models down to 1,000 pounds. Lightness, coupled with the use of 100-octane gasoline such as is now produced in great quantity for war planes, should increase mileage and reduce running costs. Innumerable other developments have been promised, including tops of the transparent plastic now used in the gun turrets of bombers, air-conditioned interiors, motors at the rear instead of in front, and automobiles that will fly.

Coming down to probabilities, it seems likely that a few years after the war the consumer will be able to buy a light-weight, low-gas-consuming car for around $400. But he will not get it immediately, and he may never see the more fantastic promises realized. A recent statement by George Romney, managing director of the National Industrial Conference Board, throws some light on the possible length of the consumers' wait. Romney said that he did not know of a single firm doing experimental work on post-war cars. All are too busy with war production.

The picture for the whole range of durable consumer goods presents the same pattern. The impression has been created, for example, that television will be universally available after the peace; yet television's greatest handicap, its inability to carry beyond the horizon, has not been satisfactorily overcome. Until some economical system of relays has been devised, television probably will be confined to congested population areas. Its maximum effective range at present is about seventy miles.

FM—frequency modulation—radio seems to hold greater promise for the immediate post-war period. It was well on its way before Pearl Harbor, and it is reasonable to expect that it will be generally available far sooner than some other products that have not progressed beyond the "promise" stage. While conventional radio is limited to 5,000 vibrations or cycles per second, FM is capable of the entire range of the human ear—from 16 to 16,000 cycles per second—thus giving full value to music and speech.

Developments are to be expected in the electrical appliance field. Refrigerators have been promised which will not only be made of "exciting" new materials (largely plastic), but will also be capable of greater temperature control and of meeting the requirements of the expanding frozen-food industry. Electric stoves will have new temperature controls and automatic devices. Work is said to be under way on a washing machine that will wash, rinse, and dry, all for the turning of a switch. An improved steam iron is on the way. Something may also be expected from the vacuum-cleaner industry. But in the great majority of cases the first post-war models will be to all intents and purposes the same as the old; only as experimentation and retooling are completed, will new designs be offered.

There will be exceptions of course. Some manufacturers had important new products "all ready to go" when war was declared. These will be available immediately. Aviation, concerning which some of the wildest predictions have been made, may almost bear them out, especially in the commercial-transport branch. While production of the aviation industry totaled only $280,000,000 in 1938, it is expected this year to exceed the astronomical figure of $20,000,000,000, and possibly to double that in 1944. Its unprecedented facilities can be converted with relative ease to the production of civilian planes. The production of transport planes already is enormous, and some of these might be put directly into commercial use.

Commercial transportation both of freight and passengers is expected to progress faster than private operation. The National Resources Planning Board has estimated that "within the next decade or two air travel in the United States will assume approximately 70 per cent of present-day Pullman rail travel, or about six billion passenger-miles"; according to the OWI this would mean the transportation of about twenty million people a year. The Civil Aeronautics Board more optimistically predicts that this volume will be reached in 1946.

Ownership of private planes will come more slowly, partly because operators will need a great deal of training and partly because the war-plane factories are not building models that would be suitable for private use. Development and conversion must come first. The helicopter may help solve a number of problems, especially the remoteness of landing fields, but here again considerable development work will be required.

Much of the "dream" advertising, it may be noted, has been by companies that hope to crash new markets. Established manufacturers of automobiles, electrical appliances, and so on have been in general more conservative, and are now genuinely worried. The most fantastic promises have been made by manufacturers of war materials who know that they will have to turn to civilian lines to keep their vastly expanded facilities in operation. For example, plastics companies are looking for new outlets in automobiles, refrigerators, and the building trades. And it has been intimated that the aviation industry will turn excess capacity to the production of automobiles. Such concerns can best buck the established competition by coming out with radically new products—by making a direct assault on the consumer's imaginaiton. Companies of various kinds are thinking along these lines, and their publicity has been abetted by the fertile imagination of advertising men, by war profits, and by a Treasury policy of making money spent for advertising deductible from income tax under certain circumstances.

Although the necessities of conversion seem to dictate a return to the models that can be most quickly brought out, the manufacturer has a responsibility to the public to turn out the best article he can—one incorporating a maximum of worth-while developments—as soon as is economically feasible. The unscrupulous will feel tempted to sell up a hungry market on the old product and save the new stuff as bait for a time when the going is harder. A progressive change in style and models has long been used as a device to put off the consumers' saturation point. New developments have been deliberately held up or parceled out bit by bit. It would be a great scandal if the hard-won technical advances of the war period, many of them developed with government money, were exploited in this manner. A healthy deterrent may be provided by the competition of war industries, which will certainly try to break into civilian markets with every conceivable type of product. The trouble is that they, too, will require time for experimentation and conversion.

In the Wind

A BOOKLET "intended to help defeat the New Deal in the coming national election" is sponsored by Senator E. H. Moore of Oklahoma. It is entitled "The Other Freedom—Freedom of Opportunity," and here are two samples of its wares: "If we are to have freedom of opportunity we must keep open to our youth progress through inequality." . . . "It was a small group meeting in a beer parlor in Bergtesbaden [*sic*] that began the movement that set the world on fire by this war. It can be a small group meeting in some quiet place that will offer the plan of peace that will end the conflict and usher in a period of peace."

REPRESENTATIVE LEROY JOHNSON of California recently told the Sacramento Masons that "the white man deserves his place in the world," that "ignorant, prejudiced, biased human beings in other parts of the world" should be taught "intelligence, self-denial, and self-control," and that the need of the hour was "world stabilization where wars would cease and the white man would not be depleted."

CLUBS AND DISCUSSION GROUPS throughout the country will soon be granted the privilege of seeing a film prepared by the Association of National Advertisers, "The Fifth Freedom." *Editor and Publisher* describes it as an attack on grade labeling. "In a dramatization, exaggerated for effect, it presents the ultimate in what might happen should regimentation of merchandise become universal."

A LETTER to the editor of the New York *Daily News* offers the following information about brain food: "The strongest argument I know of against vegetarianism is the British people, who have been known for centuries as beef eaters. I don't know whether beef is a brain food, or what; but anyway, we fought for freedom from the British in 1776, and they got us back in 1942 without firing a shot."

PARACHUTE SILK rejected by the armed forces will henceforth be available without restriction, the WPB announces, for the manufacture of baby pants and women's underwear.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Vichy government is mobilizing cripples for light work—in Germany. . . . Eight hundred miles of railroad track have been removed from Belgium to help meet the shortage in Germany. . . . Dutch Nazis who have been sending their children to special Nazi schools will now have to return them to the regular Dutch schools; the children will have to put up with the silence and contempt of their schoolmates in an effort to win converts.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for **In the Wind**. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Japan's Choice for India

BY JOHN W. GERBER

LITTLE news has come out of India during the past two months. Nehru is silent behind prison walls, and if the people continue to demonstrate on the reets, our papers have not reported it. But silence does ot necessarily imply submission. India still boils with ustration and unrest. It is the scene of one of the most ismal political failures of the United Nations, and Japaese machinations are working to turn that failure into ctory for the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

The central figure in the Japanese campaign is Subhas handra Bose, beloved by millions of Indians who reember him as a fiery patriot and leftist leader. In the rly 1920's Bose became associated with Gandhi's Nonooperation League. He speedily rose to prominence as e right-hand man of C. R. Das, the renowned Bengal ader. In 1928 he joined Nehru in forming the Indian ndependence League, which once and for all rejected andhi's advocacy of dominion status. Nehru described ose time and time again as "a dear and valued comde." In 1930, while he was in jail, Bose was elected ayor of Calcutta, and later, in 1938 and 1939, presient of the Congress Party.

But the party's policy of non-violence finally irritated ose beyond endurance. His nationalist activity had been ewarded by more than a dozen jail sentences, by serious npairment of his health, and by what he considered the isloyalty of his associates to his person. It has also been id that he was jealous of Nehru, whose influence alone rpassed his.

In 1939 Bose resigned from the presidency of the ongress Party to organize the Forward Bloc, in which any Indians saw the hope of a real revolutionary moveent. Nehru knew better. He described it as a "rival rganization" to the Congress. "Under cover of fine hrases," he said, "adventurist and opportunist elements ound platforms. I could not help but think of the rise f the Nazi Party in Germany, whose way had been to obilize mass support for one program only to utilize for an entirely different purpose."

And indeed Nehru's words proved prophetic. When ose finished a jail term in 1941, he made his way to erlin, where he was apparently taken into the councils f the mighty. He had discarded the priniciple of noniolence forever.

In June of this year he moved to Tokyo. His arrival as timed to coincide with Japan's big political offenve: the promise of "independence" for Burma and preparations for independence in the Philippines; the award of four Shan states to Thailand; the attempt to "appease" the Chungking government. In a speech broadcast to India from transmitters in Tokyo, Rangoon, Bangkok, and Singapore, Subhas Chandra Bose set the keynote for his campaign. "The moment has arrived for all Indians who love liberty to act," he said. "Whatever action is taken in war time requires military discipline and complete loyalty to the cause. It is for this reason that I appeal to all Indians in East Asia to draw together under a single leader and to prepare for a hard fight."

Bose implemented his words by action. The Japanese held about 60,000 Indian prisoners of war and had been subjecting them to constant propaganda. The Japanese would be victorious. They would liberate India. The prisoners must compose the vanguard of an "army of liberation" to fight against the hated British and to bring ultimate peace and contentment to the suffering people of India. Bose announced the formation of such an army, setting his goal at 300,000 men, and started a vigorous drive to recruit Indians in Japanese-dominated territory..

Truthfully or not, Bose declared that he had agents at work in India. "It is no secret," he announced, "that many men from our army have been sent to work at home among the enemy." Simultaneously this advice was broadcast to India: "Brave Indians, you must undergo strenuous training, just as we are doing here, in preparation for the great day. Don't worry about arms and ammunition. They will come. Do all you can to form widespread secret organizations. Brace yourself for action and sacrifice."

From Tokyo Bose went to Singapore, where he set up permanent headquarters. The powerful Singapore radio —formerly British—was turned over to him for recruiting and the dissemination of nationalist propaganda. Its broadcasts appeal to every conceivable Indian prejudice, obviously seeking to intensify antagonism toward the British and to muster popular support for the "army of liberation." One of the mainsprings of this propaganda is constant praise of Mahatma Gandhi, who, it is stated explicitly, sides with Bose. "News" items such as this are frequent:

> Confidence that Mahatma Gandhi and a large number of his followers will extend their whole-hearted moral if not physical support once the Indian army successfully penetrates into India was expressed by Subhas Chandra Bose. . . . The fiery Indian national leader declared that

FAITH IN THE PEOPLE

Every new piece of information that comes from Italy underlines the role played by the people in its surrender. The pressure which they exercised on the Badoglio government to get their country out of the war never relaxed. Sometimes, as in Milan, their demonstrations were given definite political character by the Socialists, who demanded the abdication of the king. At other times they were not so articulate, but their clamor for peace was always inextricably linked with hatred of fascism and its leaders. In every occupied country in Europe the same feelings prevail. They prevail in Spain, and everywhere else where fascism has flourished. The popular will for freedom is indomitable after these infamous years of suppression and tyranny. That has been the reason for our unflinching faith in a victorious outcome of the war. No criticism we have made of the diplomacy of expediency or of the policy of appeasement has nullified our belief in the people of Europe. Against every stratagem, against every Machiavellianism, against every scheme to control their will by programs of relief or charity works the determination of the European masses to destroy fascism once and forever.

> although Mahatma Gandhi may not support fighting with arms because of his steadfast adherence to the principle of non-violence, it is certain that he will not oppose us.

Another appeal is to Indian women. "I wish," said Bose, "that there be an army of the heroic women of India, in which are included those intrepid women who would carry a sword in their hand like the Rani of Jhansi, and use it with the same daring and bravery with which the Rani of Jhansi used it in the first war for Indian independence in 1857." Bose succeeded in organizing a vanguard for his women's army in Singapore.

Hunger, which the British admit has reached near-famine proportions in India, provides Bose with one of his most effective weapons. "When we have annihilated the British in India," he promises, "famine will automatically disappear." He offered the Indian government, apparently with no strings attached, 100,000 tons of rice, to be delivered as the government saw fit. Day after day the offer was hammered home:

> Although it is four days now since Subhas Chandra Bose broadcast his offer to supply 100,000 tons of rice to the famine-stricken people of India, the British authorities have not yet made any reply. Meanwhile men, women, and children are dropping dead in the streets of Calcutta. The British authorities have only made arrangements to remove their corpses promptly.

As this poison flows into India, Bose energeticall enlists support for his movement throughout the Japanes Empire. He personally carried his recruiting drive int Burma and Thailand in a one-month tour, during whic he held long conversations with Ba Maw, Premier of th new "independent" Burma, and with Sonngram, the Tha Premier, who was celebrating the acquisition of the fou Shan states. When he returned to Singapore Bose announced that Burma and Thailand had assured him c their "full support" and that "concrete strategic plar for the offensive against the British in India" ha emerged from conversations with the Japanese commander-in-chief in Burma.

Shortly thereafter, in mid-August, Bose stated that hi army was ready. "I want to inform my comrades in th army and among the civil population that the India national army is now on the move," he asserted. "It is long way from Shonan [Singapore] to Delhi. Therefor we must now begin to pack. During the next two month a large portion of the army will be on the road to India.

There is no reason to doubt that Bose meant what h said. We don't know the size of his army, but Indian with whom I have spoken in this country believe it probable that he was able to recruit a large proportion of th prisoners held by the Japanese, and perhaps a few thousand more. Militarily Bose's army cannot compare wit the strength Britain would be able to muster in India The Indian villager, whose average daily income is estimated at something under two cents, would eagerl accept the ten dollars a month which the British arm would offer him. Bose and his Japanese mentors knov that their chances for enlisting support in India diminisl as the Allies' military power increases there.

The immediate purpose of Bose's army is in the mair political. On the Indian side of the Indo-Burmese borde lies Bengal, Bose's home and the seat of his politica prestige. Bose will make every effort to incite Indian to riot, assassination, and sabotage behind our lines Unquestionably he will try to smuggle them arms anc equipment. Chaos among the civilian population alon our lines of communication could seriously hamper, o perhaps even prevent, our projected offensive for th reopening of the Burma road.

But the United Nations have one secure political hol on the Indian people. Inevitably Bose has identified himself with the Axis, and particularly with Japan. He mus refer constantly to "our Japanese friends," who equippe his army and who have "given this opportunity to th Indians to win freedom for India with a minimum o sacrifice." China's resistance to Japanese aggression, however, has been an inspiration to the Indian nation, anc the mass of the people would be slow to assist China' enemy. Obviously Bose is deeply conscious of that fact He claims that Chiang Kai-shek is fundamentally sympathetic to Japan but has bowed to the coercion of Britai nd America. Chiang has been in India and has talked ith the Indian people. He is well liked. Bose's argu-ent, therefore, would prove effective only if Chiang ere to cease his resistance.

It is in that perspective that the danger of Bose's activi-es becomes clear. It is apparent that the Japanese believe hina will fall, perhaps within a year. Simultaneously ith Bose's political offensive in India, the Japanese have nducted an "appeasement" campaign in China, offering e same kind of independence they granted to Burma. Japan's sincerest hopes for China are for the self-verned development of China," says the Tokyo radio Cantonese. "Japan is the one nation about which China eed have no suspicion."

The success of this campaign will depend to a great xtent upon further deterioration in China's physical ell-being and in its relations with its allies. Failure to open the Burma road will reinforce Japan's efforts. nd if China should fall, India would not be far behind. hat is neither a far-fetched nor an alarmist statement. he sentiments of the Indian people are as little secret the desperate condition of China.

India's nationalist aspirations now have but one out-t, and that one is working for the Axis. Nehru, Bose's nly rival in political influence, is in jail and therefore lent. There is no equally powerful voice to tell Indians hat their national interests are bound up with the cause f the United Nations, and there is no political activity prove it to them.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THREE quotations, without comment: (1) The *Westfälische Landeszeitung* on August 14: "Some eople say defeat wouldn't be as bad as it is painted." his was followed by curses on such people. (2) The ustrian newspaper *Heimatbote* on August 21 published speech by the Gauleiter in which he said: "The opinion occasionally heard on remote farms that this war is ot the farmer's business." This was followed by curses n such "remote" farmers. (3) A Bavarian newspaper, e *Augsburger Nationalzeitung,* editorialized thus on ugust 21: "Some stupid people say, 'What do I care bout the war? I didn't want it. Let those fight who asked r it. What do I care—I have nothing to lose and noth-g to gain.' We must admit realistically that the longer e war lasts the more people waver and weaken." This as followed by curses on these "stupid people."

Two Swiss newspapers contain descriptions of Ger-any which may serve as a warning to this country. In e Basel *Arbeiterzeitung* of August 18 a Swiss traveler st back from Germany reported:

> As a result of the terrific shortage of goods black markets have sprung up which even the severest measures cannot restrict. Absurd prices are asked for goods that are in demand. For example, 150 to 300 marks [$60 to $80] for a pound of genuine coffee or tea; 200 to 400 marks [$80 to $160] for a pair of shoes, even for used ones; at Christmas and Easter 100 to 300 marks [$40 to $120] have been offered for fowl, and as much as 600 marks [$240] has been paid for a goose. A quart of olive oil brings 150 marks [$60], a bottle of wine 40 to 60 marks [$16 to $24]. People are not afraid of even the most enormous prices, for there is plenty of money but almost no way to spend it. That is why the black market has extended even to the lowest classes.

And the Berlin correspondent of the *Corriere del Ticino,* on August 10:

> It is amazing to see the amount of money spent in Germany and the open-handed way in which it is spent. Every chance to buy something must be seized. People rarely ask the price, and the sums they pay are astounding to one who, coming from Switzerland, has not lost all sense of the value of money.
>
> It must be noted that the strong desire to buy anything at any price is not limited to the wealthier classes. "The price doesn't matter" is a common expression, whether it is a question of theater tickets, cigarettes, liquor, clothes, rugs, or jewelry. . . . Such a tendency seems to be out of harmony with the unprecedented severity of the present war atmosphere. It can be explained only by the circumstances. There is hardly any possibility of converting the money people earn into real values. Consequently money has become superfluous and has lost its value.

In Germany cigarettes are now called "baby mattresses"—meaning that they are filled with something which, whatever it may be, is not tobacco. Even such cigarettes are greedily sought for—in vain. A Dortmund newspaper on July 31 described a scene in a railroad car. A "brute" had been "the victor in a terrible struggle for seats." He sprawled out on the seat, and put the finishing touch on his display of thoughtlessness by taking from his pocket "a package of twenty-five cigarettes, unmindful of the fact that in this province even a tobacco card with valid coupons is not sufficient to obtain cigarettes, which the majority of smokers must sadly give up for weeks."

The man who let his cigarettes be seen so openly, said the newspaper, was at best criminally tactless:

> Whoever recklessly shows large packages of cigarettes or full cigarette cases in public must understand that the suspicion will arise that he has got them by crooked means—that he has "good connections" or at least that he has something to barter. This annoys those who have no time to rush from store to store, or to stand in line, and are unable to obtain anything even with coupons.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

MARSDEN HARTLEY

BY PAUL ROSENFELD

THAT "gaunt eagle from the hills of Maine," the painter Marsden Hartley—who died September 2, in his sixty-seventh year—was a prodigy. He was an extraordinary, an almost gigantic secondary artist. Had Hartley possessed a passion for perfection, for round, full inclusivity in his work, and somewhat more of the spirit of consecutiveness, he might easily have become a major one. For he was abundantly talented, this very modern American.

He was a man who intensely admired style in art and life. And rapturous or tragic emotion, fresh visual experience, the sense of novelty in connection with old and familiar as well as curious and new objects, always to some degree were present in him. He was a ceaselessly inventive artist, too, arriving constantly at fanciful new relations and unifications of the qualities and shapes, textures and colors of objects—the qualities and textures of coarse no less than of precious ones, of rope and vegetables no less than of Victorian draperies, the clouds of the desert, the Mont Sainte-Victoire of the south of France. He was decidedly versatile besides: painting on glass as well as on canvas; drawing with silver-point as well as with oils; and was a fine poet and writer of prose, to boot. A poet indeed in all his media, exquisitely he grasped the proud music of things, the glintings of the ideal which never were entirely hidden from him.

At first, during the years immediately following the introduction of his work in 1909 at 291 Fifth Avenue, his strangely impressive pictures exhibited the influences now of Segantini, now of the pointillists, now of Ryder. Yet from the first the expression of a new personality was obvious—the tragic expression of a freeman and a pictorial stylist. Before 1914, in association with the *Blaue Reiter* group—the Munich group of expressionists about Kandinsky and Marc—Hartley had developed an abstract prismatic idiom quite his own. And while he never entirely abandoned representation, and under the influence of a rediscovery of Cézanne in the later '20's fully went back to it, characteristically it was to a highly stylized, deliberately quaint, individual form of representation that he returned. The pity was that no idea, scene, or place ever was able lastingly to mobilize his soul and divert his persistent feeling of, for, and about himself and his artistic figure. Hartley at one period thought that Ryder had "fixed his imagination forever for him in the land of his birth." At another he fancied himself in the European tradition, and conceived the idea of continuing Cézanne's work. But his life really had no center outside himself.

For all Hartley's consequently frequent nonchalance of mood and flightiness in design and execution, no piece of work by him is bare of a peculiar elegance, while many a one is distinguished to a remarkable degree. Gracefulness and taste were deeply of the man's essence. We perceive this through his paintings' witness of his tactful sense of the pictorial medium's limitation. His pictures never rival sculpture. Hartley, indeed, was among the first Americans to seize the lesson of Cézanne and the later Renoir: the lesson that the painter is preconfined to the decoration of flat surfaces, merely may suggest the third dimension through subtleties of pigment but need not seek to deceive the eye. We see Hartley's tastefulness elsewhere; at well-nigh every point even in his most spectacularly flaunting canvases. Feelings of supereminence unfortunately were not uncommon in him. They were responsible for his predilection for grandiose rhythms and "stunning" or overwhelming symbols such as the plumage of the male bird, the masses of mountains and of mountainous surf. Well: some dandified twist of form, cool shapeliness of curve and elegance in color, keeps even the most parade-like of these almost diabolical expressions of his safely this side vulgarity and pompousness. Throughout, besides, one perceives that though he never was a warm colorist, Hartley possessed an unusual gift for refined and piquant pigmentation; an ability to extract dusky richness from dark and bitter tones; an unfailing awareness of the interest of handsome decoration.

Maine of all his haunts most consistently compelled his feeling and humanized his mood. Probably for that reason he returned to it so often in his final years. Contact with his natal soil doubtless also facilitated the expression of his life-long and mystical sense of death. Certainly, the units of the early dark series of "Deserted Farms" from Maine—well-nigh Wagnerian depictions of solitude, starvation, and New England's tragic sterility—rank high among his powerful if not his most accomplished paintings. So, too, do certain of his later, more accomplished visions of northern rock-and-stump-strewn pastures, and the "Dead Seagull," that noble companion of Ryder's piteously dead "Canary." Still it would be folly to identify his art's importance with the portion of it concerning Maine. Hartley's range in theme was vast. His output was enormous; during every period of his mercurial career he lavished intense and sumptuous paintings on the world; and a body of work more uniquely varied than his, and more fanciful, striking, and pungent, will not survive many of his American contemporaries in any of the fields of art.

Men and History

THE HERO IN HISTORY: A STUDY IN LIMITATION AND POSSIBILITY. By Sidney Hook. The John Day Company. $2.50.

THOUGH it is short, this latest work of Sidney Hook's is easily the richest and fullest of his historico-philosophical studies. It deals with the related questions, What is history, do we make it, and what share in the making can we assign to the outstanding individual popularly known as "the hero"?

Mr. Hook begins by describing and refuting the two tradi-

nal hypotheses which state respectively that great men
ne shape the history of nations and, contrariwise, that
stract or general forces, spiritual or material, determine
story, using men simply as figureheads, carried on the
wing tide like surf riders, to their inescapable destination.

In the course of combating these two absolutisms Mr. Hook
splays his usual dialectical skill. He frames alternatives,
sentangles overlapping assumptions, reduces them to the
surd, or cites concrete examples selected with great care
d presented with even greater skill. His prose has always
en lucid and sharp; it is now warmer and mellower through
freer use of images and metaphors and the conversion of
certain bitter humor into good-natured amusement.
roughout, the author dominates his material as one who
s long since gathered and ordered it and who can now
ke it up from any side and reach his center of vision by the
ortest route. Mention casually Cleopatra's nose and he leads
u to Roman history and the inadequacy of explaining
esar's or Antony's policy by the Egyptian queen's beauty.
t the hounds of economic determinism on his trail and he
uts them with a wonderfully condensed account of the
ssibilities of Presidential action in the United States as
ese possibilities existed in 1929 and 1933. But perhaps his
nse of personality as revealed in and by history is at its
ost delicate in the masterly chapter on the Russian Revolu-
n of October, 1917, defining the role of Lenin as a maker
events. Those forty pages should be read by every student
history, lay and professional, for regardless of one's agree-
nt or disagreement with its conclusion—which exemplifies
r. Hook's hypothesis—the essay is a model of the methodi-
element in historical thinking.

But what is the Hook hypothesis? It is that the event-
king man, as distinguished from the "eventful man"
hose importance is that ascribed by Hobbes to the geese
at saved the Roman Capitol—"because they were there, not
ey"), the event-making man is by virtue of his qualities of
dership a factor in the outcome of mighty movements.
ithout him, there was a real possibility of a different out-
me. With him, there is not only the carrying out of wishes
isting inchoate in the minds of many but the addition of
sults due to his will alone. True, he works within limita-
ns, but within them he has real power to create real nov-
y. He is not the "product" of a particular age or evolution
any intelligible sense; for if he is considered simply as the
m total of preexisting ideas and wills we are forgetting
own will and unique abilities; and if he is considered as
e upshot of six thousand years of recorded history, we know
more about him than we did before, or than we know
out any of his undistinguished contemporaries, of whom
e assertion is equally true. The assigning of causes in history
ns here into the usual snag of too much or too little, and
mpels us either to salvage the four types of causes known
the medieval logicians or to abandon the single "efficient"
use which modern science has selected for its own purposes
which may not be those of historiography.

Mr. Hook does not go so far as this; he takes cause in a
mple common-sense fashion, and his speculation, which
cludes some excellent and truly hypothetical "if history,"
designed by him to furnish wisdom for present application
the modern citizen of a democracy. Is the hero compatible
with the continuance of government based on freely given consent? The author hedges about his assent with strict conditions: a democracy must always be suspicious of the typical heroic qualities; it must keep ever in mind what a hero can and cannot do with social, political, and economic forces; and it must insist on a periodic review of the hero's doings, even while it recognizes their value in times of stress when swiftness of thought and action are indispensable. In other words, Mr. Hook preaches the wisdom of the Roman Republic with its "dictators" accountable to the Senate and, like the most famous of them, returnable to the plow. It is interesting to recall that with this symbol in mind the soldiers of the American Revolution formed the Society of the Cincinnati.

I should give unqualified approval to Mr. Hook's view of history if certain features of it—congenial to his mind and uncongenial to mine—did not stand in the way. They are matters of atmosphere and thus not without importance. For example, I admire his clarity, but I wonder whether for the sake of it he did not make one unjustified simplification. I mean his deciding the problem of democracy with sole reference to what might be called the top hero. He does say the democratic ideal should be to encourage leadership throughout the nation, but he repeats that heroic qualities should be viewed "with suspicion"; and he neglects to point out the necessity of heroic action in the doing of every normal day's work. If we are suspicious, we may overlook the function of the hero as the binding, organizing element in social life—the central nervous system for limbs endowed with merely muscular energy. It can be historically argued that lack of direction in the varied tasks of a society is one of the strongest urges to seeking an over-all hero who will magically supply the line of march. Being no less than Mr. Hook a pluralist, I am especially sensitive to the need for diversified centers of light and leading; for the breakdown of organic pluralism is a monistic block: you pass from the fruit growing on the branch to the rectangular brick of frozen pulp without shape or savor.

Then, again for simplicity, Mr. Hook excludes from action on the course of history genius in art, philosophy, or science, excepting of course those scientists whose work has been translated into technological change. At a later place in the book a single sentence modifies this exclusion but, to my mind, not enough; for the "forces" of history are composed of individual wills, each of which is directly or indirectly affected by ideas and art. Patriotism is such a "force," but its contents include poetry and song, great ideas and bad chromos. There need be no understanding of art as aesthetic objects; it is enough that there be associations of pride and attachment. The name of Shakespeare, who has always been much less read than praised, is as effective as the actual contents of Homer, who was learned by heart in ancient Greece: both derive their power from aesthetic greatness filtering through conscious critics and teachers of the young.

My last objection is to Mr. Hook's fondness for the label "scientific" for his work and that of other historians. With the best will in the world I cannot find that he means more by it than history based on honest and sound judgment, and especially free from the preconceptions of a rigid thesis. I should not dream of quarreling with the word, or with the

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references to the highly acceptable historical "laws" that h is careful to enunciate with quotation marks around "laws, if I did not believe that his striving after science led him t consider with too much seriousness and sympathy ideas lik those of F. A. Wood, who apparently tried to reach "empirica results" by giving "strong" and "weak" kings plus and minu marks and "correlating" their "strength" or "weakness" wit the qualities or defects of their periods. His work yielded number, though it really amounted to zero. Mr. Hook abl criticizes the method and the results both, but he is evidentl attracted by the *idea* of the method, which is to me the negation of the historical sense.

More deplorable still, as I think, is the fact that havin "empiricism" and "science" as watchwords, Mr. Hook i hampered in his reading of works such as Carlyle's "Heroe and the Heroic in History" and James's "Great Men and Thei Environment." His literalism makes him put these two contributions to his own problem farther away than they shoul be from his own solution; and one could say the same of hi detailed refutation of Pascal's famous remark about Cleopatra's nose. Pascal was not interested in the particular illustration; doubtless he knew less than Mr. Hook abou Roman history; but he was saying briefly and allusively part of what Mr. Hook has told us brilliantly and with th utmost degree of usefulness attainable by history and philosophy combined. JACQUES BARZUN

Journals of the War

MEDITERRANEAN ASSIGNMENT. By Richard McMillan. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

G. I. JUNGLE: AN AMERICAN SOLDIER IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW GUINEA. By E. J. Kahn, J Simon and Schuster. $2.

OUT IN THE BOONDOCKS: MARINES IN ACTIO IN THE PACIFIC. By James D. Horan and Gerol Frank. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.75.

THE newspaper correspondents in Cairo had been accustomed to British generals whose thinking, if any, wa in terms of defense—how to stop the Germans from conquering Egypt. The result was that the Eighth Army, a yea ago, had been all but destroyed, and Rommel's *Afrika Korp* was at the gates of Alexandria. Then General Montgomer came to the desert in August. He found British soldiers digging defensive ditches behind the Alamein line. "Stop it,' he ordered. "You'll never need them." Two months later on the morning of October 23, Montgomery called the correspondents into his tent and told them in a matter-of-fact wa that Rommel would be knocked out of Africa in a battl beginning that night. "We correspondents turned and looke at one another questioningly," says Richard McMillan. "W had never come across this type of unorthodox general before." They thought he was either a great general or madman.

Mr. McMillan was a correspondent for the United Press He went to the front in Albania when the Greeks were fighting the Italians, then returned to Greece with the pitifull small British Expeditionary Force and saw it being whippe by the Germans. All this is in "Mediterranean Assignment,' ich is a rather conglomerate journalistic history. Most of e book, and the best parts of it, deals with the North African sert campaigns: the first advance under Wavell, the siege Tobruk, the stand at El Alamein, and the final triumph der the military leader who was either a great general or madman.

In putting together the story of the desert war Mr. Mcillan contributes much that is new, notably in his account the fall of Tobruk in June of last year—a disaster which ocked the British public almost as much as Dunkirk. Previsly Tobruk had held out for eighteen months against erman besiegers, but the feat of keeping it supplied had st the British a ship a week in warships and merchantmen. hen the question of a second siege arose, the navy said it uld not guarantee to repeat the costly performance. Therere, the desert commanders decided to abandon the fortress d retire with their army and supplies intact to the Egyptian rder. About two days before the German attack, however, e polo-playing strategists of G. H. Q. in Cairo reversed the cision and ordered that Tobruk be held. It was too late. e British lost the fortress, 26,000 men, and huge quantities guns, tanks, and stores.

The Eighth Army's subsequent victory at El Alamein went ound the world by radio and lifted the spirits of American ldiers in the jungles of New Guinea, who were fighting e same war in a wholly different milieu. One of those mericans was E. J. Kahn, Jr., a Harvard graduate of 1937 o had worked on the staff of the *New Yorker* until his duction into the army. Most of his book, "G. I. Jungle," peared in that magazine originally; so the war through his es takes on a distinctly *New Yorkerish* flavor. He is litely amused by the quaint customs of Australia and the vealing costumes of the New Guinea natives. There is rtually no bloodshed.

"Out in the Boondocks" goes to the opposite extreme. ore blood is shed per paragraph than in any other war book far. Mr. Horan and Mr. Frank interviewed twenty-one en of the Marine Corps who fought on Guadalcanal, and ote their stories in the first person as though the marines emselves were telling them. The authors preserved the lloquialisms, the grammatical errors, and the cuss words. e effect is realistic, to say the least.

Nearly all of the twenty-one marines who thus tell their ories were wounded or shell-shocked. Sergeant Koziar came t of the battle with a little hole in the left side of his neck d a little hole in the right side; the bullet had missed an tery by a fraction of an inch and had removed both his nsils. A sniper's bullet skimmed along the wrist of Captain rgerson and removed the works of his watch. Private Hall, unded in the chest, played dead while Japanese kicked him d stole his cartridge belt. First Sergeant Harry D'Ortona, veteran marine, had instructed countless new recruits what do if a grenade landed beside them: pick it up and throw because you get away from it faster that way than by runng. A smoking grenade landed at his feet, exploded as he rew it, and peppered him with shrapnel; he lay on the ttlefield forty-eight hours, and survived. Private Harding und himself lying in a foxhole with a Japanese, and had strangle him by hand.

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the battle climaxes on Guadalcanal. Of course there is much more to war than that, but nothing more important to the men in the front lines. It is all very well to read war books that emphasize the glamor, the adventure, the fascination of strategy and high politics; here in these pages one gets right out where the bullets are flying. It is not pleasant reading, but perhaps it is wholesome. MARCUS DUFFIELD

The "Tribune": First Phase

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE: *ITS FIRST HUNDRED YEARS.* Volume I, 1847-1865. By Philip Kinsley. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

THE Chicago *Tribune* will celebrate its hundredth anniversary in 1947. The present volume is the first of a series of what its author terms "historical sketches" of that newspaper, each of which will cover a period of years and which are scheduled for completion by the centennial year. Mr. Kinsley has been a top-flight *Tribune* correspondent for a long time. He writes clearly and for the most part well, and to that extent his book is a contribution to newspaper history. He lacks, however, the sense of a historical perspective. Apparently he has turned the pages of the *Tribune* and gleaned material for a running narrative, padding out his information with quotations from secondary sources which rarely shed further light on his subject. Chicago, which gave the *Tribune* its field for growth, is little more than a name throughout the volume. The news items, culled from issues of the *Tribune,* have a consistent air of irrelevance.

The essence of the old *Tribune* was its Republicanism. This volume, in its most important section, tells how Joseph Medill, the guiding spirit of the newspaper, and his associates contributed to making Lincoln Presidential timber. The *Tribune's* services during the Civil War were not unique. Like other Northern journals it thought the war would be short, approved McClellan and then abandoned him, demanded emancipation before the President was ready to proclaim it, and developed the general characteristics of "Radical Republicanism." But as a fugleman for Lincoln, the *Tribune* was far in advance of other and more distinguished Republican journals.

Medill, who was one of the founders of the Republican Party, did not come to the *Tribune* until 1855. He became acquainted with Lincoln that same year. From then on the newspaper printed Lincoln's speeches, familiarized its readers with his personality, and supported him against Douglas. But it was Medill's acute understanding of Lincoln's "availability" which finally determined his support of Lincoln for President rather than of the more radical Chase or Seward.

The President is said to have remarked, after his election, "Well, gentlemen, where do I come in? You seem to have given everything away." Time and again the *Tribune* affirmed its complete disinterestedness in his success; but Lincoln, when the issue of patronage came up, was forced to take into account the political deals which Medill and his coworkers had made. To say that the men who edited the *Tribune* were first and foremost business men not only describes them; it furnishes a key to the evolution of their newspaper.

LOUIS FILLER

Fiction in Review

A MAD, bad, and dangerous book, Allan Seager's "Equinox" (Simon and Schuster, $2.75) is fiction's most recent attempt to practice psychiatry without a license. Received as a conscientious study in incest, actually it develops from a not unpromising idea—and a very good first chapter—into what is little more than a penny thriller in morbid psychology, essentially on the intellectual level of a Karloff or Lorre movie. As a matter of fact, Mr. Seager's Verplanck—he is the psychiatric detonator, who makes the incest explode—is more than half our old friend the Mad Scientist of the comics and Hollywood. His lineage can also be traced back through Spandrell of "Point Counter Point" to des Esseintes of Huysmans's "A Rebours": start experimenting for experiment's sake and you seem to end up with a man-eating shark; and at least from the historical point of view there is a nice significance in Verplanck's concern with food, drink, and the appointments of his home.

It's a father and daughter in Mr. Seager's Oedipus situation—a young middle-aged newspaperman comes home from Europe on the eve of war and sets up house with his seventeen-year-old daughter. For the father this new home is a protection from the world; for the girl, fresh from a convent school, it is a romantic ideal of domestic love. But along come malicious friends who mouth the ugly word "sex," and father runs to Verplanck for advice and help. This is the moment Mr. Seager has been waiting for; indeed, throughout the book, you have the sense of the author lying in wait for his characters: it is a novel disconcertingly without feeling. Verplanck is an amateur psychiatrist who devotes his life to destroying people by means of his "scientific" understanding of them; he keeps elaborate case records on his friends; he marries a woman in order to give her a neurosis which he will then be able to follow from scratch—all very serious and sinister and fantastic. Well, Verplanck too says sex, with the full weight of his psychiatric authority, and the girl commits suicide.

I call "Equinox" not only mad and bad but dangerous—and I mean this quite simply and literally. The danger lies, obviously, in the representation of Verplanck's scientific authority. Mr. Seager is careful to call him an amateur, but Verplanck is also an M.D. and has been psychoanalyzed; his analyst is even mentioned by actual name, Stekel. Also, psychiatry as practiced by Verplanck is at no point contrasted to the ethical practice of psychiatry. Psychiatry being, to the popular imagination, the most suspect of the sciences, this propagation in fiction of one author's own dark fancies is socially irresponsible.

Two years ago Robert Paul Smith published his first novel, "So It Doesn't Whistle." Now his second novel, "The Journey" (Holt, $2), has appeared, and like its predecessor it is full of mis- or undirected talent, and cleverness in a vacuum. The story of a young man named Paul Marrane who throws up his job in an advertising agency to seek his soul in Mexico, "The Journey" is not the kind of finished job, like "Equinox," to dismiss or disdain, but a novel to make one sternly pedagogic with its author. For Mr. Smith is still quite a young man, and he has been praised for the wrong things in his earlier work: for instance, his brittle modernity is something o be guarded against, not fostered, and on the other hand his real ability lies in his power to see and describe; then, his major faults are the faults of his generation, their prevalence in large part the responsibility of the book reviewers; last and not least in importance, Mr. Smith's seriousness, the impression he makes of being committed to writing and working at it, demands an equal seriousness from his critics: he should not be patronized with easy praise.

The author of "The Journey," then, should be told that although the theme of the artist in search of his soul is still, and until the day of the corporate man always will be, a fine theme for fiction, it is a theme that lends itself merely to self-exhibition unless the artist-hero is shown as a person of stature and his soul as worth saving. Paul Marrane talks about the arts constantly, but this makes him neither a convincing artist nor an interesting human being. His talk is "wise" talk; he is in on painting, Mozart, García Lorca, and hot jazz, just as he is in on sex. But looked at seriously, this being half in possession of, instead of being possessed by, either one's culture or one's body is a stage of development or material for satire: it is not desirable by mature standards. If the world is full of random knowingness passing itself off as the real thing, the author who writes about it without making clear his own maturity inevitably reduces his own importance.

Again, nothing much happens to Paul on his voyage of salvation. He drives his car fast, he sleeps with a waitress, he drinks too much, he talks with a steward. But it should be pointed out to Mr. Smith that this refusal to tell a story is the dead-end of fiction. Joyce, Proust, Hemingway, whoever are Mr. Smith's models, all were careful to tell a story. If a writer has nothing to say except what he feels, he is a poet—provided, of course, that he feels with poetic intensity—but for the writer of fiction to look at the world without its drama is to see the world peopled only by himself.

Finally, Paul Marrane, or his author, turns out to be a nice person who went to Mexico and enjoyed what he saw. Stripped of its literary lardings, in other words, what remains from "The Journey," and its best part, is a travel diary, and although the ability to see and record what you see may not be enough to make a novelist, it is a far sounder literary taking-off place than the desire to make literature. Mr. Smith doesn't trust this talent; he fancies it up, giving to performance the energies that might better be devoted to such modest necessities of fiction as character and plot.

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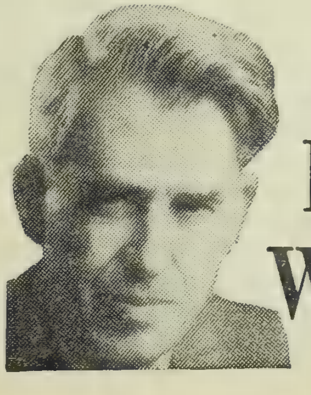

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IN BRIEF

CLIMATES OF TRAGEDY. By William Van O'Connor. Louisiana State University Press. $1.75.

This is a compact, scholarly, and thoughtful study of the essence of tragedy. Compared with the tragedy of the great age of Greece and with Shakespeare, the tragedy of our own stage is seen as falling short of the true standard. Briefly, an event is not tragic simply because it is terrible or causes suffering. It is tragic in the poetic sense only if it befalls the principal character as a consequence of his own evildoing, and if he behaves with dignity under misfortune. The man who redeems himself by dying is not a tragic figure.

THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. Edited with an Introduction by Joseph R. Strayer. Princeton University Press. $2.50.

In this stimulating short volume the significance and value of history are discussed from various aspects by several first-class students of the subject. Jacques Barzun, on History, Popular and Unpopular, is perhaps the most entertaining, but all are readable and thought-provoking—Hajo Holborn on The Science of History; Herbert Heaton's warning against a one-sided interpretation, The Economic Impact on History; Biography and History, by Dumas Malone; and George La Piana on the danger of approaching history with preconceived beliefs, Theology and History.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE RISE OF THE MODERN NAVY. By Gordon Carpenter O'Gara. Princeton University Press. $1.50.

One of our greatest national blind spots has been neglect of the study of war. It is therefore much to the credit of Princeton University that its scholars have taken the lead in producing a series of excellent volumes based on exhaustive research in military and naval affairs. While less ambitious than some of its predecessors, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of the Modern Navy" is a worthy member of a series which includes works by Professor Brodie and the Sprouts. In bringing Theodore Roosevelt to the helm of affairs in the early 1900's fate assigned him one of the most revolutionary eras in naval history. With significant changes of every sort impending, Roosevelt found the American navy guilty of sins of commission and omission of every kind and so deeply mired in conservatism that it had no idea of its own backwardness. How unsatisfactory conditions in organization, ship construction, target practice, tactics, fundamental strategy, and advancement of officers were improved is the main theme of Mr. O'Gara's book. Despite occasional failures the results were impressive, and the President is revealed as a military statesman of the first rank. While this volume contains little new material, it is nevertheless a well-written study of an important period in our naval history.

THE ANATOMY OF NONSENSE. By Yvor Winters. New Directions. $3.

Mr. Yvor Winters, as he states with pride, is reactionary. He also starts from premises so far removed from those of most educated moderns that his scale of values can be called esoteric. But he is a learned man and an interesting writer, and one can be grateful for his brilliant exposure of the confusion of Henry Adams and T. S. Eliot; the latter is one of the most confused minds and baffling critics now adorning literature. In the other two essays in this book—on Wallace Stevens and John Crowe Ransom—Mr. Winters illustrates his own faults, which are, indeed, fundamental.

THE JAPANESE IN SOUTH AMERICA. An Introductory Survey With Special Reference to Peru. By J. F. Normano and Antonello Gerbi. The John Day Company. $1.75.

This brief handbook, issued under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Latin American Economic Institute, makes readily accessible the basic facts that are prerequisite to a discussion of the significance of the striking Japanese infiltration into some countries of South America. Its statements are well documented.

NEW POEMS. Dylan Thomas. New Directions. $1.

Dylan Thomas is a young English poet whose work produced excited cries from young American poets when "The World I Breathe" was published here about three years ago. Sixteen poems he has written since have now been issued by New Directions under the title "New Poems." It is doubtful whether the original excitement that Thomas created will be revived by these further examples of his work. The jacket states modestly that in these poems Thomas "seems to be progressing toward greater logical lucidity"; that may be so, but most reader will still find him more or less opaque The longest poem in the little volum is the Ballad of the Long-Legged Bait an alliterative piece which, astonishingl enough for the work of a member o the avant-garde of English letters, stem straight from Swinburne. As might b suspected, it does not come off quite s well as the ballads of Mr. S.

THE MIDDLE EAST. By Eliahu Ben Horin. W. W. Norton and Company $3.

A lucid description of the breakdow of the Turkish Empire leads into a unusually good survey of Middle Easter political problems. A Zionist, inclinin toward Max Nordau's intransigenc rather than toward Dr. Weizmann' "reasonableness," the author presents critical but not intransigent account no only of British misconduct in Palestin but of European imperialism in general Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism receiv thorough examination and are discounted as dangers. Liberals who ar sympathetic to Zionism but naturall suspicious of enforced migration—suc as the author proposes for the Arabs o Palestine and Transjordania—migh have liked a more inclusive survey o Zionist views concerning the problem of settlement. With this and the adde reservation that greater attention migh have been paid to economic matter Mr. Ben-Horin's lively book deserve recommendation as a primer of Nea Eastern problems.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA. By R Palme Dutt. International Publishers $2.

To the non-Communist advocate of Indian freedom the chief value of thi book will lie in its excellent historica analyses. These are Marxist in method but even to the reader who rejects th author's philosophy the material presented, not easily to be found elsewhere will be of real value. The rapid surve of economic conditions, the account o the origin of private property in land—not an indigenous feature of Indian life—and the agrarian crisis, the outline o the structure of Indian society, and th critique of British imperialism are al of them good and some of them more than good. Less reliable, though alway suggestive, are the sections on the Indian national movement and the role o Congress. To the average liberal reade the author's criticism of the Congres resolution on non-cooperation, agreeabl mperate in tone, will seem inconsistent. he book concludes with a brief and npersuasive outline of present Commu- ist policy.

MUSIC

IT IS not true that when a member of a symphony orchestra participates a performance which is recorded he making a substitute for his services at will make them superfluous. It is ot true that records—whether played the home or from a broadcasting udio—have reduced the number of mphony orchestras or their concerts. n the contrary, not only has recording ut money into the pocket of the symhony orchestra player, but royalties rom the records have helped the orchesas to make up their deficits, and there reason to believe that the records have elped to create an interest in the music hich has led people to the concert hall nd opera house. So with the player in celebrated jazz band: when he particiates in a performance that is recorded e is not throwing himself out of work; n the contrary, the records he makes—layed in the home and in juke-boxes —contribute enormously to building up e popularity of his band that means ngagements for living performances nd for recording.

What is true is that by making recrds the symphony orchestra or jazz and musician has contributed to throwg somebody else out of work. Some f the small broadcasting stations which ow broadcast records of great symhony orchestras and name bands, some f the restaurants which use Muzak, ome of the large dance places which se multi-speakered juke-boxes formerly mployed small groups of living musiians; and these men have lost their obs. The technological unemployment at Mr. Petrillo complains of is, then, fact.

If it is a fact he is right in contending at something should be done about it; nd one of the things he wants is remployment. Now obviously if the small roadcasting stations were compelled to op broadcasting records of symphony rchestras and name bands they would ot engage living symphony orchestras nd name bands. The most that some of em could hire is a few players; and ome could not afford even that. Again, ome of the restaurants and dance places hich use Muzak and juke-boxes could ehire the small groups they employed ormerly; but smaller places like diners and lunchrooms and ice cream parlors, if deprived of juke-boxes, would go back to no music at all. In this connection one must consider, however, that the public which has been hearing Beethoven played by great symphony orchestras or has been dancing to popular songs played by name bands may not want to listen to Liszt's "Liebestraum" played by a five-man group or dance to popular songs played by local jazz bands; so that even if Mr. Petrillo is able to compel the reemployment of a number of living musicians, some of them may be hired merely to "stand by" without playing—which is as degrading and vicious when done by musicians as it is when done by workers in other unions.

Reemployment can take care of only part of the technologically unemployed; and for the rest Mr. Petrillo asked the industry for financial compensation. The industry's spokesmen answered with objections to his estimate of the musicians thrown out of work, to the amount of compensation he had asked, to the method by which the money he had demanded would be controlled and administered; and some of the objections seemed justified. But the interesting thing is that the industry's spokesmen did not make any proposal for a joint inquiry for the purpose of discovering how much unemployment had resulted from the use of records and deciding what should be done about it—as they would have done if they had had any feeling of social responsibility. This is interesting because they accused Mr. Petrillo of ruthless disregard of the public interest, when they themselves did not have the regard for the public interest that would have led them to recognize an obligation on the part of their industry to do something about the technological unemployment it had caused.

Sir Thomas Beecham's suggestion that the compensation come out of fees paid for the use of the records is better than Mr. Petrillo's remedies in all ways —one of them being the fact that the basis of the compensation is not an obligation depending on corporation executives' feeling of social responsibility, but the much stronger legal obligation to pay for what one uses. The companies which take advantage of the present defect in the copyright law to pirate recorded performance should be compelled by a correction of the defect to pay for their use of the records; when they have paid there will be additional money in the hands of the musicians who made the records that have thrown other musicians out of work; and some of this money will go, as it should, to compensate these others.

Another advantage of Sir Thomas's remedy is that it is not related to the condition it would remedy. When the industry was asked to pay compensation for the technological unemployment it had caused, it had a right to raise questions about the men who were to be compensated, and to object to giving the union complete control of the money. But the industry cannot refuse to pay for its use of records on the ground that afterwards the money will be controlled by the union and may be given to members of the union who really are not entitled to it. What becomes of the money the musicians will receive for the use of the records will be none of the industry's business, and will not affect its obligation to pay the money for the use; if the union mishandles the money, that—like other intra-union abuses—will be for the membership of the union to deal with. And if the industry expresses concern over such possible mishandling, that will be a smoke-screen to cover its real objective, which will be to continue not to pay for what it uses; just as its loud concern over the abuse of the composer by ASCAP, with which it justified the setting-up of its own composers' association BMI, was a smoke-screen for its desire to pay less for the music it used.

Mr. Petrillo may act with unattractive ruthlessness; but his industry opponents' ruthlessness is not less for being expressed in better English and concealed behind phony professions of noble motives. Behind those phony pretensions they are ruthless on behalf of corporate profits; whereas he is ruthless frankly on behalf of the welfare of 150,000 or 200,000 union musicians. In the present dispute he has presented a good case to the public badly; and his industry opponents have taken advantage of his ineptitude to make the case itself appear bad to the public. He has made unreasonable demands; and his industry opponents have taken advantage of this to hide the fact that they are not disposed to grant reasonable ones. Understand the men he is dealing with, who would, for example, like nothing better than to fill up broadcasting time with good amateur performance and save themselves the cost of professional musicians at union rates; then you will understand some of his actions that seem so shocking, like his barring of the Camp Interlochen Orchestra from the air unless a professional orchestra were paid to "stand by."

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Dr. Barnard Is Right

Dear Sirs: Ellsworth Barnard's letter in your issue of July 3, which has already provoked so much comment, is probably the outstanding letter that has appeared in your pages in the year.

He put his finger on the primary defect in the whole situation—that is, the present-day "education" courses as being the basic cause of poor teaching. His reference to terminology as "unintelligible jargon" is, of course, strictly in accord with the facts. Perhaps it should be added that this senseless and silly jargon merits the same careful and brilliant indictment that Professor Fred Rodell of Yale Law School gave to the legal profession in his book "Woe Unto Ye Lawyers!"

Professor Edgar B. Wesley, former president of the National Council for the Social Studies, writing in your issue of August 28, objects to Dr. Barnard's plain speaking. In fact, he draws the comparison of two Greeks standing on a corner and talking in their native language. Professor Wesley says he himself might unthinkingly remark, "What dumb jargon! I don't understand it!"

The comparison, of course, is silly. The educationists are not like the two Greeks standing on the corner. They (the educationists) are not aliens to the English language. They speak it better than any other language. They are aware of the richness of its simplicity. They know how to use it, but they do not choose to use it. Bent on impressing each other with vague abstractions, they have invented a language of their own, a futile "unintelligible jargon," as Ellsworth Barnard aptly describes it.

As to "education" courses being the cause of poor teaching, the educationists and particularly the National Council for the Social Studies, whose viewpoint Professor Wesley reflects, will vigorously object, but the fact is Dr. Barnard has stated the simple truth.

Of course, there are exceptions. New York State is one of them. When John Lord O'Brien and Susan Brandeis came to the Regents of the University of the State of New York they found that the curriculum of state teachers' colleges was composed of two parts how to teach and one part what to teach. By hard work and determination they succeeded in reversing this monstrous absurdity. Now state teachers' colleges in New York have a basic curriculum composed of two parts what to teach and one part how to teach. When I asked Mr. O'Brien how he got around the influence of Teachers College, Columbia, he replied simply: "That was easy. We just ignored them."

Thanks to John Lord O'Brien and Susan Brandeis, New York State has the best teachers-training program in America. But it still is not good enough. And Dr. Barnard has done an excellent service, despite the objection of Professor Wesley, in pointing to some of the cobwebs remaining.

It is not by accident that New York State schools accord the best treatment to the history of the United States. Likewise, incidentally, to almost every other subject.

Indeed, John Lord O'Brien and Susan Brandeis found Professor Wesley's "two Greeks" standing on the corner and taught them to speak plain, intelligible English! And for that they will never be forgiven.

HUGH RUSSELL FRASER, Chairman,
Committee on American History

Washington, September 3

Consider the Children

Dear Sirs: Is it patriotic to say a word in behalf of the million or more children who will become virtual orphans this year if the War Manpower Commission carries out its announced intention of drafting pre-Pearl Harbor fathers?

For orphans they will surely be, since most of the mothers involved, unable to subsist on the miserable military dependency allowances, will be forced to seek employment while they leave their children in the care of relatives or day nurseries, if any.

The Nation betrays an amazing lack of social consciousness when it states in the issue of August 28: "Surely no one would seriously maintain that dependency status or family relationship should take precedence over contribution to the war effort as a basis for draft deferment." This is sheer war hysteria, on a par with that oft-parroted contention that "fathers have something to fight for." So have pregnant women, but even the most callous individual would shrink from the prospect of conscripting them.

The Nation, with a strange tone o finality, interprets the impending draf of fathers as primarily a squeeze play designed to smoke fathers out of non essential and into essential jobs. But th statements of Selective Service an WMC officials are utterly at varianc with this interpretation.

Indeed, for the past year or mor these gentlemen have waged a war o nerves against 6,000,000 American families with an almost daily needling i the news columns about the draft o fathers. No straightforward statement o policy embodying *The Nation's* interpretation has ever been forthcoming. O any number of occasions Selective Service officials have warned fathers that th transfer from a non-essential to an essential job would not stave off thei conscription.

Is it political opportunism for a Congressman to view with concern the prospective mass breakup of hundreds o thousands of American families? An who is so omniscient a military exper as to say that we must have an arme force of 11,000,000 men, no matter ho seriously we strain the social fabri thereby?

Public opinion against the draft o fathers is not based on any tender feelings toward the fathers themselves. The are not entitled to any more consideration than any other group. The opposition to their conscription is based rathe on an overwhelming pity for the children left behind, the next generatio which may have to fight World War III Must we start so early to wreck tha generation? SUBSCRIBER

Ardsley, Pa., September 2

[*The Nation* is in full agreemen with two of Subscriber's criticisms. W agree that the confused and conflictin statements given out by the War Manpower Commission with respect to th drafting of pre-Pearl Harbor fathers ar in large part responsible for the fac that fathers have not flocked into essential war jobs as they were expected to do Moreover, we thoroughly agree that th "miserable military dependency allowances" should be substantially increase in view of the decision to draft father

But the essential issue at the momen is not how well or how badly the Manpower Commission has carried out i duties; it is whether our man-powe licy shall be formulated on the basis each individual's greatest possible ntribution to the war effort or on the sis of "an overwhelming pity for the ildren left behind." Everything pos- le should be done for the children, it in the long run even the families ost directly affected will benefit most om a policy that maximizes our slender an-power resources in order to shorten e war.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

till Waiting

ear Sirs: Last November Mr. James G. cDonald wrote you a letter which be- n: "I opened your issue which reached e last Friday with a curious interest to e whether you, unlike most other critics the State Department's Vichy policy, id been frank enough to admit that the merican and British offensive in orthwest Africa had proved that you id been mistaken and the department nply justified. But I found no such lmission. . . ."

Since Mr. McDonald thought you iould make a public confession of error. have opened each issue of *The Nation* recent months with a curious interest see whether he had been frank iough to admit in a letter to you that e increasingly clear revelation of what e State Department wanted to achieve Europe by its dealings with Pétain, arlan, Peyrouton, Giraud, Franco, Otto apsburg, and by its snubbing of their o-democratic, anti-fascist opponents id proved that he, Mr. McDonald, had en mistaken and that your criticism the department had been amply justi- d. But I have found no such admis- on.

I should add that this has not sur- ised me. For on a Saturday night in ly, 1942, I was trying to get news on e radio, and a turn of the knob ought me the voice of Mr. McDonald troducing and interviewing—with any respectful "Your Highnesses"— tto Hapsburg. The occasion was the lebration of Austria Day; and not only as Otto being presented as the spokes- an for Austria on this official occasion, it the day chosen for the occasion was e anniversary of the assassination of ollfuss. Mr. McDonald's questions icited from Otto a description of Aus- ia's importance in the war, its people's sistance to Hitler; and then Austria id its people were linked with Doll- ss, of whom Otto said at one point: While one may disagree with certain his views concerning labor"—which as His Highness's tactful way of referring to Dollfuss's armed attack on the workers of Vienna in 1934 and his destruction of their political power—"all must admit his patriotism as an Austrian."

This interview seems to have been one of the opening guns in the campaign for Otto and his Austrian Legion; and Mr. McDonald's participation in it would indicate that he approves of what the State Department wants to achieve and of the methods by which it is attempting to achieve it.

EMERY CROSSWITH

New York, September 3

To Make the Angels Weep

Dear Sirs: Reinhold Niebuhr's article England Teaches Its Soldiers, in *The Nation* of August 21, is very welcome reading to those of us in the ranks who are increasingly appalled by the situation which he describes. There is not a sentence with which the average intelligent soldier would care to disagree, but as I reread and thought over Dr. Niebuhr's article, I wondered if he isn't being a little hard on the army when he blames upon it the cultural and educational impotence of its soldiers. "The American soldier has Hollywood for his leisure hours." While one may regret bitterly, as many of us have, that the army doesn't provide more extra-curricular training, if I may borrow a term from the academic world, one cannot blame the army entirely for the fact that Hollywood occupies the army's leisure time. Water will seek its own level, and if the taste of the soldier is for something richer and better than Hollywood, he'll find it.

I'm certainly not suggesting that Dr. Niebuhr doesn't understand that the stupidity—an unkind, but an accurate word—of the American soldier cannot be explained merely by the lack of an educational program in the army. The soldier is, of course, just as educated, just as cultured, as interested in democracy as his education and his background have fitted and encouraged him to be. I haven't the slightest doubt that Dr. Niebuhr knows this, but I don't think he made it quite clear—or that he restricted his remarks carefully enough to a commentary on the political ignorance of the soldier which might be largely the result of the army's lack of an educational program.

I wondered what the result would have been if Dr. Niebuhr could have made his tour in American camps under the same conditions which attended the tour in England. I seriously doubt that he could say afterwards that "in a week of forums, not a silly question was asked." Provided by some miracle a group of heterogeneous soldiers, all interested in the issues of the war, could be assembled for a forum, I would lay odds that there would be plenty of damned silly questions.

Does the public realize, I wonder, how horribly true the condition described in Pfc. E. W.'s letter (which I was glad to see also in your issue of August 21)? If they think he is too gloomy, too pessimistic, I would invite the skeptics to view the magazine rack at the post exchange. (Dear Editor: I'm so glad you can't see how *The Nation* is wedged every week between *Red Hot Romances* on one side and *Western Stories* on the other.) I would invite the skeptic to visit the day room when the President of the United States is making an important speech. Yes, come on in, skeptics, there's plenty of room; all the boys are at the movie. And for the crowning blow, I would invite him to one of those semi-annual bull sessions when the talk turns for a few minutes from sex to world affairs. I don't think even Hollywood could promise anything as monstrous as the last one was. The line of reasoning went about like this: Let's hurry up and get this over with, doesn't matter much who wins . . . not much difference between the German and American governments. . . . We're really not a democracy, with gasoline and tires being rationed. (Oh, no, Mr. Skeptic, that isn't Mr. Harrison Spangler, that's a private in the army which is fighting for the very life of democracy itself.) In justice, it ought to be said that this bull session, which I swear I have summarized quite faithfully, was below par. Most soldiers certainly feel that there is considerable difference between the Nazis and ourselves, and that we'd better win the war, but beyond that I'm afraid the soldier's knowledge does not extend very far.

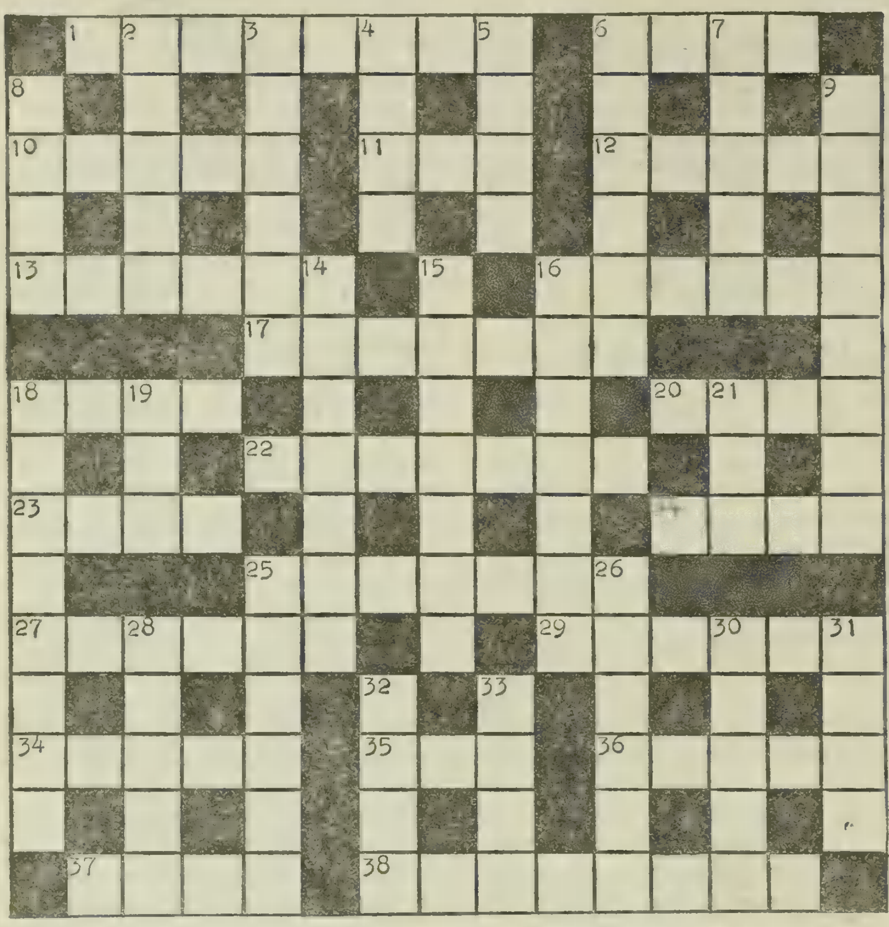
Facts like these are enough to make the angels weep—and ought to make every good American citizen wonder what kind of nation, what kind of civilization has produced such an army. The record suggests that we have failed in many respects, but the important lesson to be learned is that we had better start doing something to prevent a repetition of our folly. In bringing to the attention of the public the regrettable state of the American army *The Nation* is doing a real service to democracy.

PVT. G. C.

"Somewhere in Kansas," August 30

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 30

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Does the novice indicate his dining room?
6 Head or pie, it depends on the accent
10 A cruel way of making money
11 Familiar Eastern shrub
12 Fish (with tea and bread included)
13 Banking expert whose work is often on a lofty plane
16 Is this instrument used for calling the cat in India? (hyphen, 3 and 3)
17 I pass on (anag.)
18 "There is no other royal ---- which leads to geometry" (Euclid to Ptolemy I)
20 Should be taken before meals
22 The order the soldier likes best?
23 Harmless reptiles
24 Teeth, but not for eating with
25 Potential jugged hare?
27 Salutes perhaps, but they can hardly have a salutary effect on the enemy
29 Often a dry drink
34 Wotton wrote of its meaner beauties
35 Palindromic commander
36 A girl in merry surroundings
37 "As proper men as ever ---- upon neat's leather" (Julius Caesar)
38 Tin cruet containing the medicine you want

DOWN

2 This is more palatable with ice in it
3 I prefer my sporting footwear without one (hyphen, 3 and 3)
4 Plays a part, or parts of plays
5 Cheese that's made backward
6 Usually has a pressing engagement at meal times
7 It is literally tickled to death
8 You have a bone to pick
9 This plant is enough to make a cat smile
14 Oysters raised in artificial beds
15 One at war with society
16 Tumbles
18 There's no time like the -------
19 Not a long drink but it appears to add up
21 The eternal "I"
25 Was Toledo ever pillaged? It is here!
26 Homer wrote of pining with this amidst a sea of waves
28 You don't demand age in this drink, but you get it
30 Has a bed but never goes to bed
31 University lock
32 Where teas come from
33 The name of the parlor maid who broke every day?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 29

ACROSS:—1 WIGWAM; 5 SUEDES; 9 RAILMAN; 11 AWNING; 12 LINNET; 13 OILIEST; 14 THEE; 17 ABEL; 19 HORSEWHIP; 22 GLEDE; 23 AONIA; 25 FLUENT; 26 NUDIST; 27 DEMON; 29 BEARD; 31 LANTHORNS; 34 RAKE; 36 SAGO; 37 NEW LEAF; 39 DAMSON; 40 LLAMAS; 41 REPTILE; 42 EVOKES; 43 YARNED.

DOWN:—1 WEALTH; 2 GINGER; 3 ARNO; 4 MAGIC WAND; 5 SALSE; 6 UNIT; 7 DANUBE; 8 SETTLE; 10 LAID IN; 15 HOPFLEA; 16 ESQUIRE; 17 ALBINOS; 18 EDITING; 20 HOTEL; 21 PINON; 24 AUNT SALLY; 28 MALLET; 29 BRIDLE; 30 AKIMBO; 32 RAGMAN; 33 SOUSED; 35 BENES; 37 NORE; 38 FLEA.

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The Shape of Things

HEAVY LOSS OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN lives at Salerno and the steady retreat of the Reichswehr in Russia should serve to impose a moratorium on agitation for a "real second front." It is not the slightest reflection on the prowess of the magnificent Red Army to attribute partial responsibility for the westward flight of the Nazis to Allied activities elsewhere in Europe. Unofficial Russian claims that not a German division has been drained away from the eastern front by the Sicilian and Italian campaigns obviously cannot be checked from here, though it is apparent that the German high command has been pouring reinforcements into Italy at a totally unexpected rate. But even if the Russian assertion is perfectly correct, it is undeniable that pressure on the Balkans and southern France resulting from the Italian invasion, plus the ever-present threat of invasion across the Channel, has pinned down more than fifty divisions which the Nazis might well have used to stem the tide in Russia, or at least to assure themselves an impregnable defense line at the Dnieper. As it is, if the autumn rains hold off long enough, the Germans may fail even at the Dnieper and be driven back all the way to the old Polish border. In that happy event the Western allies will be entitled to some share of the credit, just as the Russians rightly claim some of the honors for the successful penetration of Italy.

*

IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SPOILS OF war, the Italian campaign so far has favored the Allies by a substantial margin: we have 108 units of the Italian navy and the Germans have Mussolini. At least they say they have Mussolini. Naval analysts agree that the Italian ships will not be usable for a long while to come, but it is doubtful whether the Germans will ever be able to recondition Il Duce. The wild and divergent tales of how the discarded dictator was rescued by Nazi paratroopers, coupled with doubts in reliable quarters as to the authenticity of the radio voice purporting to be Mussolini's, inevitably raise some interesting questions: Did the Nazis really get their man, or is the whole story an emanation from the Minister of Public Enlightenment? If the paratroopers did in fact get to him, did they bring him back alive, or was he first shot by his

Italian guards, as reported from Madrid? And if he was spirited away physically intact, is he perhaps in too gibbering a state to send his voice out over the air waves? On our side of the battle lines the equally interesting question arises of why the immediate delivery of Mussolini was not made one of the terms of the armistice. We enjoy the inanity of the German radio reports of how "the whole Japanese nation was overwhelmed with joy" over the rescue and "all Norway under its spell"; but all the same we don't relish the escape of the first of those war criminals whose punishment is a pledge of honor to their victims.

*

IN THE HEARINGS ON THE WHEELER BILL the top-ranking military and naval authorities of the country have presented an impressive array of evidence to substantiate the case for drafting pre-Pearl Harbor fathers this year. Admiral Jacobs, personnel chief of the navy, pointed out that the navy will require approximately 500,000 men by the end of December if the ships and aircraft now under construction are to be manned. Lieutenant General McNarney, deputy chief of staff of the army, declared that "if we don't get the men we cannot meet the planned target dates, and every single day we delay means an enormous loss of men and money . . . a shift of commitments would affect the whole global strategy of the war." The head of Selective Service, General Hershey, estimated that only 775,000 of the 1,221,000 men before the end of the year could be obtained from the existing reservoir of 1-a's, the new eighteen-year-olds, and reclassified 2-a's, 2-b's, and 4-f's. Under Secretary Patterson asserted that if fathers were not called at this time, 446,000 men would have to be taken out of vital war industries, where production schedules are even now not being met. The War Manpower Commission estimates that 2,000,000 more workers will be required in these industries by the end of the year if our troops are to have the weapons they need. Only two possible answers to the problem have been suggested—the existing work-or-fight order as it applies to fathers, or national-service legislation. Congress will have to make up its mind which course to follow.

*

WE WISH THE PRESIDENT IN HIS MESSAGE to Congress had said what Henry Wallace did at Chicago, "We must fight not merely to make the world safe for democracy but to give democracy first place in the world." We see no sign as yet that the President and his advisers on foreign policy are determined to give democracy "first place" in the world, much less attack the basic economic evils which Wallace boldly enumerated as the enemies of democracy. The Vice President's attack on cartels found new and unexpected emphasis in the fact that most newspapers, led by the New York *Times*, omitted from the text of his remarks those sentences which were aimed at the Standard Oil-I.G. Farben cartel. Readers of those papers must have been confused when they came across long statements by Standard Oil answering charges only sketchily reported, if at all, in the same columns. No one familiar with the facts will be taken in by the pious opposition to cartels now expressed by Ralph W. Gallagher, president of Standard Oil. Only a few months ago he successfully opposed passage of a minority stockholders' resolution which would have pledged the company not to resume its cartel relations with I.G. Farben after the war. The Nazis may be doomed but Standard expects to go on doing business with these I.G. gentlemen who supported Hitler's bid for power at home and abroad.

*

THE CRUDE AND COWARDLY DEVICE BY which the house barred Robert Morss Lovett, William E. Dodd, Jr., and Goodwin B. Watson from office, as of November 15, was a perfect example of the way in which that body allows such penny-dreadful demagogues as Martin Dies to lead it by the nose. It fired the three officials in a rider attached to a deficiency bill which neither the Senate nor the President was in a position, at that moment, to oppose or veto; and the basis for its action was the usual vague charge that the men under attack are "radicals." We are glad the President has served notice that he does not intend to let Congress have its irresponsible way. He proposes to ignore the rider on the ground that it is "an unwarranted encroachment upon the authority of both the executive and the judicial branches under our Constitution" and is not binding upon them. As for the officials concerned, they will go right on working after November 15. Martin Dies has accused the President of seeking support of "the left group" by his defense of three officials against a vindictive and strictly dishonorable attack. In the course of his statement he accused Messrs. Lovett, Dodd, and Watson of not believing in our form of government. It is Mr. Dies, as we have intimated before, to whom that characterization most accurately applies.

*

INSECTS ARE NOTED FOR THEIR PERSISTENCY but even the ants could learn something from the fourth-termites among the Republicans in Congress. To the average citizen it must have seemed that the President of a nation engaged in the most desperate struggle in its history was only fulfilling his obvious duty when, on the reassembling of Congress, he delivered a comprehensive report on his Administration's conduct of that war. But when an inquiring reporter asked Senator Aiken of Vermont for comment, he said he couldn't understand the purpose of the message unless it was to provide material for the next election—and he made particular reference to the President's suggestion that something be done to protect the future of the men now serving in the armed forces. Senator Taft and Senator Styles Bridges also saw in the President's report on World War II only another campaign document. The inquiring reporter went on to ask other newly returned legislators what the folks back home think about things, including Congress. "One Representative," according to this report, "said he had discovered that 'the old American custom of criticizing Congress has changed, and the law-making body is held in high public esteem.' " We reserve comment, lest we be accused of malice in wonderland.

*

THE ARREST OF A SMALL-TIME BOOTLEGGER serves as a reminder that Carlo Tresca was shot to death on a New York street corner eight months ago and that his murder remains an unsolved crime. With the detention of the bootlegger, one Frank Nuccio, as a material witness, the authorities will perhaps show signs of cracking a case which in the eyes of laymen has been unaccountably slow in yielding results. It is not as though the circumstances of Tresca's assassination were barren of clues. The victim was known throughout the world as an anti-fascist leader. In private conversation, in public speeches, and in the columns of his own paper he often identified his political enemies, some of whom, he had asserted, entertained against him the most violent of intentions. More concretely, the police immediately discovered a car presumably abandoned by the killers a few blocks from the scene of the murder. Within twenty-four hours they arrested a paroled convict who had been seen driving a car with the same license plate less than two hours before the crime. They have been holding him ever since, technically for a violation of parole. With all these seeming advantages, no further progress was made until the arrest of Nuccio last week. We have a high regard for New York's police and legal machinery and find it hard to understand why it has moved in so halting a fashion in a case of such obvious importance. Carlo Tresca's life was given to the cause of political freedom; his death must not remain a victory for the enemies of that cause.

*

BRITAIN'S CONCERN WITH ITS RELATIONS with America has become almost an obsession—though an understandable one. A small measure of this preoccupation is the appearance, in the face of the paper shortage, of a new monthly, *Transatlantic*, published in London under the editorship of Geoffrey Crowther and devoted exclusively to the cultivation of understanding of the United States. The first number is a promising beginning, although it suffers from some superficial defects such as poor make-up and a cover which may be surrealist in intention but in color and general effect suggests an early Mexican miracle board rather than a contemporary magazine. The contents are better. Some of the articles are amusing, some instructive, most of them well written. All but one are by American writers, including among others Carl Van Doren, Nathaniel Peffer, Ogden Nash, and Carroll Binder. The one article by a Britisher, D. W. Brogan, is the best in the issue, and this raises a doubt about the whole plan of the magazine. Can the job of explaining the United States to an intelligent British audience be left to Americans? We believe not. Americans don't know well enough what Englishmen don't know about America. A greater part of the new journal should be turned out by observant British writers who can illumine some of the spots in American life that really baffle our friends—as well as ourselves. Another trouble with *Transatlantic* is even more fundamental. It should, clearly, be a two-way venture: an attempt to interpret each of the English-speaking Allies to the other; and it should be on sale in this country as well as in Britain.

The President's Message

THE PRESIDENT'S message to Congress was notable for its vigor, its comprehensive review of the war effort, and its statesmanship. If at points it reflected his growing irritation with the press and with his critics, that irritation is understandable and its expression this time was restrained. It is true that "there is no so-called 'news' when things run right" and it is also true, as the President said, that we could not have accomplished all we have "if conditions in Washington and throughout the nation were as confused and chaotic as some people try to paint them." At the same time it is the function of a free press to prod for the correction of errors rather than to spend its time patting officials on the back. This criticism, though it needs the corrective of broader perspective from time to time, is useful. And the President was wrong to link it with the "evil work" of Axis propagandists. His burdens are heavy, his anger at criticism only human, but too many incompetent bureaucrats and bunglers, notably in our State Department, would like to stifle criticism by discrediting the critics.

The President provided a better answer to critics in his survey of the vast problems his administration has had to tackle. He could honestly report that since Pearl Harbor we have done a good job and he could justly say that if anyone thinks we are the only ones to make major mistakes "he should take a look at some of the blunders made by our enemies in the co-called 'efficient' dictatorships."

In answering critics of our dealings with Badoglio, the President in effect only asks us to have faith. He says, "We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive in the world." We do not doubt his sincerity, but he must be prepared for a measure of scepticism so long as he leaves the State Department in reactionary hands and so long as he himself seems to show a predilection for the kings and Pétains of the old world. Little of permanent value will have been accomplished if we wipe out every vestige of fascism but return to power doddering and corrupt ruling-class elements which were fascism's patrons and partners. In the same way it is not enough to speak, as the President does, of rooting out "the war-breeding gangs of militarists" in Germany and Japan. Behind the militarists were big business elements which will be restored to power if our foreign policy continues to be hostile to popular movements in Europe.

As to the secret conversations with Badoglio which the President defends, we suspend judgment. Whether they served to facilitate our entrance into Italy or only to help the Germans prepare defenses against us is a question which cannot be answered until more facts are available. We would feel less suspicious and more tolerant of dealings with Badoglios and Darlans if once—just once—the President and his State Department showed a similar readiness to deal with popular forces.

The OPA Roll-Back

IT IS fashionable in some quarters to minimize the effectiveness of the OPA's roll-back program. Figures were assembled in *PM*, for example, indicating that the new roll-back would save only 1 per cent of the average family's budget instead of 2.3 per cent as claimed by the OPA. We suspect that *PM* is probably right in its mathematics, but in dwelling on the apparent error in OPA computations it misses the essential fact that the OPA is succeeding in its campaign to drive the cost of living downward.

To gain an appreciation of what the OPA is doing one should look beyond such immediate questions as whether the ceiling on butter is too high or too low, or whether business men or economic experts should determine prices, and consider the cost of living. Prior to May, 1942, when the first over-all price ceilings were put into effect, the cost of living in the United States was rising at the rate of more than 1 per cent a month—and the rate was steadily increasing. Although hampered by a Congressional prohibition which prevented it from controlling many essential food prices, the OPA under Henderson succeeded in slowing the advance to approximately ½ of 1 per cent a month. Later, when Congress passed the revised Price Control Act giving the OPA greater power over food prices, the advance was slowed still more; and beginning in May, after the President issued the hold-the-line order, the increase was stopped altogether. Between May and August the cost of living was reduced by 1½ per cent and food prices were brought down by more than 4 per cent. There is every reason to believe that the OPA will eventually succeed in restoring the price level of September 15, 1942, provided Congress does not embark on an inflationary orgy such as was threatened last spring.

Compare this record with that of the last war. By the end of the forty-fourth month of World War I the cost of living had risen 40 per cent. From then on it advanced more steeply until it had more than doubled. In the first forty-four months of the present war the cost of living went up 25 per cent, but at that point the trend was reversed. This is an impressive achievement. It has been brought about despite constant backbiting in the press, violent attacks from opposition elements throughout the country, and utter lack of cooperation from Congress. What is even more remarkable, it has been accomplished without an adequate program of taxation or forced savings to mop up the excess spending power created by war expenditures. The OPA's entire price-control and rationing program might still collapse as a result of black-market operations if this excess spending power is not diverted into the Treasury, but the use of subsidies provides a powerful weapon for combating this danger. The chief fear now is that Congress may not authorize sufficient subsidies to continue the promised roll-back and cope with the illegal markets.

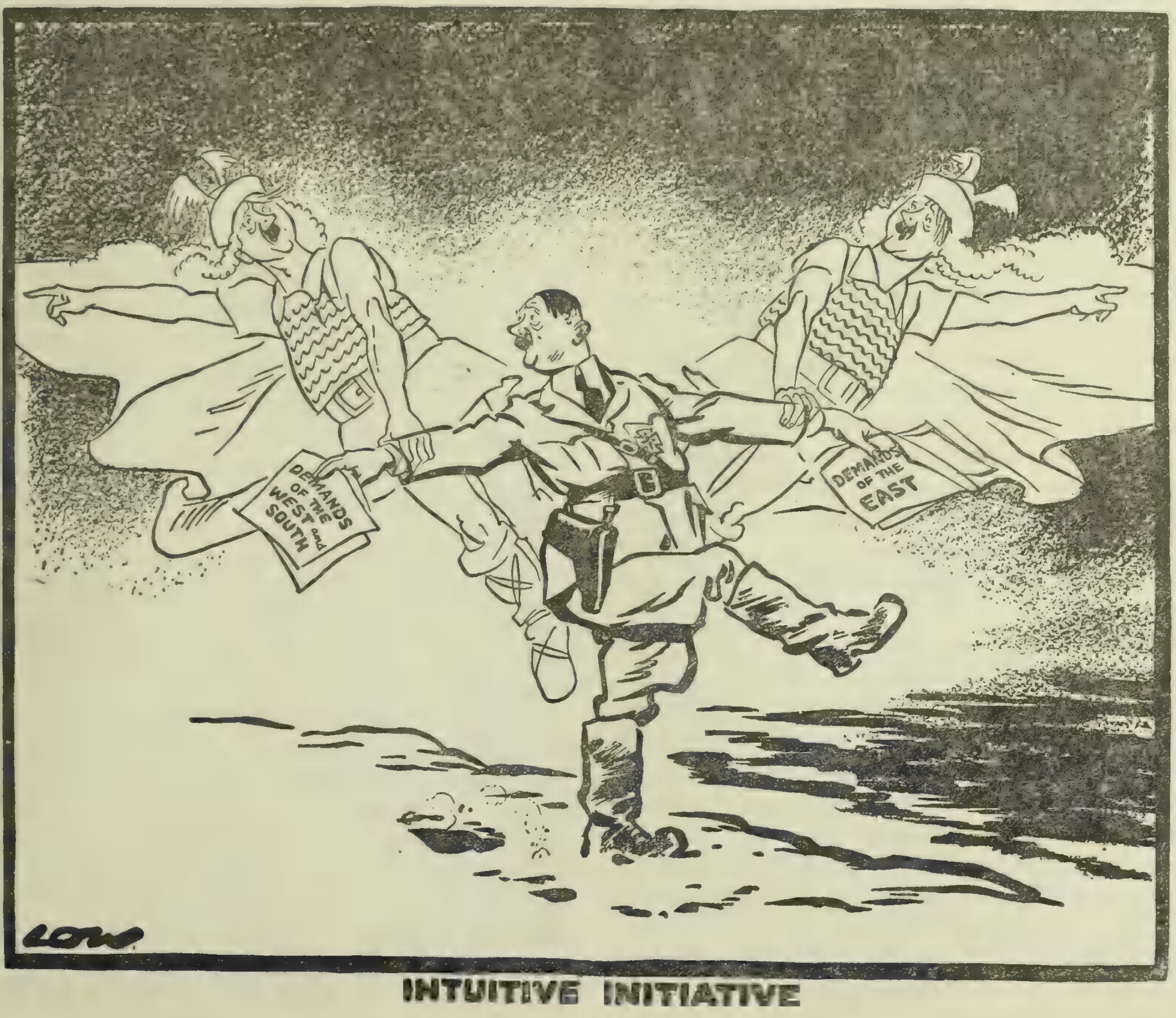
Impasse in Chungking

THE decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, of China to summon a National Assembly to ratify the constitution no later than one year after the end of the war is rightly being hailed in this country as an important step toward democracy. While it is not the first time that a date has been set for the National Assembly, reports from China a few months ago had indicated that the establishment of constitutional government might be delayed for some years after the close of hostilities. The action of the Central Executive Committee comes therefore as a welcome surprise and suggests a signal triumph for the democratic forces within the Kuomintang. It is a decision which should help remove the unfortunate misunderstandings between China and the other United Nations described elsewhere in this issue by Maxwell S. Stewart.

It is not yet clear, however, what practical effect this decision and Chiang Kai-shek's simultaneous statement on the Communist issue will have on the admittedly tense relations between the Kuomintang and the Communists of the northwest. Chiang's statement was more conciliatory in form than in substance. The newly elected President of China declared that the central government "does not have any particular demand to make on the Chinese Communist Party," and asserted that the problem "should be solved by political means." But he then went on to accuse the Communists of "assaulting national-government troops" and "forcefully occupying our national territory." And he reiterated Chungking's demands for a disbandment of the Eighth Route Army and dissolution of the Communist organizations without offering any concessions to the opposition's demand for an immediate guaranty of the rights of minority parties.

In other words, the Kuomintang-Communist issue appears to remain where it was—at an extremely critical impasse—and announcements pledging the early establishment of constitutional government do not seem to have been accompanied by any real effort to solve the immediate crisis. It is for this reason, rather than because of any doubts concerning the significance or sincerity of the Kuomintang's action, that the recent news has been received with some reserve in Washington. It is quite obvious that China's contribution to the war effort depends to a large extent on a peaceful settlement of the Communist issue, which now keeps more than three-quarters of a million of China's best troops immobilized. Huge quantities of supplies which could readily be used to support an offensive are similarly immobilized. But the most serious aspect of the continuing breach is the political. Although both factions are agreed in opposing the Japanese, the internal conflict has been so bitter and so protracted that the war spirit has suffered materially.

The conflict has dragged on so long that it seems futile to hope for an early solution. If there is to be one, it will have to come through a revitalizing of the war effort such as could be produced by active American and British assistance. If the Burma road can be reopened this winter and large quantities of supplies sent to China, it may be possible to draw up a common United Nations strategy which will make the fullest use of all China's military groups in a great offensive to drive the Japanese out of the country. Once the whole of China is again united in active warfare, many of its most perplexing problems will disappear. Unity will be forged by a common effort that cannot fail to give the Chinese people a new sense of their powers as well as of their essential democratic rights.


DEMANDS OF THE WEST and SOUTH
DEMANDS OF THE EAST
LOW

INTUITIVE INITIATIVE

X X X and the FBI

BY I. F. STONE

[*We have received several criticisms and one major attack on the two articles entitled Washington Gestapo which appeared in our issues of July 17 and July 24. The articles, signed X X X, were by necessity anonymous, and since Mr. Stone vouched for the author we asked him to do a round-up reply.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Washington, September 17

THE only direct reply the Washington Gestapo articles have elicited from the Department of Justice is a long communication from an employee of the department who asks that his letter be kept "off the record" but at the same time demands that we answer his objections in print. J. Edgar Hoover has made an indirect reply in the form of a letter to the Fresno (California) *Bee,* commenting on an editorial in that newspaper. In this issue *The Nation* is printing two letters of criticism. One, by Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, defends L. M. C. Smith, chief of the War Policies Unit of the department. The other, by Morris L. Ernst, defends the FBI.

I will take up the Baldwin letter first. I think it important to note that the only thing Baldwin objects to in the articles is their reference to Smith. Baldwin says Smith was "made to appear as 'suffering from a "radical" psychosis.' " In the articles the words quoted were applied to Hoover, not Smith, though the context may have been intended to imply that Smith was of much the same mind. The reference to Smith was also criticized by the "off-the-record" communication from the department, which called Smith "an honest liberal" and one who had fought hard to protect government workers "against unjust loose accusations." The "off-the-record" letter also objected that X X X gave a one-sided impression of the unit's work by not citing the fact that it has a Nazi section and a Fascist section as well as a Communist section.

It remains clear that part of the job of the War Policies Unit is to police leftist and working-class opinions. Baldwin's letter admits that the unit did recommend postal action against "the Trotzkyite *Militant* and the organ of a splinter group in Chicago." Our "off-the-record" friend in the department does not dispute the authenticity of the quotation in which it was explained that the unit helped the FBI "to know about and prepare for any necessary action to protect the country against any illegal activity by the leftist groups in the United States, such as the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Industrial Workers of the World, and so forth." I note also that Smith indorsed the Hobbs concentration-camp bill (DJ, 1942, p. 739),* boasted that he got the Post Office to suppress the *Militant* (DJ, 1944, p. 179), and waved a copy of Adam Clayton Powell's *People's Voice* at the House Appropriations Committee (same, p. 183), saying, "Here is the Negro press, which, as you know, has been very virulent. It has not been seditious, but it has been very close to it." With all due respect to Roger Baldwin, I prefer to keep my fingers crossed about Smith and about the War Policies Unit.

Morris Ernst says he has kept "a rather close watch" on the FBI for "close to ten years" and has "yet to hear of a single proved case of violation of the basic civil liberties. This is close to a miracle." Like most miracles, this does not stand up too well under examination. In *The Nation* for March 20 last Ernst will find an editorial on two Supreme Court decisions by Justice Frankfurter in which convictions were set aside because FBI men and local officials were guilty of violating the basic civil rights of the convicted. One case involved eight copper workers arrested in the 1939-40 strike of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers at Copperhill, Tennessee. The miracle is also dimmed by the conduct of the FBI in the Bridges case and in its treatment of persons arrested in the 1940 Detroit raids on Spanish Loyalist sympathizers. The record of the Bridges case, as I reported in *The Nation* in June, 1942, showed that Hoover and the Immigration Service under Major Lemuel B. Schofield fished "in some pretty muddy waters in their anxiety to 'get' Bridges." On the Detroit incident, I refer readers to the letter sent Attorney General Jackson by Senator Norris on March 10, 1940. Jackson's dismissal of the charges against these Loyalist sympathizers serves to underscore the melodramatic lawlessness with which the FBI made the arrests. The accused were routed from their beds between four and five in the morning, subjected to the third degree until three that afternoon, given a scant five minutes in which to see counsel before being arraigned, and led from court handcuffed and chained.

Ernst objects that the author of Washington Gestapo, in listing questions relating to religious affiliations and trade-union attitudes, did not specify which were asked by the FBI and which by the Civil Service Commission. He says this is "as unfair as if someone wrote an article and said that *The Nation* and Henry Luce 'took the following positions' and then failed to specify which positions were taken by you and which by Henry Luce." The analogy is far from perfect, since the differences between investigators for the FBI and investigators for the Civil Service Commission, if any, are hardly of the same order as those between *The Nation* and Luce. In Washington I received at least one telephone call from a defender of the commission who implied that such questions were asked only by the FBI. The friends of the FBI return the compliment. From the letters we have received, the experiences of members of the staff, and personal knowledge we believe questions of the sort listed are asked by investigators for both. It may very well be that the heads of neither agency instruct investigators to ask such questions. It is hard to imagine any responsible official of either agency telling investigators to do so. Nevertheless, such questions are asked.

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* The references are to the annual hearings before the House Appropriations Committee on the Department of Justice appropriation.

The heads of these agencies cannot pursue tactics that intimidate and then expect persons questioned to demand the names of investigators and boldly send complaints to the commission or the FBI. As things stand in Washington today, that would seem almost a certain way to get oneself put down in the records as a dangerous radical. Our "off-the-record" correspondent in the department is especially annoyed because Washington Gestapo repeated the widely reported fact that government employees are sometimes asked—as a test of subversion—whether they read *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, *PM*, *In Fact*, and so on. Anyone who reads Hoover's letter to the Fresno *Bee* in its issue of August 22 will find it easier to understand why. All that Hoover has to offer, besides flat but general denials, is the implication that *The Nation* is not a "reputable" publication.

As for the "off-the-record" communication from the department employee, I asked permission to print the letter, and I asked for an official reply to the articles from Hoover or from Attorney General Biddle. Permission was not granted, and no reply has been received. I cannot discuss the whole letter here but will pick from it certain points which are factual. X X X said that Hoover has refused to include Negroes among his agents. "There are several hundred Negroes employed by the FBI as agents," is the reply, "and in highly confidential and responsible work." Negro leaders have complained for some time that the FBI does not hire Negroes as investigators. Two responsible leaders with whom we checked the "off-the-record" contention expressed surprise and skepticism. Their impression is that Negroes are used only on "spot jobs" and as stool pigeons. Hoover could settle the controversy by publishing the number of Negroes actually employed as FBI agents.

Our "off-the-record" friend in the department complains of a "snide implication" in the Washington Gestapo articles "that anti-Semitism exists in FBI policy." He says there are "a dozen Jews" among the top-ranking officers of the bureau, "and, ironically enough, the man charged directly with investigations of which you complain is himself a Jew." I don't think X X X intended to accuse the FBI of anti-Semitism. I, for one, would make no such charge. But I do believe that some of the investigators in both agencies have the vague and fascistic idea that Jews and radicals are somehow synonymous.

The "off-the-record" communication from the department also protests that Hoover did not, as X X X stated, "personally direct" the Palmer raids after the last war. He says Hoover had no connection with the FBI at that time and conducted no raids but was special assistant to Attorney General Palmer "and assigned to prosecute the deportation cases." Former Attorney General Cummings, in his book "Federal Justice," says that in 1919 a General Intelligence Division was organized in the department "under direct administrative supervision of J. Edgar Hoover, since 1917 in charge of counter-radical activities as Special Assistant to the Attorney General." According to Cummings (pp. 429-30), within three and a half months this division under Hoover "gathered and indexed the histories of over 60,000 persons. . . . Among these were the warden of Sing Sing, Jane Addams, William Jennings Bryan, Mayor Hylan, and a Who's Who of outstanding Americans."

It may well be that Hoover has changed somewhat since those days. Under a progressive Administration, in a period when the labor movement is strong, the FBI could hardly operate Palmer fashion and survive. The strange thing is that even under these conditions, and during an anti-fascist war, anti-fascists should be as uncomfortable and as suspect as they often are in government service today. I am inclined to think that Attorney General Biddle, for all his weaknesses, has not done too bad a job in curbing the FBI, and I think the latest FBI report on the famous Dies list of subversives, which gives Dies a batting average of about .003 per cent, is to Biddle's credit and Hoover's. But from all I can learn and from the letters we have received there can be little doubt about the main features of the picture drawn by X X X in Washington Gestapo. And it may be that the publication of those articles was in part responsible for the new procedure outlined last week by the President's Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations. Under this procedure there may at least be hearings; I say "may" because the committee's power is only advisory. This is progress.

I can find no better closing than to quote the letter sent the Senate Appropriations Committee in 1941 by John Haynes Holmes, Arthur Garfield Hays, and Roger Baldwin. "The authority given the FBI," over government employees, they wrote, ". . . gives it virtually the powers of a political police—that is, of investigation into matters of political opinion and belief. It is axiomatic that in a democracy no police investigations of political opinion aside from acts in violation of the law should be undertaken."

Cross-Currents in China

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

FOR months a conspiracy of silence has blanketed the strained relations between China and its Western allies. From time to time there have been hints of Chinese displeasure with the United States and Great Britain, but in the interests of United Nations unity not much has been allowed to leak out regarding the nature of American and British anxiety regarding China. Owing to this official silence, little constructive thinking has been done on how to ease the strain so that China may be made a more effective force in the struggle against Japan and in the peace to follow.

The Chinese complain with justification that their country has been consistently treated as a stepchild among the United Nations. For example, the Quebec conference was, according to Prime Minister Churchill, given over primarily to the consideration of United Nations strategy against Japan. But although China will be more vitally affected by the outcome of that strategy than any other nation, it seems to have had no voice in determining it. No member of the Chinese general staff was present at the technical conferences which preceded and accompanied the Churchill-Roosevelt conversations. T. V. Soong, the Chinese Foreign Minister, attended the closing sessions of the conference, but Soong is not a military man, and it is to be presumed that the basic military decisions were taken long before he arrived on the scene. Since China had no part in the planning, it is probable that the coming Pacific offensive will be mainly an American-British show. From the Chinese point of view, this bespeaks a continuation of the "white man's burden" psychology which has so long been used to justify Western imperialism.

Further evidence that China has not been accepted into full partnership in the United Nations may be found, according to Chinese critics, in our failure to deliver lend-lease supplies in anything like the volume indicated eighteen months or a year ago. To be sure, the decline is in large part due to the closing of the Burma road and the immense difficulties of air transportation from India. But in the eyes of many Chinese the closing of the Burma road was itself a glaring example of the shortsightedness of Anglo-Saxon military planning. Even after the fall of Singapore Burma could have been saved if American and Australian troops had been sent there instead of concentrated in white Australia, or even if Britain had agreed in time to admit the veteran Chinese troops that Chiang Kai-shek dispatched to guard the Burma lifeline.

This, in essence, is China's case against Britain and the United States. While the Chinese are grateful for what help they have received, they can hardly be blamed for feeling that they got along better before Britain and America entered the war, or for fearing that a United Nations victory will still see China playing second fiddle to the Western powers in shaping the future of Asia. Chinese resentment is not softened by the fact that the Japanese puppet government at Nanking, under the nominal leadership of Wang Ching-wei, has gained some following by stressing the duplicity of Western imperialism and that defeatists and would-be collaborators in Free China constantly harp on the same theme.

MILITARY WEAKNESS

Why should the Anglo-Saxon powers thus ignore China's great potential military contributions, and why, above all, should they play into the hands of the Japanese by exposing themselves to the charge of unregenerate imperialism? In the absence of any official defense of our policies from Washington or London, many Americans and Britons have been unduly critical of their governments, accepting the Chinese charges at their face value. Actually, however, the situation is far more complicated than it appears to be on the surface. There are several reasons why the United States and Britain have acted in an apparently high-handed manner. The most important are (1) a feeling that China's military leadership is not good enough to justify intrusting it with major responsibility in the coming United Nations offensive or providing it with the most up-to-date weapons; (2) a belief that China could and should do more to provide itself with the basic sinews of war; and (3) fear that shipments of modern military equipment would be used, not against Japan, but to carry on civil war in China.

Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of the New York *Times*, has presented a strong indictment of China's military leadership. In his opinion most of China's troops are "poorly led and incapable of effectively utilizing modern arms," and China's military situation is not only "bad" today but "will probably continue to be bad for some years to come." He has accused the Chinese of manufacturing paper victories in their communiqués on occasions when the Japanese have in fact merely completed a successful maneuver. Mr. Hanson's views are important not merely because they have been read by hundreds of thousands of Americans but more particularly because they probably reflect the opinion of at least part of the American General Staff.

A similarly harsh indictment of Chinese military leadership was formulated by one of China's best generals after the Chinese setback on the Hupeh front last spring. In a review of the Hupeh campaign published in the *China Daily News* General Ch'en Ch'eng attributed the initial Japanese success in a difficult terrain to "our negligence." More specifically, he spoke of China's failure to coordinate the military, political, and economic aspects of the war. It will be observed that Ch'en Ch'eng's criticism strikes deeper than Baldwin's, and it is probably much sounder. The remarkable successes gained by Chinese guerrillas against great odds suggest that the Chinese are not without real military ability. Except for one or two bad blunders the Chinese showed up quite well in the Burma campaign, better than the British. When the American air force provided air cover in the later stages of the Hupeh campaign, the Chinese outfought and outmaneuvered the better-armed Japanese. All judgments which suggest that the Chinese are lacking in military ability should therefore be regarded as superficial. The real difficulty lies elsewhere.

THE BRAKE ON CHINA'S WAR ECONOMY

With respect to the weakness of China's war strategy in the economic sphere we shall find more general agreement. At least a year ago Chou Mou-pei, a leading figure in Chungking's machine industry, predicted "the total collapse of the machine industry in the interior" because of its dependence on imported parts. He urged a change in basic policy which would make China more self-sufficient in raw materials and war supplies. In a cable from Chungking to the Institute of Pacific Relations Guenther Stein has pointed out that China's production of iron in 1942 was only about 30,000 tons and of steel 10,000 tons. Competent authorities believe that by utilizing small village industries as well as its large-scale facilities China could increase this several fold.

These facts give point to the severe criticism of the Chinese war effort presented by the Soviet writer Vladimir Rogov in a widely quoted article. It is Rogov's contention that China's immense economic resources have never been mobilized for the war because of "covert resistance" in official circles. A lack of vigor in planning has deprived small local industries, such as the industrial cooperatives, of the needed encouragement. As for large-scale industry, Mr. Rogov declares that "industrial and financial circles prefer to engage in profiteering rather than invest their capital in the armaments industry." Emphasis has been on consumers' goods, often of a luxury type, instead of on urgently needed military supplies. This accounts for China's extreme dependence on imports of munitions from the United States, a dependence made very costly by the loss of the Burma road.

Support for this criticism may be found in Chiang Kai-shek's address to the second production conference recently held in Chungking. After urging that "the financial and material resources of the whole nation be mobilized for the production both of arms and of daily necessities," Chiang said that idle capital must be utilized for "production instead of being allowed to circulate in other fields according to changing market conditions." He did not define the "other fields," but it is known that many of China's wealthy men have found speculation in rice and land more profitable than the production of needed war materials. In commenting on this tendency the *Ta Kung Pao,* China's leading newspaper, has bemoaned the fact that "the merchants are becoming landlords, while the landlords are becoming merchants, and neither wants to invest in industrial enterprises."

With this statement the *Ta Kung Pao* placed its finger on the factor which, above all else, impedes the development of an all-out war economy in China and obstructs effective military resistance to Japan—China's archaic system of land tenure. Through a highly exploitative share-cropping system and a usurious credit arrangement the landlord and merchant in local areas maintain a dictatorial grip that throttles efforts to introduce local democracy or to stimulate a more widely based popular support for the war effort. They not only control the bulk of China's idle wealth; they also constitute a powerful political force. Their power, critics charge, is used to prevent the Chinese government from instituting the bold policies necessary to increase production and to bring the present damaging inflation under control.

CHUNGKING POLITICS

This leads us directly to the political problems involved in any strengthening of the Chinese war effort. These problems are extraordinarily complex. Reading of the imminent danger of a renewed outbreak of civil strife between the Kuomintang and the Eighth Route (Communist) Army, many Americans assume that the only important division in Chinese politics is between the right as represented by the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, and the left as represented by the Communists. This is far from being the case. The Kuomintang, as the one fully legal party, is an amalgam of many diverse elements. The divisions within it are largely personal and sectional rather than ideological, but important ideological differences do exist.

The three dominant personalities in the Kuomintang —apart from Chiang Kai-shek—are Mme Chiang's brother-in-law, H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance; Ho Ying-chin, Minister of War; and Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education, who with his brother, Chen Kuo-fu, heads a bloc, known as the CC group, that controls the Kuomintang party machinery. These men have different spheres of influence. H. H. Kung may be said to represent the dominant business and financial interests of present-day China; Ho Ying-chin holds a strategic position among the various, often conflicting military factions; while the Chen brothers operate in the political sphere.

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All three groups are represented in the Cabinet, but the CC bloc controls the largest number of Cabinet posts, notably the ministries of education, communication, social welfare, and information. Independent of any of these three groups, and a less important figure in Chinese internal politics, is T. V. Soong, the American-trained Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is a brother-in-law of Chiang's. Although not noted for firmness or clarity of political conviction, Soong is usually identified with the more progressive elements in the Kuomintang.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's position in this complicated political picture is difficult to define. Unlike the heads of most foreign states, Chiang does not owe his position to organized political backing. Nor is his power derived from the fact that he is titular commander-in-chief of the army. He has immense prestige because of his forthright and unfaltering opposition to Japanese ambitions in China, but beyond this he owes his power chiefly to his uncanny ability to play one group against the other and to effect workable compromises to hold the diverse factions together. Although Chiang rarely takes a strong stand on domestic issues, his loyalty to the United Nations is beyond question. In this respect Chiang is allied with the progressive wing of the party, men like T. V. Soong and Sun Fo among numerous others.

Most dubious among the various groups from the standpoint of the United Nations war effort is the CC clique. Its members have been strongly critical of British and American policies since Pearl Harbor, and have often been accused by democratic groups within China of fascist, and even pro-Japanese, sympathies. This charge obviously cannot be proved, but the CC group has invited it by adopting many of the trimmings of fascism in its methods of party organization. It maintains a secret police to enforce its party mandates that is closely patterned after the German and Italian models. The CC group has consistently fought all efforts to make the Kuomintang more democratic and has taken the lead in urging suppression of the Communists.

Ho Ying-chin is also suspect in some pro-democracy circles. When Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped in 1936, Ho immediately ordered troops sent against the kidnappers even though his action endangered Chiang's life. He opposed Chiang's efforts to form a united front for resistance to the Japanese prior to the outbreak of war, and he is believed to have been responsible for the attack on the Communist New Fourth Route Army a few years ago. As Minister of War he was also involved in the withdrawal from the fighting front of a half-million of Chiang Kai-shek's best soldiers, under the politically ambitious General Hu Chung-nan, and their use in maintaining an active blockade of the region dominated by the Eighth Route Army. General Hu has modeled the political and military organization in the areas under his control on fascist lines.

THE DANGER OF A CLASH

Reliable information on the danger of conflict between Kuomintang troops and the Eighth Route Army is extremely difficult to obtain. The Chinese government has refused to permit either American or British military observers to go into the northwest to obtain first-hand information on the situation and has maintained a rigid censorship on all news pertaining to political developments in that region. As a result, we know only what the right-wing officials in charge of information want us to know. From this source we have recently learned that 10,000 Communist troops "attacked and destroyed" a large force of Kuomintang troops early in August. The charge, however, is denied by an Eighth Route Army spokesman. Chungking denies that liquidation of the Eighth Route Army has been planned by Kuomintang military leaders, although it admits that such action has been demanded by party groups in various parts of the country. Without doubt Chungking is sincere in its denial. But many Americans who have visited China recently have expressed fear lest General Hu or some other ambitious military chieftain attack the Communists in the hope of strengthening his own military and political position. Some feel that this danger would be reduced if American military supplies were sent directly to General Stilwell instead of being shipped to the various Kuomintang armies and if United Nations military observers were stationed in the danger zones. The need for some such precaution is underlined by the fact that Chungking has consistently refused to permit foreign assistance, even in the form of medical supplies, to be sent to the Eighth Route Army.

T. A. Bisson, writing in the *Far Eastern Survey* of the Institute of Pacific Relations, aroused a hornets' nest in official Chinese circles when he declared that the labels "Kuomintang China" and "Communist China" were misleading. He suggested that more descriptive labels would be "feudal China" and "democratic China." Perhaps these labels also are open to objection, but they serve to drive home the fact that Chinese communism, because of the lack of any other opposition party, has attracted a large measure of support from democratic, progressive groups who have little interest in Marxian dogma. Moreover, because China is predominantly rural and rural China's chief curse is landlordism, the Chinese Communists have become, as Raymond Gram Swing recently pointed out, "agrarian radicals trying to establish democratic practices." The Kuomintang, on the other hand, has avoided drastic agrarian reform, presumably because of its close ties to the powerful landowning groups.

It is not necessary to dwell here on the importance of preventing civil war between these two Chinese factions. Such a conflict would not only destroy whatever military effectiveness China now displays but have possibly serious repercussions on the relations between Russia and China, thus producing the kind of rift the Axis has long striven to create within the ranks of the United Nations. Both the United States and Great Britain have recognized the danger and have sought to prevent hostilities. Prevention of civil war, however, is not enough. China must be so strengthened that it can participate more effectively in the war and be prepared to assume a position of leadership in the Pacific after the defeat of Japan. This will necessitate a tremendous increase in the amount of economic and military assistance provided China by the United States. It will require reconquest of Burma and the opening of additional supply routes. But if assistance is thus to be stepped up, we have a right to expect China's own contribution to be revitalized. Pressure on the government to reorganize its war economy and settle its political differences must not be regarded as "imperialistic." We are partners in a common war; our interests are bound up with those of China. It is therefore our right to ask that it strengthen itself for the final effort, just as it was Chiang Kai-shek's right, a year ago, to press for a settlement of the conflict between Britain and the India National Congress.

DEMOCRACY NOW—THE SOLUTION

A possible basis for the settlement of China's political differences has just been indicated by Chiang himself. At the recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at Chungking he declared that all political parties would have equal rights and freedom when a constitutional government was set up after the war. The Central Executive Committee took a noteworthy step in this direction by voting to call a National Assembly within a year after the close of hostilities to adopt a constitution. If this were done now instead of being delayed until after the war, the long-standing difficulties between the Kuomintang and the Communists might quickly be removed. The Communists have repeatedly indicated their willingness to give up their separate army and special administrative districts whenever the democratic machinery that would permit a minority party to function effectively is set up. In postponing the creation of this machinery until after the war the committee left the immediate crisis unresolved. There is even danger that the right wing may insist on eliminating the Communists before the National Assembly is set up. Chiang's subsequent statement reiterating the demand for dissolution of the Communists is disturbing. As long the CC clique controls the administrative machinery of the party and the central government, the danger of conflict will persist. Nor are the appropriate steps for the modernization of the army likely to be taken under the present leadership.

Chiang Kai-shek has been reported on several occasions to be considering a reorganization of the government which would bring in younger, more vigorous leadership. There is reason to believe that such a development would be welcomed in Washington, London, and Moscow. But because all these governments are under compulsion to demonstrate that the days of direct foreign intervention have passed, they have swung to the opposite extreme. They have held aloof, preferring to run their own show independently of China. Surely there is a middle course. If we believe that democracy is the only firm basis for a successful war effort and post-war security, we should not hesitate to say so. A way must be found to strengthen the democratic forces of China, both inside and outside the Kuomintang, in their efforts to rehabilitate the Chinese war economy and to broaden popular participation in the Chinese government and in the conduct of the war.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE ONLY FRESH campaign story about Grant is that he stole a Shetland pony, which his son now rides, followed by *two* black grooms. . . . The Chicago *Tribune* is displeased with us for not marking, in our account of campaign stories, the essential difference between stories, such, for instance, as stories of Blair's drunkenness and stories of Grant's drunkenness—the former being true, and the latter false. . . . In every reference we have made to campaign stories . . . we have noticed them simply as works of art and not as instruments of persuasion.—*September 3, 1868.*

THE WOMEN are going to make a determined effort to vote at the next election in England. . . . The "National Society for Women's Suffrage" has issued a batch of instructions to claimants.—*September 3, 1868.*

MESSRS. OAKLEY & MASON announce a complete new edition of Mr. James E. Munson's "Complete Phonographer." So far as we know, this is the first time that any schoolbook publisher has thought of putting on the market as a textbook a work on phonography . . . under . . . stimulus of the press, short-hand writing may well enough become a study in American schools.—*September 17, 1868.*

WE HAVE NOW before us some thirty or forty of the campaign songs of this Presidential contest, which give melancholy proof of . . . our American incapacity for songmaking. . . . Whittier, also, who appears as the author of one song, though unequal to himself, is far enough superior to the mass of the bards.—*September 10, 1868.* . . . To the Editor of *The Nation:* No one feels more deeply than myself the importance of securing a Republican victory at the coming election. . . . But I have written no song for the campaign, and shall write none. . . . The lines quoted in *The Nation* of the 10th inst. are simply garbled extracts from a poem, not a song, written at the close of the Mexican war. *(Signed)* JOHN G. WHITTIER.—*September 24, 1868.*

"Appetite First!"

BY PAUL APPLEBY

UNDER the title We Aren't Going to Have Enough to Eat, Louis Bromfield recently contributed an article to the *Reader's Digest* on the food situation in the United States. The kindest thing that can be said about the alarming picture painted in it is that though purporting to present the facts it illustrates once more Mr. Bromfield's great ability as a writer of fiction.

Only a long and complicated article could take up one by one the numerous instances of misstatement and misunderstanding in Mr. Bromfield's contribution. Let me follow that method with respect only to three statements in three early paragraphs:

Bromfield: "Our ever-normal granary will have been exhausted by the end of the summer, with nothing but a wheat crop 20 to 40 per cent below normal production to replace it."

Wheat stocks are always at their lowest point on July 1. Figures for July 1 have been compiled for many years, whereas figures for "the end of the summer" were not compiled before 1935. This year on July 1 we had in this country 618,000,000 bushels of old wheat, as contrasted with 632,000,000 on July 1 last year, an average of 150,000,000 on July 1 in 1935-39, and an average of 115,000,000 bushels on July 1, 1920-24. Wheat stocks for "the end of the summer," October 1, will total 1,140,000,000 bushels, as compared with 1,378,000,000 a year ago, 1,164,000,000 two years ago, and an average of 699,000,000 bushels on October 1, 1935-39. We had an ever-normal granary of wheat during the 1935-39 period. This year on October 1 we shall have almost half a billion bushels more than we had in those years. Wheat production has a changing significance as the war goes on, but not in Mr. Bromfield's terms. Wheat has not been and is not now one of the items we need most to be concerned about.

The total wheat crop this year, as indicated in the August 1 report, will be 13 per cent greater than the 1932-41 average, and about 1½ per cent greater than the average for 1920-29. What can be the normal below which Mr. Bromfield says we drop "20 to 40 per cent"?

Bromfield: "I would rather not think about next February. By then most of our people will be living on a diet well below the nutrition level."

It is true that in mid-winter our food supply will be at a lower point than it is now. The winter is always the low season. But that our diet then will be something anyone should shudder to contemplate is simply not true. That most of our people will be living on a diet well below "the nutrition level"—whatever that means—is not true. They will at least be living at the level on which they have lived for years and years without alarming Mr. Bromfield at all. They will be living on a diet that in content of nutrients approximates the recommended optimum allowances of the National Research Council, which are higher than those of the League of Nations. It will be a diet much superior to that of any other substantial population anywhere in the world today.

Bromfield: "The President, and the men about him responsible for the security of the home front, did nothing whatever about the desperate food situation until April of this year."

That statement is so patently absurd that it not only requires no answer but alone should discredit Mr. Bromfield's whole article. His article is not really about food but about politics, and his political purpose is revealed in his frequent demagogic public references to himself as a small farmer, which might well be read as a bid for mass farmer support. East of the Mississippi River there were in 1940 about 3,532,185 farms. Of these, 8,604 were of one thousand acres or more. That puts Mr. Bromfield in the top 0.2 per cent. In fact, he is in an even more exclusive class. He runs a farm of 1,500 acres.

The government has not done a perfect job by any means. It has not done all it should have done. Opinions on this score vary widely, and in this as in other matters it is much easier to find things at which to throw bricks than it is to design a satisfactory structure and actually lay brick. But some six million farmers will testify that a great deal has already been done.

Food production in 1943 is now estimated to be 32 per cent greater than the 1935-39 average, 25 per cent greater than in 1939. Each year the production of each commodity has been amazingly close to the goals set by the government. That didn't just happen. Never in the world's history has there been such an achievement in farm production. It was a planned and directed achievement. It could, of course, have been planned and directed even better.

The body of Mr. Bromfield's article has to do with specific situations. There are actually millions of such situations. Each one requires lengthy consideration, because each is part of an enormous complex.

Let it simply be pointed out that if farmers had no complaints about machinery, man-power, fertilizer, and insecticide shortages, that fact would be positive proof that the war was being badly managed. Under the tremendous demands of war there isn't enough to go around. All the competing needs can come into focus only in Washington, there to be balanced against each other in terms of relative urgencies. The recent failure to reach goals in war production, for example, is definitely related to the deferment of farm workers. Neither Mr. Bromfield on his farm nor the shipbuilder in his office can judge competently the relative values. Both the shipbuilder and Mr. Bromfield contribute to good management when they tell how things are in their establishments. But generalized judgments based solely on any such reports are without significance.

Unnumbered problems face the industrialists and the farmers of America. They are meeting and surmounting countless difficulties every day. The war is a joint product of their efforts and the efforts of those in government who plan, evaluate, reconcile, give shape and direction to the productive effort. The essential story has to be seen broadly. Are we getting the production we need? Is our production of food about right in comparison with our production of ships and guns and airplanes and tanks, and is each right in comparison with the others? The man in the powder plant can't tell whether we are using too much metal making shells. The man on the farm can't tell whether we are using too little metal making farm machinery. These things are revealed only by figures rolling in from tens of thousands of places.

FACTS IN PLACE OF FANCY

What are the essential facts about food? Demands on the food supply would provide material for at least one long study. The factors in production would provide material for another. Distribution is a third big field. Nutrition too is a complicated subject. Yet the facts of vital concern are fairly simple, and they are quite contrary to Mr. Bromfield's sweeping assertions.

First of all, what is the truth about production? In spite of the production difficulties food output here has gone up more than it has in any other large agricultural area in any like period in history anywhere in the world. Here are the United States production figures for the period of this present war to date and for the period of World War I:

INDEXES OF THE PHYSICAL VOLUME OF FOOD-CROP AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION FOR SALE OR HOME CONSUMPTION

(1935–1939 = 100)

World War I		*World War II*	
1914	81	1939	106
1915	84	1940	111
1916	81	1941	115
1917	82	1942	126
1918	90	1943	132*

* Based on Crop Report for August 1 and estimated marketings of livestock and livestock products in 1943.

"Cheer up, Edwin dear, they say we're still above the nutrition level."

So much for the production figures. But Mr. Bromfield's article is headed, We Aren't Going to Have Enough to Eat. What are the essential facts about consumption?

For the fiscal year beginning July 1 we know that, except for carbohydrates, there will be available for civilian consumption as much food per person, in terms of nutritional values, as was available in the period 1935-39, or more. In fat, in protein, in minerals, and in vitamins there will be as much or more per person, and the small calorie drop reflects a single commodity situation—sugar rationing—which is not regarded by the public or the nutritionists as a major war-time sacrifice.

Those are the essential facts, completely at odds with Mr. Bromfield's assertions. But for their better understanding more facts need to be given.

WHERE HAS THE FOOD GONE?

Food production is up 32 per cent since 1935-39, but prospective per capita civilian consumption this year is almost exactly at the 1935-39 level. Where has the increased food gone?

The Census Bureau estimates that our population by January 1, 1944, will have increased slightly more than 8,000,000 above the average population in the 1935-39 period. That takes a good deal of food.

By January 1 the food consumed by those in the military services, as contrasted with what they formerly ate in civilian life, will represent an increase equivalent to adding 4,000,000 adults to our population.

Another part of our increasing production is taken by Lend-Lease. In 1942 Lend-Lease accounted for about 6½ per cent of our total food production. But most of the Lend-Lease takings were effective long before we had any talk of shortage, and before we had made our most recent increases in production. We sent more food abroad before Pearl Harbor than we sent again until about March of this year. Shipments in February, March, and April of 1943 were just 8.3 per cent more than the shipments in September, October, and November of 1941. That increase amounts to about ½ of 1 per cent of our production.

So it is not Lend-Lease that accounts for a feeling of shortage. That feeling comes from diversion to the military forces, diversion to our increased population, and—most importantly—from increased employment and increased buying power. Particularly is there increased buying power for food, since wages total so much more than they did and since so many other things that consumers want are not on the market.

There are some other factors in the feeling of shortage. One is that while the figures cited here are valid and normal, there was a time between 1935-39 and now when food consumption per capita reached an unprecedented high. The drop from that level is felt. Another factor is the relative shortage of certain commodities. Although the nutrients we need are available, they are not always available in the form of the food we prefer. Another factor is found in changed distribution. Where rationing is used and is effective it tends to even out consumption, shifting part of it away from the more privileged to the less privileged. Rationing makes for a more equalized consumption, but this means a drop in consumption for some citizens. A shift of a different type is involved in the disposal of more than normal amounts of certain farm products directly from the farm. This has been an important factor in the case of meat. A new privileged class has got rather more than its fair share of meat in this way and nullified rationing to that extent. Other people are thereby deprived of their fair share of meat and feel the shortage. This is a result of the incompleteness of governmental controls.

The realities of the food situation, then, and the reasons for a feeling of shortage should be fairly clear. But the nature of the complaints that are heard—Mr. Bromfield's article is an example—requires some further analysis.

WHY PEOPLE COMPLAIN

The complaints may be divided into three general classes, according to origin. There are complaints that come from farmers—although most farmers, in spite of their many difficulties, are pretty happy and too busy farming to complain much. There are complaints that come from handlers and processors of farm products. There are complaints from consumers. Mr. Bromfield's article lumps these complaints together. Some of them are of one nature, some of another.

Farmers' complaints, growing out of their difficulties, have to do first of all with shortages—of man-power, of machinery, of feed, and the like. These complaints reflect not only the inconvenience and loss caused the farmer by the shortage but his unhappiness over the uncertainty, the time lost, the trouble and delay in getting decisions. The whole complex question of field administration is raised by such complaints, but it is fair to say that governmental efforts to leave partial responsibility with industries and dealers and to use local committees often not selected by or responsible to Washington are one important factor in the situation. The result is loose and widely variable administration. So complaints of this kind are not simply farm complaints. In a measure they are reflections of a democracy surviving under war conditions.

Farmers' complaints also have to do—although to a lesser degree—with prices of farm products and prices of things farmers buy.

The complaints about shortages of man-power, machinery, and other supplies can be considered properly only in terms of competing needs for the same things. Is the army too big? Is the navy too big? Are too many people employed in war industries? Should more civilian-supply activities be curtailed? Are too many ships being built? These are some of the questions connected with farm shortages, and whether or not the government is doing a good job in this respect can be argued only by discussing them from all angles.

Handlers and processors have complained of government controls, limitations on mark-ups, and multiplication of directives. Some have complained of short supplies: a plant processing corn has been unable to get corn; meat markets have been unable to get what they felt—in many cases with reason—to be their fair share of meat, and so on.

Consumers' complaints have been generally about shortages and prices.

Thus most of the complaints, from any source, are about short supplies or about the other aspect of supply, which is price. Where supply is limited, the sense of shortage can be ameliorated only by more equitable distribution. Reduced to their lowest common denominator, then, most of the complaints constitute a demand for assured equity in distribution. And this means greater control of distribution. Most of the complaints are in effect complaints about the incompleteness of control. Some, however, come from people on the other side—people who quite naturally prefer to do things in their own way and therefore object to the existence of any controls.

MORE OR LESS CONTROL?

This is the concealed issue in all complaints about the government's handling of the food problem. The real dispute is between those who, unconsciously for the most part, are demanding that government take full responsibility for distributing essential goods so that coupons shall not merely *entitle* the consumer to a fair share of necessary items but *guarantee their availability,* and those who are demanding that the government let people alone to run their own affairs.

The problem for government is to weigh these conflicting complaints. The government is extremely reluctant to undertake controls. So long as war production is not reduced damagingly, so long as it is solely a question of civilian unhappiness about the situation, the problem for the government is this: how strong, how widespread, how deeply felt are these two kinds of complaints? If the people are just moderately unhappy over the things they complain about, the government will not extend its controls for the sake of amelioration. If the people are very unhappy indeed, the government will assume responsibility, extend its controls. Governments, and people, are like that.

While Mr. Bromfield berates the bureaucrats vigorously, he is all unconsciously demanding more regimentation. His conscious demands, however, are directly opposed to government regulation.

First, as one newly come to farming, he has a natural wish to be free to carry out his cherished ideas—to hire all the workers, buy all the materials, his plans call for. His desire is natural, but under war conditions his presentation of it is hardly intelligent. During the war relative short-term efficiencies in the total utilization of manpower and materials must be determining. The nation knows this. The nation will not agree that Mr. Bromfield comes first, the war second.

This simple personal desire of Mr. Bromfield's leads him to his second conscious demand. It is for "such an abundance of food that rationing will be unnecessary." He declares that "the United States can produce that abundance with proper planning, necessary farm labor and equipment, and orderly distribution of food."

Here is a demand that the nation abandon efforts to attain, in the interest of a successful prosecution of the war, maximum total efficiency in the use of its labor and resources. Divert steel from ships to cans. Divert freight cars for the carrying of metals and munitions to the transportation of unrationed foods. Mr. Bromfield's concern is not that we should have food adequate to give us the energy to do our duty in a time of historic crisis. We have and shall have adequate food. His point apparently is that nothing is so important as freedom to become over-weight.

What if the British had said, "We must have so much food that rationing will be unnecessary; that is the first essential"? What if the Russians had said it? What would our boys in the services think of us if we were to say it? What would we think of ourselves?

The answer to this last question is the answer to Mr. Bromfield as he raises his war-time banner "Appetite First!"

In the Wind

WITH THE ASSISTANCE and official approval of the army, navy, and marine corps, the Arrowhead Press has published "Give Out: Songs of, for, and by the Men in the Services." And now *Publishers' Weekly* reports that the book has been declared unmailable under Section 598 of the Postal Laws, covering books the Post Office Department considers lewd and obscene.

UNDER AN ARRANGEMENT that is believed to be precedent-making, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has taken over the management and operation of a warehouse in Los Angeles for the army. Soldiers who formerly ran the warehouse have been released for combat duty. The union makes no profit.

WHY WEREN'T THE RUSSIANS consulted about the administration of occupied Sicily? *Newsweek* has found the answer: "It sounds fantastic, but pure oversight is the explanation offered for the failure to include Russian representatives in the talks which set up AMG operations in Italian territory."

FROM A TALK by Representative William W. Wheat of Illinois to the Manufacturers' Committee of the Decatur, Illinois, Chamber of Commerce, as reported by the Decatur *Herald:* "At the conclusion of the war, Mr. Wheat said, it is his belief that the government should stop the operation of the Big Inch pipe line, constructed as an emergency measure to get petroleum to the East, so that more jobs might be provided discharged soldiers by the railroad lines of the country."

THE INSTITUTE for Public Service, an organization devoted to the reduction of taxes on New York City real estate, has issued a bulletin advising young people endowed with brains and ambition not to waste their time going to college.

NOT SATISFIED with the relocation centers, the Pacific Coast Japanese Problem League is circulating petitions for all Japanese in America to be placed in "concentration camps."

STATION KYA, San Francisco, has accepted Facts to Fight Fascism, a program sponsored by the California C. I. O., says *Tide.* Several years ago a similar program, the C. I. O. News Reporter, was banned by all California stations.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Protector of Bohemia and Moravia has announced that increased milk production will permit the milk ration to be raised from one-sixteenth of a quart per day to one-eighth of a quart. Although the increase took place on Czech farms, the higher ration will go to Germans only. . . . Norwegian street cars are being sent to Berlin to replace those destroyed by bombs.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Fascism Is Still the Issue

IF THE Italian campaign is particularly interesting from the military point of view, because for the first time the Western allies are meeting the *Wehrmacht* in full force, it is no less so from the political. For in Italy many of the political questions passionately debated in this country recently will be put to a test which may in some respects prove conclusive.

We shall see, for instance, which were right—those who defended the system of AMG as it was originally conceived or those who criticized it. We shall see whether or not the Allies could have chosen a course other than the one they followed during the weeks between the fall of Mussolini and the signing of the armistice; whether we could not have shortened the breathing space allowed the Badoglio government and so prevented the Germans from intrenching themselves in the north and center of Italy; whether, by establishing a Committee of Free Italy to address the Italian people from Sicily, we could not have obliged Badoglio to move more speedily and drop his double game of appeasing Germany while stretching out his hand to the Allies. We must watch developments closely, for an analysis of what happens in Italy will teach us much that will be valuable in the future in solving the problems attendant upon the liberation of the rest of the world.

One thing is already evident. It is undeniable that the resistance of the Italian civil population to the Germans far surpassed that of the Italian military, even though their means of defense were vastly inferior. German communiqués have admitted that popular resistance took its most violent form in Milan and Turin, that in those two cities the fall of Mussolini had its strongest political repercussions. Some day the whole story of Milan will be known. But even now the fragmentary information seeping out of underground channels tells us how overnight, under clear and energetic leadership, Milan assumed the color of an anti-fascist city and became the potential rallying-point for Italian democracy.

The Milan anti-fascist leaders understood from the beginning that merely to cry for peace and to hail the United Nations was not enough. If the Italian masses were to have an incentive to fight, the movement for liberation had to have real political content. It was natural that the question of the elimination of the monarchy should arise, and that the masses should demand a regime which would inspire them with confidence and hope. Only the poorest school of diplomacy, only columnists with not the slightest knowledge of the way the masses react, could have misinterpreted the cry of "Long Live the King" which greeted the fall of Mussolini on that Sunday afternoon, July 25. From its first utterance, "Long Live the King" meant only "Death to Mussolini," and the next morning both Mussolini and the King, as might have been expected, were subjects of the same curse.

The Italian people could never have been roused to a real fight simply by the prospect opened by the termination of the alliance with Germany. They were truly eager to break with Germany and to come into the war on the side of the democracies, but they would do so only on the condition that every vestige of fascism at home be eradicated. They would not submit to a Badoglio who, while suppressing fascist ideology in the newspapers, admitted four members of the former Grand Fascist Council to his ministerial deliberations.

The heroic resistance of Milan and Turin was forged by the straightforward anti-fascist purpose of the leaders, and the greatest severity was required to quell the "communistic rioting" (we quote from the German communiqué) which so "worried" Marshal Rommel. Unfortunately the heroism was in vain, at least for the moment. As everywhere else in the last ten years, the left in Italy has been delivered into the hands of reaction. While Mussolini has been able to escape his fate, while Ciano enjoys sanctuary in territory occupied by the Allies, while the King and Badoglio, their records stained with crime and shame, may one day be recompensed by the United Nations for their "services," at least ten thousand of the most active Italian anti-fascists have been massacred in Rome, Milan, Turin, and elsewhere by the troops of Rommel and Kesselring, with the help of local Fascists.

We must have the courage to face the truth: the anti-fascist opposition in Italy has been decapitated. As in the past, the best fighters for democracy have gone down without receiving any substantial help from the democracies. (I am sure that many an Italian Socialist in Milan died saying, "Once more we have been betrayed.") The Allies must realize that the enemy has not only strengthened his military position in the north of Italy; he has also crushed the first great Italian movement of rebellion. Since the Italian opposition has been deprived of its best elements within Italy, it becomes more necessary than ever for the United Nations to use, without hesitation, every Italian anti-fascist abroad. Sforza must be used; also Salvemini, Pacciardi, and dozens of others with authority in Italian liberal and labor ranks. What should have been done when Sicily was first invaded must at least be done now—at once. The fact that the working people of Milan and Turin offered the Germans greater resistance than did the well-equipped Italian divisions in the Balkans proves once more that men will willingly sacrifice their lives when they have a firm political line to follow.

In Spain we understood very well that an Italian could be either a poor or an excellent warrior. Colonel Pacciardi, who commanded the Garibaldi Battalion in Spain, will remember my address to his men in the unforgettable days of the Battle of Guadalajara. The battalion had already proved its fighting abilities and was to see action again within the next few hours. I was worried lest the contemptuous tone in which the Spanish press and public referred to the Italian Fascist divisions routed at Guadalajara should jar the patriotic sensibilities of the battalion, and I thought that a member of the Spanish government should visit them at the front. I addressed them like this: "You were born on the same soil as the men who have been so badly defeated by the Republican army at Guadalajara. You belong to the same generation. Like them, you are Italians. But though the soldiers of Mussolini in Spain have been defeated by an inferior force, you have gained the esteem of the Spanish people by your capacity and your courage. The difference is that you are anti-fascists. You have a cause for which to fight. You have suffered fascism in your country, and you are determined to fight it wherever it may appear. That is what makes you such excellent soldiers." The spirit that dominated the Garibaldi Battalion came suddenly alive in Milan.

"Down with Fascism" is not only the most efficient slogan with which to inflame the people of Europe against Hitler; it is the only one that makes sense on the other side of the Atlantic. It is not too risky to assert that, with the exception perhaps of Holland, where for many reasons resistance to the invader has not radically changed the political alignments which existed there before the war, the people of every country of Europe have decisively turned to the left. Everywhere the determination of the people is the same: not to stop until fascism has been wiped off the earth—not gently, not as it was treated in Sicily, where AMG authorities can still collaborate with minor Fascists, but in the ruthless way the workers of Milan and Turin would have extirpated it had they not been crushed by the forces of Marshal Rommel.

Anti-fascism means quite a different thing to the people of Europe from what it means to even the most enlightened liberals in Great Britain and the United States, who have never borne the marks of fascism on their flesh. I have felt the difference more than once in the various round-table discussions in which I have been privileged to join my American friends. Our moral reaction to fascism was the same. But our conception of the nature of the anti-fascist fight was not quite the same. No genuine European anti-fascist could say, as was said last week at the Annual Conference of Science, Philosophy, and Religion at Columbia University, that punishment of the fascist leaders is, after all, not such an all-important problem, that our chief concern is with the organization of the peace. For a European anti-fascist the extermination of fascism is the first step to peace; for him there can be no talk of peace until every fascist responsible for this war is utterly destroyed. For he knows that their survival would make any stable peace impossible.

This fanatical anti-fascism of the peoples of the world need not alarm anyone. While the rising revolutionary tide in Europe may provide more than one headache for the well-meaning members of the AMG, it must surely be recognized that the anti-fascist spirit that has weathered four years of the most brutal Nazi repression is an invaluable source of strength; it can be drawn on to accelerate the winning of the war and to smooth the path toward a real peace. Every city of Europe can be a Milan. Fascism is still the issue.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IT WAS rumored in Germany that he no longer lived. Propaganda, though hampered somewhat by the necessity of discretion, made vigorous efforts to combat the rumor. The *Freiheitskampf* of Dresden, for example, on August 25 censured people "who, if they have heard nothing of a certain personage for some time, immediately make him the subject of the most fantastic fairy tales." The purpose of Hitler's radio speech of September 11 was partly to prove that he had neither committed suicide nor been murdered.

But other rumors circulated too. It was said that events similar to the recent change of government in Italy were impending, that Hitler would be shoved aside and his power taken over by the generals. The Zurich newspaper *Die Nation* reported on September 2 that Munich—"a hotbed of rumors"—was seething with this story. Everyone was saying that the army was preparing to "proclaim the long-planned military dictatorship before the end of the year." The Munich rumors even defined the purpose of the coup d'état: the military would at once "permit the occupation of the Reich by Anglo-American troops in order to prevent the entry of the Russians."

Similar and even more detailed versions of the story were published in the *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* on September 1. Its correspondent declared that Field Marshal von Manstein was slated to be the future German Badoglio. But he added that there was another group which was planning just the opposite—which intended after the overthrow of Hitler to open the door to the Russians and to form a German-Soviet-Japanese alliance against the Anglo-Saxons.

There is no occasion to dwell on the political aspects of the rumors agitating Germany. What is interesting is that the people's heads were, and certainly still are, filled with Badoglio expectations and Badoglio prognoses. This fact supplied another reason for Hitler's radio speech. It has not been sufficiently emphasized that the high point of the address was the Führer's refutation of the idea that Mussolini's fate was hanging over him. There can be no thought of such a thing, he cried. The men who surround me are faithful. In his own words—though a translation can hardly reproduce his illiteracies and grammatical errors, which were even more hair-raisingly frequent than usual:

> The attempt of the international plutocratic plot to break the German resistance like in Italy is childish. This time they confuse the German nation with some other people. Their hope of finding traitors in its midst today is based on a misunderstanding of the National Socialist state. Their belief that they can bring about a July 25 in Germany also is based on a fundamental misconception of my personal position and of the attitude of my political collaborators and my field marshals, generals, and admirals. More than ever before, the German leadership as a fanatically united group is thwarting such intentions. Any emergency will only strengthen our resolution. In doing so my personal life has long since ceased to belong to myself anyway. I work with the knowledge and with the sense of duty of being able to secure by my contribution the life of my nation for generations in the future.

Even in Germany few persons will be able to accept Hitler's testimony as first-class proof of his field marshals' and generals' faithfulness to him.

How much personal prestige Hitler still enjoys in Germany is an interesting question. A year ago, it should be recalled, he had not suffered a single severe, outwardly visible defeat. At that time an immense number of people believed in him with blind enthusiasm. Even the others could not entirely escape the influence of his continuous victories. "He succeeds in everything," they admitted resignedly. Under the impact of one year's defeats this attitude has been changing at an amazing tempo. On August 1 East Prussian newspapers carried an article by the *Gauamtsleiter*, Professor Gruneberg, rector of the University of Königsberg. Under the title Res venit ad triarios—The Hour of the Old Guard Has Come—it said:

> It is time for the Führer's Old Guard to gather and prepare for an emergency. . . . The people no longer put blind trust in the Führer. Every true *triarius* will agree that there is at present a revolting amount of foolish talk. When evil persons do not stop short of criticizing the Führer himself, we must strike hard."

RUSSIA AND SPAIN

Few persons realize how seriously the Blue Division which Franco sent to fight in Russia has disturbed the internal harmony of the United Nations, or how greatly it has aggravated Moscow's distrust of its Western allies. Although militarily unimportant, the Blue Division has served as an effective medium for anti-Russian agitation not only in Spain but in South America. Every Spanish soldier who returns from the Russian front is used as a mouthpiece for inflammatory speeches against the Soviet Union, and these are then broadcast throughout Latin America. Contrary to assertions appearing in the American press, recruiting for the Blue Division continues without pause, although it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain "volunteers." And in an official statement issued after the Italian surrender, Arrese, general secretary of the Phalanx, again proclaimed as the basis of Spain's foreign policy "the fight against communism." Lately the Soviet press has given particular attention to the subject of Spain, and the Red Star *has stated very clearly that no matter what the plans of "other people" may be the Soviet Union will never countenance the continuation of the Franco regime against the will of the Spanish people; nor can it condone the tolerant attitude of the United Nations which has allowed Franco to maintain his Blue Division on the eastern front.*

Two recent events may be cited as bearing, if but slightly, on the subject of "Hitler and the Generals." The first is an execution announced by the official D. N. B. on September 9. A Baron Arno von Wedekind had been put to death by the ax. The Baron was twenty-four years old, a student. His crime was things he had said. He had spoken to foreigners "about Germany and its struggle in the basest manner, thus betraying his own people." With Germans "he had used defeatist language calculated to have a disintegrating effect and to undermine German morale."

The second occurred in the Norwegian city of Kristiansund and was reported in the Stockholm *Aftontydningen* of September 6. Just as a troop train was about to pull out, six officers staged a demonstration on the station platform.

> They tore off their badges of rank and their Distinguished Service medals, crying, "Heil Churchill! Hoch Roosevelt!" Wild rioting followed, and a Gestapo man was knocked down. Finally the *Ortskommandant* succeeded in arresting the officers.

The Ordeal of Jean Hélion

THEY SHALL NOT HAVE ME. By Jean Hélion. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

WHEN war broke out, Jean Hélion, married to an American, was peacefully painting in Virginia. In January, 1940, he crossed the Atlantic to help defend France. Six months later, five days after the fall of Paris, Hélion and his battalion were captured by the Nazis near the Loire. "A fine epitaph for Hitler," Hélion considers, "would be: 'In everything he had method.' " Hitler's method of preventing Hélion or any one of his thousands of fellow-prisoners from escaping was to tell them that they were going home, then march them for six days 162 miles without food or water. On the fifth day "the column was dragging itself over a forest road when the unbelievable order came: 'Run! Run!' " Nazi guards fired at their heels. Then Hélion saw something which he could not have believed possible: "the whole column ran." He saw seven men fall dead from exhaustion. "One cannot mistake a man falling dead from exhaustion," says Hélion. "It is as if his body had lost the backbone. It drops like clothes from a hanger, and arranges itself gently on the ground." Those who survived that ordeal reached, not home, but Germany.

Probably never has a more exact picture of prisoners of war been drawn than in this book by a Frenchman who for two years was a prisoner in the Reich. So far the press has hardly done his record justice. Space it has been given, but the tendency has been to treat it as just one more "I Was There" war book. *Time,* to my knowledge, is the only journal to reveal how much more it is than that. But even *Time,* with its habitual refusal to be all the time serious on an all-the-time serious subject, found it necessary to compare M. Hélion's amazing escape from the Fortress of Europe with "the escape of Casanova from the Leads." Unlike the authors of most war books, M. Hélion preaches no sermons, neither generalizes nor prophesies, makes no pretensions to fine writing (therefore writes extremely well); and, finally, he is as scrupulously fair to the people from whom he suffered appalling misery as it is possible for a decent, dignified human being to be.

Jean Hélion, at thirty-nine, is one of the most distinguished living abstract painters, with ten one-man shows to his credit in the United States alone. He is also a lecturer and expert writer on theory and technique in painting. Short and shortsighted, he might be taken for a modest school teacher were it not for a singular air of authority, an energy showing itself in every word and gesture, and a bush of hair which, when coaxed by its owner to help save his life by lying down flat, flatly refused to do so.

Before embarking on his detailed account of captivity Hélion raises what would seem a very important question. On going to war, he remarks, every soldier is instructed how to dress a wound, "a simple precaution that may save his life." But why, he asks, "isn't he told something about regaining his freedom if he happens to lose it?" Hélion is convinced that his story would have ended here, if only he had received half an hour of instruction from someone who had gone through what was in store for him.

As it was, ignorant and starved, Hélion and fifty-four comrades were gun-butted into an Orléans cattle truck supposed to hold a maximum of *40 hommes, 8 chevaux.* He and nine others finally landed on a prison farm in Pomerania, where at sight of their physical condition "the pink, sourish, piggish-faced" overseer gave vent to his disgust "with a wide gamut of howls." Baroness von Z., who owned the enormous estate as well as numerous serfs, expressed her contempt "with a highly distinguished wrinkle." Here, while the "Battle of Britain" raged—an event he did not hear about until two years later, in America—Hélion not only dug potatoes fourteen hours a day and ate them at every "meal" until his stomach swelled with gas, but was forced to peel them when he got "home," exhausted, at night—nights during which the thermometer fell to 34° (F) below zero. Hélion and a friend spent the long winter planning, dreaming, talking their escape—to be made the following June. "We would try to cross the border beyond the source of the Rhine. It meant about 900 miles. . . . We would live on raw grain mashed and soaked in water, and on fish." Final preparations had been made when suddenly, in March, he and 300 others were transferred to Stettin-on-Oder, into the hold of an anchored prison ship which "swallowed" 750 starving Frenchmen.

The days in Stettin the prisoners spent at work in nearby factories, the nights in the darkness of the ship's hold. There "a mysterious and concentrated life began." Strong men—among them Hélion—whose mental alertness managed to conquer fatigue crept from their lice-ridden bunks "toward passionate rendezvous." Under hidden lamps constructed of material picked up from wreckage caused by R. A. F. raids, these men—held in awe by their comrades—met to forge documents, alter smuggled-in garments, perfect disguises for escape. The less adventurous played passionate poker for a year's salary and, when that was lost, for packages that had not arrived and pieces of personal clothing. Others met to collect the largest lice, which by constant practice on a dummy they were able to flip on to their *Kommandoführer* as he marched down the ranks. A prisoners' "black market" was formed. Hélion, who was held in high esteem and had been made interpreter to the *Kommandoführer,* bribed that gentleman to treat the prisoners well by offering him every third day a cup of the American coffee which he had received from his wife.

Captivity is a world like no other—a world "within" where, because they know nothing of the world "without," men's thoughts all the time turn inward, on themselves. Well aware of this, the Nazis spread the most insidious of all propaganda. They "allowed" the prisoners to read not only Goebbels's *Das Reich* but newspapers from occupied France and Belgium. "Dealing with local problems in which every one of us was interested," writes Hélion, "they showed the Nazis at their best, our former politicians at their worst, and the Allies in their most embarrassing positions." The prisoners tried their utmost not to believe what they read, but the words "intoxicated them slowly." To sustain both his own morale and that of his fellow-prisoners in the face of only negative news was the hardest of the many hard jobs Hélion undertook for the benefit of his comrades. Certain facts and beliefs, however, must have done more than any written word to undermine his great fortitude. The most soul-destroying, perhaps, was Hélion's conviction that while some 1,300,000 French prisoners were, and are, solving the Reich's labor problem, and incidentally permitting "the mobilization of more men for the fighting armies," they are also, thanks to the Nazis' confiscation of about one-fifth of their pay, presenting daily to the Reich "at least 2,000,000 marks, net."

One day, "overdriven, tired of dragging the mass of my comrades behind me," Jean Hélion had had enough. That auspicious day was Friday, February 13, 1942. Hélion escaped. Of that odyssey I shall say only this: that while a disguised Hélion was trying to avoid inspection of his forged papers by an official on a train from Berlin to Cologne, I was traveling from New York to Croton. An official, wanting to see my ticket, touched me on the shoulder. My hands jumped. "They Shall Not Have Me" fell to the floor.

JAMES STERN

Our Naval War

AMERICA'S NAVY IN WORLD WAR II. By Gilbert Cant. The John Day Company. $3.75.

THOROUGHLY competent military critics are rare. When, in addition, these men have a knack of writing interestingly, their material is worthy not only of being read but of being studied closely. As one of the handful of men in the United States with these attainments, Mr. Cant has the further advantage of having been in an especially good position, as war editor of the New York *Post,* to know details of naval war which, though not secret, have been omitted from the brief and unimaginative communiqués of our "silent service." In "The War at Sea," published a year ago, he uncovered comparatively new information regarding early naval action. Now, in "America's Navy in World War II," he has traced the developments in our sea war from Pearl Harbor through the earlier campaign in the Solomons.

In trying to put together a detailed and complete account of our naval war, the author has operated under the disadvantage of an unwise and arbitrary censorship, which has several times chosen to conceal facts discreditable to itself but perfectly well known to the enemy. The handicap imposed is suggested by the fact that no earlier writer has attempted to produce so comprehensive a book under such unfavorable conditions.

Owing to these circumstances, it is hardly possible to pass final judgment on "America's Navy in World War II" until fuller information becomes available. But almost any reader will find the merits far outweighing the defects. Among the latter is too long an introduction, not all of which is pertinent to the subject. In giving details of naval actions, the author sometimes loses himself in them and does not outline clearly the strategy within which they took place. A few errors of fact have crept in, such as the statement that the four ships authorized in 1883 were expected to steam at eighteen knots. A closer check on naval history would have revealed that the four ships had designed speeds of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen knots. Several misspelled words and one or two hopelessly involved and grammatically incorrect sentences also indicate hasty or inadequate proofreading.

Despite these shortcomings, "America's Navy in World War II" is an outstandingly good value. It is, indeed, almost a "must" book for anyone wishing a clear understanding of our naval war. The bare skeleton of information made available by the Navy Department has been supplemented by a vast mass of additional facts. There are gaps, to be sure, but they are surprisingly few. The comment which one reviewer applied to Cant's earlier volume, "It is a better book about the war than anyone has a right to expect during a war," also holds true of this work. Although first of all a newspaperman, the author has written history with an understanding and a grade of scholarship that would establish the reputation of any professional historian. The epic story he has to tell has been presented exceedingly well.

It is all to the credit of the writer that he has not fallen into the temptation of becoming an apologist. In many cases where praise is due he gives it unstintingly and defends the navy from criticisms made by others. He does not, for example, agree with some critics in blaming the loss of four big cruisers in the early Solomons fighting on defensive tactics. Nor does he agree with the often-made charge that cooperation between Halsey and MacArthur in the Southwest Pacific was weak. But he is also keenly aware of the navy's shortcomings and points out some but by no means all of them. The tyrannical and inconsistent publicity policy stemming from Admiral King is an object of special attack. Neither is the early fumbling in dealing with submarines in the Atlantic overlooked. However, both in this instance and in dealing with the inexcusable episode of Pearl Harbor the author does not delve much below the surface. He intimates that the admirals bungled affairs, but one is left somewhat in the dark as to why such men were in high position at the time and how a better handling of affairs could have been assured.

In one of the several valuable appendices which complete the book, the author, in discussing Japanese cruiser and destroyer losses, states what virtually every close student of naval affairs knows—that if all American "sinkings" of ships of these classes had actually occurred the Japanese would have a minus number in both categories. The American claims and those of the Japanese concerning the destruction of carriers appear to be about on a par: both are mathematically impossible.

The scope of Mr. Cant's latest book alone sets it apart from the great majority of war books. In sixteen extremely meaty chapters he provides the background of the present conflict, discusses the period of undeclared war in the Atlantic, reviews the Pearl Harbor, Philippine, and Indonesian tragedies, our Pacific raids by task forces, the submarine in the Atlantic and Pacific, the great battles of the Coral Sea and

Midway, the naval activities in the Mediterranean, and the long-drawn-out struggle for the southern Solomons. A last chapter, Which Way to Tokyo? briefly indicates the author's own views of the probable course of the Pacific war. With the basic strategy of beating Germany first there is no quarrel. But Mr. Cant feels, in common with a large number of civilian and military critics, that too little force has been diverted to the Pacific to make a really effective "holding" campaign possible. While awaiting the day of complete concentration on Japan, we should pursue tactical offensives in a number of thinly held enemy areas, devoting ourselves particularly to the reopening of the Burma road and the consequent strengthening of China; and it is on attacks from Chinese bases or from the North Pacific rather than on island-hopping that Mr. Cant places most of his confidence in ultimate victory. DONALD W. MITCHELL

The Negro's Economic Place

THE NEGRO'S SHARE: A STUDY OF INCOME, CONSUMPTION, HOUSING, AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. By Richard Sterner, in Collaboration with Lenore A. Epstein, Ellen Winston, and Others. Harper and Brothers. $4.50.

THIS volume, the third in The Negro in American Life series, which was made possible by funds from the Carnegie Corporation, is the most comprehensive and at the same time the most fundamental study of the Negro's economic position in American society that has ever been undertaken. Although, as the title indicates, the book is primarily concerned with what the Negro "gets out of the economic system as an income-receiver and consumer," it includes as a necessary part of the analysis an objective account of the conditions under which the Negro participates in the economic life of America. After examining such claims as the racial inferiority of the Negro and his lower living standards as justification for lower wages, the author makes clear at the outset that the value premise underlying his study is the American creed of equality. He bases his position upon the fact that no scientific evidence has been produced to prove the racial inferiority of the Negro and that the lower living standards of the Negro are part of a vicious circle: the Negro lives on less because he receives less and since he lives on less, it is argued, he should receive less.

The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the living conditions of Negroes and the second with their social welfare. The first fact of importance in regard to the living conditions of Negroes has been, as the author shows, the movement of Negroes from farming into non-agricultural pursuits. This movement has been taking place on a large scale since the First World War and has been associated with the decrease in the amount of land devoted to cotton production. However, changes in Southern agriculture, which were accelerated by the AAA program, have not had the same effect upon whites and blacks in the South. There has been a much greater decline in the number of share-croppers among whites than among Negroes, and whereas there has been a significant increase in the number of white owners, the number of Negro owners has continued to decline since

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1920. As a result of the shift from farming to non-agricultural pursuits, between 1910 and 1930 Negro males lost or gave up 300,000 jobs in agriculture and gained 775,000 jobs in industry. In this shift from agricultural to non-agricultural pursuits the Negro male worker has found a place chiefly in semi-skilled and more especially unskilled occupations, while he still plays an insignificant role in skilled, clerical, managerial, and professional pursuits. Negro women have not fared so well as Negro men, since the shift from farming to non-agricultural occupations has resulted in a large increase of the number in domestic and personal service, while the number of white women has increased significantly in many occupational groups.

It is against this background that the author discusses family incomes and expenditures and the housing of Negroes. Family incomes and expenditures are analyzed in relation to the significant differences between the composition or structure of Negro and white families. Because of the large amount of family disorganization among Negroes, there is a greater proportion of "non-family" persons and families without children than among whites, though Negroes have a larger proportion than whites of families with four or more children. Even when such refinements are made for the sake of statistical accuracy, the incomes of the great mass of Negro families are found to be below the maintenance level, particularly in the South. In Northern cities Negroes have been able to achieve a higher level of living, though there too a large percentage of Negro families have incomes below the maintenance level. The analysis of expenditures for individual items, especially for food consumption, shows to what extent the mass of Negro families must struggle for mere physical survival. Especially significant for the average white American is the fact brought out by this study that the reputed improvidence and extravagance of Negroes are greatly exaggerated and that a substantial number of Negro families "balance their budgets better than the average white family of corresponding means."

The second section of the book contains the best analysis to date of the Negro's share in the various welfare agencies set up under the New Deal. The economic liability of Negro relief cases in those urban areas where Negroes constitute a large proportion of the population and the discrimination in granting relief to Negroes in the South during the earlier years of the New Deal are analyzed in relation to the low earnings of the Negro. However, when the Works Progress Administration was set up, the Negro began to obtain a share proportionate to his needs in the North, though in the South he was still subject to discrimination. Although Negro youth shared in the benefits of the National Youth Administration in proportion to their numbers in the population, because of their poverty and lack of education they did not share in proportion to their needs. In regard to assistance to the aged, the Negro has suffered not only because of the large numbers in agriculture, but also because of the belief in the South that Negroes can get along on less than whites. Nevertheless, through the influence of the federal government the Negro has gradually received a more equitable share in the benefits of social security. This was especially true in regard to some phases of the work of the Farm Security Administration. It was also true in regard to subsidized housing projects, though the Home Owners' Loan Corporation has not only discriminated against Negroes but has tended to freeze the segregation of the Negro in cities.

The special value and, one might say, uniqueness of this study by an "outsider" are attributable not simply to its thoroughness but more especially to the premises, which are made explicit at the beginning. The first is that the Negro has the right to equality of opportunity and rewards in a competitive economy, and the second, that the Negro's share in consumption should be evaluated in terms of a decent standard of living and human welfare. The second premise reflects undoubtedly a point of view which the author, a Swedish social economist, has carried over from his work with the Swedish Population Commission. Although this study is based largely on the researches and materials of American investigators, the author has not only synthesized these materials but has made independent statistical analyses in order to answer the questions arising from his premises. Consequently, the book may not appeal to those having only a superficial interest in the Negro; and though many basic tables are relegated to the appendices, the statistical documentation of the text will tend to repel the general reader. Yet because of the fund of factual information and fundamental statistical analyses contained in the book, it is a work of permanent value in the literature on the Negro.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Crusader

CHALLENGE TO FREEDOM. By Henry M. Wriston. Harper and Brothers. $2.

BY AN odd coincidence almost all the important things which threaten freedom in the eyes of Dr. Wriston are associated with the New Deal. Some of them are also associated with communism or fascism or both. He concedes that the Republican Party has strayed from the true faith occasionally, but these minor admissions are scarcely intended to disguise the fact that the book is a partisan political document.

As a preelection-year tract, "Challenge to Freedom" may be forgiven many of its unsupported generalizations and even a few misinterpretations of fact. Unfortunately, there are many indications that the author considers himself an honest crusader for freedom rather than a political pamphleteer. If he is writing soberly as the president of Brown University, his distortions of history are really disturbing.

The exaggerations are doubly unfortunate because many of the issues raised in the book are timely and worthy of serious consideration. Wriston is entirely right in his repeated denunciations of the cynical doctrine that the end justifies the means, and he is too nearly right in his charge that American political leaders have followed this doctrine frequently in recent years. The road to this war was paved with cynicism throughout the world, and a return to moral principles is essential for lasting peace.

The dangers of too much centralization of government are real, and are not less so because reactionaries are currently using the charge of centralized power as a stick to beat the Roosevelt Administration. There is at least some justification for Wriston's statement that "there is desperate need for reform in the citadel of the reformers." And any honest liberal should go along with him in this: "We are not faced with the choice between impotence and tyranny, between laissez faire and dictatorship. We can pursue the third alternative, which is the characteristic American solution: a framework of laws which establishes and defines the orbit of action but leaves the individual free to move within that orbit."

But when the author gets around to what he calls a program, his recommendations turn out to be purely negative, despite all his efforts to clothe them in ringing and positive language. He says, "Make the common sense and the common honesty of the common man our common reliance." What he means is to give the common man the good old nineteenth-century gambler's chance to become a millionaire if he can make it and to starve if he can't.

In the last chapters the book is perfectly explicit in its program of reaction. One chapter is devoted to heaping scorn on the ideal of security, and another to attacking the desirability of full employment. "Full employment," says Wriston, "is a political fantasy rather than an economic or social goal." And further: "Full employment is possible, at a price. But the price is the restriction of liberty and a lower standard of living."

Nowhere is there the slightest recognition of the fact that industrialization, mass-production techniques, the growth of large corporations, and a revolution in finance have completely altered the original economic structure of the United States. There is instead a plea that we restore to our children an opportunity to live hazardously, "and stop babbling endlessly about security."

Wriston's euphemisms for reaction offer an interesting lesson in semantics. For example, he writes that ours "is a generation doubtful of its own children. It was fearful of their competition; it sought to keep them off the labor market, passing laws to deny them economic experience. . . ." If this means anything, it is an attack on child-labor legislation and on efforts to prolong the average period of education. It may appeal to some believers in rugged American individualism, but it will have a strange sound to the youth who tried to find jobs between 1929 and 1941.

This lack of genuine realism, this failure to connect generalizations about moral principles with the actual world of the twentieth century, is characteristic of the whole book and the state of mind it represents. The value of human dignity and the rights of the individual need restatement in contemporary terms, but they cannot be restored or preserved by looking backward nostalgically to a world which will never exist again.

CHARLES E. NOYES

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IN BRIEF

INDIA'S PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED. By DeWitt Mackenzie. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

Recently India, which has always been a live topic, has suddenly become also a crucial one—crucial to the fortunes of the United Nations. DeWitt Mackenzie's book is therefore a welcome addition to our information on that second most controversial subject of our time—the first being Soviet Russia. And yet one hardly escapes the feeling that this is one among several books of similar content that have appeared in the last two years. For most of the material presented here has been repeatedly presented before, and the ground covered is practically the same. Its only point of distinction is the final chapter, which bears the title of the book, "India's Problem Can Be Solved." That represents a hopeful mood, displays a constructive attitude, and sends forth an optimistic note at a time when so much gloom hangs over the question of India. What is more, Mr. Mackenzie backs up his optimism by hard facts collected during his recent visit to India—a country he had previously visited two decades ago. For this alone Mr. Mackenzie deserves congratulations and attention.

LIFE IN UNOCCUPIED FRANCE. By Neville Lytton. The Macmillan Company. $1.40.

This little book is a simple, sincere, and very personal story by an Englishman who has lived many years in France, since studying at the Ecole des Beaux Arts before the last war, in which he served in the British army in France. It presents a convincing and quite valuable picture of a France that is awaiting the day of deliverance from Vichy no less than from the Germans.

FILMS

IT IS hard to have clear judgment about war pictures, especially nonfiction war pictures, and the current excitement over the record of the defense of Stalingrad—the full, painfully pleonastic title is "The City That Stopped Hitler—Heroic Stalingrad"—is a good example of how hard it is. The very name of the city is such a sounding-board in most minds, such a bid to emotions and sympathies which addle the power of judgment, that the water is muddied from the start. Added to that, "Stalingrad," like most other record films or newsreels of war, contains images of war so grand or so touching, so much more worth seeing than nearly anything else we ever see on the screen, that we are liable on their account to feel that we are seeing a great picture or, for that matter, that any critical assessment of the picture is vulgar, small, and irrelevant. But that is like being moved by words like love, death, blood, sweat, tears, regardless of how well or ill they are used. It may be harder to use honest cinematic images dishonestly—the truth insists on pushing through—than to use words dishonestly; but nearly every war film proves how actually easy it is, and suggests how hard it would be to use those images honestly, to say nothing of adequately. "Stalingrad" is sensibly and often sensitively edited. But there is hardly a moment in it where the editing—rather than the single shot—even begins to lift a series of images above prose coherence and toward the plain-featured, heroic poetry which might possibly be deserving of the subject. The commentary, meanwhile, almost constantly reduces, or lily-gilds, or angles the power of the images; never does better; occasionally does worse, as in its strange suggestion that it is better for Russians to use flame-throwers on living Germans than for Germans to use them on dead Russians; or in its managing, several times, to make the audience laugh and applaud at the sight of dead, dying, suffering, or humiliated Germans.

Actually, I suppose such films are better assembled and set to words than might be hoped for, so hot after the event; but that does not reduce the fact that they are nearly always inadequate to, and often a dishonoring of, the event, the people recorded, and the people who did the recording. The war camera men themselves, of course, are subject to critical assessment. Varying degrees of judgment, courage, taste, and luck are continuously implied in what they record, and you can see sharp national differences in their styles of eyesight, with the Russians and British generally leading, and the Germans and Americans generally trailing. There is much room for analysis of their work, and for improvement; but I suspect that their several styles are more nearly appropriate to what they are doing than more detached developed judgment could make them. In any case the camera men on both sides of every front are making a record which in proper editorial hands, sooner or later, could be made to yield some of the greatest works of art—or whatever term might have to be substituted—ever known.

It surprises me to find "So Proudly We Hail" confusing many people almost as much. I realize that a good deal of sincerity, emotion, and desire to honor went into it, and I have no desire to laugh at that; but it is impossible to accept the result, except in a kind of fascination. This is probably the most deadly-accurate picture that will ever be made of what war looks like through the lenses of a housewives'-magazine romance. In those terms it is to be recommended. Some reviewers who grant that the story itself is painful feel that the picture is redeemed by the deep sincerity of the players and by the powerful realism of the war scenes. But it seemed to me the most sincere thing Paramount's young women did was to alter their make-up to favor exhaustion (and not too much of it) over prettiness (and not too little of that); and that the bombings of hospitals and the strafings of wounded accurately met their level in the honest matron behind me who kept saying tst-tst-tst. Sonny Tufts, as Miss Goddard's marine, I rather like; but he is making a hit walking rope between mild credibility and the shucks-jeeze brand of ladies'-darlingism, and that rope has just one side to fall on.

"The Adventures of Tartu" disguises British Agent Robert Donat as an oleaginous Rumanian whose business it is to destroy a Nazi poison-gas plant and escape the consequences with Valerie Hobson. It is so easy to enjoy that it is easy to overrate: that is, it gave me nearly as much simple fun as thrillers a dozen times better; but not quite. You are seeing all it has, and bald spots as well, the first time around, whereas with a good Hitchcock or even a good Carol Reed, even the pleasures visible at a first seeing stand up, or intensify, under a third and a fifth; new ones turn up with each seeing, and it is a long time before the whole work wears thin or takes on the staleness of a classic indulged too often.

Very belatedly I want to say that "The Watch on the Rhine" seemed much better on the screen than it did, almost identically, on the stage—though I still wished Henry James might have written it; and that I join with anyone whose opinion of Paul Lukas's performance is superlative. Also that a simple-hearted friendliness generated between audience and screen at "This Is the Army" made that film happy to see even when it was otherwise boring; though I am among an apparent minority which feels that Warner Brothers' cuddly-reverential treatment of President Roosevelt—in "Mission to Moscow," "This Is the Army," and the forthcoming "Princess O'Rourke"—is subject to charges certainly of indecent exposure and, quite possibly, of alienation of affections. JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

STRAVINSKY'S elegantly named "Dumbarton Oaks" Concerto (1937-38) for chamber orchestra, which has not yet been performed in New York despite the demands for it (all by Virgil Thomson), was given at one of the summer concerts by members of the Boston Symphony; and I have had a report on it from my Boston correspondent. The concert began with music by Couperin, Purcell, Gibbons, and Handel for viols—the descant and treble viols, the viola da gamba, the violone—played by the Boston Society of Ancient Instruments; and after this "the second half of the program seemed rather a shame. The magical spell woven by the ancient instruments—to which the audience reacted so keenly it scarcely dared breathe—was utterly dispelled. The Stravinsky is a horrid little thing," of which the first movement "seemed like a travesty of the Third Brandenburg Concerto," the second "repeated a trite little figure around the circle of instruments," and the last was "a bad imitation of his first style on a reduced scale, with elements of what he seems to think a concerto grosso style . . . thrown in. The thing is wholly lacking in feeling for style, in unity of mood or expression, in charm, and almost wholly lacking in melody; it is not even good applied scholarship: I don't think Stravinsky has the foggiest notion what a concerto grosso is . . . I think it is without doubt the worst piece of music to have any pretensions that I have heard in several years."

After this came a suite from Paul Bowles's "The Wind Remains," which was given last spring at one of those Serenades at the Museum of Modern Art that should have been called "A la recherche de Paris perdu." Bowles's music, observes my correspondent, is "written in a nondescript modern idiom that is not too disagreeable"; and he finds its most interesting feature to be its scoring: the usual woodwinds in pairs, one each of the usual brass, "one harp, one violin, one double bass, quite a large set of machines for making noises (these took part in the Stravinsky too), and one electrically amplified violin used only for comic effects—which is just as well: the darn thing has a tone that would make cats leap from back fences and go hasting away."

The concert ended with Brahms's Serenade No. 2 for winds and low strings, which is young Brahms in the process of virtuous self-improvement—that is, taking only a modest first step in writing for orchestra, by writing only a Serenade for only part of the orchestra—and being so dull in the process that the work is enough to make *me* leap from the concert hall and go hasting away. My correspondent too remarks that he is "not particularly interested in hearing Brahms learn how to orchestrate for wind instruments. . . . They did not have enough violas when they played this Serenade—the first real error of balance in this series of concerts—but the main interest is in the wind writing. There is too much of it, it is too thick, and it cloys." Not, he adds, that the entire effect of the Serenade is produced by the orchestration alone: "the music is too thick, too gooey, and the orchestration just makes it worse: the constant use of the winds, the constant use of mellow combinations (clarinets, bassoons, and horns, for example), and the doublings are what turn the trick."

The conductor of the second half of the concert was Leonard Bernstein, whom Rodzinski has just appointed assistant conductor of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony. "Mr. Bernstein belongs to the dynamic school of conductors which does not lower itself to beating time. His is the school of the balled fist, the quiver of the upraised arm at the climax; but he can be properly lyrical at the correct moment. The orchestra seemed to tolerate him, and the winds continued to play as they have during the earlier concerts."

This humorous description of the relation between the young conductor and the experienced members of the Boston Symphony embodies an important truth which was stated seriously by someone who was talking to me about the Petrillo controversy. Having described one device for collecting money to compensate the musicians who had been thrown out of work by the machine, he said: "Some of this money could be used to reemploy some of the men—to create symphony orchestras in smaller cities; and these orchestras would provide the necessary experience for American conductors. The great European conductors did not learn their trade by conducting the great European orchestras; Toscanini learned it by working often, in some cities, with orchestras of semi-amateurs, semi-professionals—men who earned their living in some other way and played an instrument when there was an occasion to do so. Put a young American conductor in front of the N. B. C. Symphony, and it will play; but it would play if he were not there. He cannot teach it anything, and he cannot learn anything from it."

Beecham confirms this in his autobiography "A Mingled Chime," which is another of the books I hope to discuss soon. After describing his early experience of conducting the singers, the toneless chorus, and the incompetent orchestra of a touring opera company for a couple of months, he writes: "I have always considered that this rather uninviting initiation into professional life was of the greatest service to me. To be pitch-forked into such a chaotic welter and be forced to make something tangible and workable out of it is incomparably more useful to the young conductor than to take command of a highly trained body of experts, accustomed through long routine to fulfill their respective tasks with ease and celerity. Indeed the youthful or comparatively youthful musician should not be allowed, except on some rare occasion, to conduct an orchestra of the front rank at all, and if he does I am not sure which of the two parties to the transaction suffers the more from it. It is almost impossible that he can teach it anything, and it is more than likely that its accustomed discipline will speedily relax under a leadership that has neither experience nor authority. Further, the unhappy young man will have to decide between the alternatives of assuming an air of omniscience as comical as a child preaching in a cathedral pulpit, or an abnegation of any effort at real direction; either of which will be equally acceptable to that collection of humorists who make up the personnel of nearly every first-class orchestra of the world."

B. H. HAGGIN

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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Letters to the Editors

The Jews of Europe

Dear Sirs: Let me express my hearty appreciation of the editorial in *The Nation* of September 11 dealing with the American Jewish conference and its resolution on Palestine.

It must not be thought that we Zionists believe that "Jews will not be able to live in Europe after a war fought and won in the name of democracy and racial equality." Any sensible Jew knows that the restoration of civil and human rights to the Jewish communities of Europe is a cardinal objective of every group seeking the amelioration of the Jewish lot. A mass migration, however, from Eastern Europe to Palestine would be of permanent benefit to the Jewish people. The region between Germany and Russia is the perennial battleground of the Teuton and the Slav; it is the cockpit of the world. The sooner Jews distribute themselves elsewhere the better it will be. This does not imply that those who remain in Poland and adjacent territories should not be granted the hard-won rights of a generation ago. Jews will continue to live in Europe, and they must be unmolested. At the same time, however, the upbuilding of Palestine, as your editorial indicates, will bring to Jews who can escape from Europe opportunities which otherwise would be denied them in their lifetime.

The immediate and primary duty of Jews and non-Jews is to furnish asylum for those who survive the Nazi horror. Theoretical considerations are a luxury which should be postponed. When victory over the Axis comes, Jews should be able to take up their life anew in the lands of their birth or adoption. But if multitudes wish to begin again in the Land of Israel, why should they be denied this privilege?

RABBI LOUIS NEWMAN

New York, September 10

In Defense of the FBI

Dear Sirs: In your well-documented articles on the Washington Gestapo your properly anonymous author says (in your issue of July 24) that J. Edgar Hoover is "joined in the Department of Justice by such men as L. M. C. Smith, chief of the War Policies Unit," who is made to appear as "suffering from a 'radical' psychosis."

Intimate contact with the unit since its creation refutes any such conclusion. It has kept a level-headed course in dealing with the thousands of complaints of subversive activities. The record shows no prosecutions whatever of radicals initiated by the unit and only two instances of action recommended to the Post Office Department against radical papers—the Trotskyite *Militant* and the organ of a splinter group in Chicago. On the contrary, the unit under Mr. Smith's direction has been almost exclusively concerned with pro-Axis propaganda. It has no relation whatever to the witch-hunt against federal employees.

You may be sure that the Civil Liberties Union would bear no such witness to a prosecuting agency of the government unless the facts amply warranted it.

ROGER N. BALDWIN

New York, August 25

Another Witness

Dear Sirs: I have been much concerned with the anonymous articles which you ran entitled Washington Gestapo. For close to ten years I have kept a rather close watch on the FBI. I started my scrutiny of FBI behavior because of rumors and gossip and suspicions that basic civil liberties were being violated. I am writing to you to let you know that I have yet to hear of a single proved case of violation of the basic civil liberties. This is close to a miracle. Out of 100,000 cases there has been only one complaint of an abuse that, in the city of New York at least, we take for granted, namely, holding people incomunicado, third degree, etc. The position of Edgar Hoover and his men with respect to wire-tapping sets a new high standard for the constabulary of the United States.

I am writing because I feel that a great injustice has been done by the author of Washington Gestapo and in consequence by *The Nation*. As a specific example of what I have in mind, I refer to your issue of July 17, where there was listed a half-dozen or so "snooper" questions. I think it was evil of the author to list such a series of questions relating to an applicant's religious and trade-union attitudes in the form of an indiscriminate block-booking indictment. In effect your secret correspondent declared that the Civil Service Commission *and* the FBI asked a list of such questions. This is about as unfair as if someone wrote an article and said that *The Nation* and Henry Luce "took the following positions," and then failed to specify which positions were taken by you and which by Henry Luce.

You say that *The Nation* checked this information. I wonder, in all fairness, whether it is not your duty to say which of the questions were attributed, even by your anonymous correspondent, to the FBI and which to the Civil Service Commission.

The FBI is not perfect, nor is *The Nation*. But in every case in which I have brought a complaint involving matters of this nature to Edgar Hoover, the complainant and myself have felt that we received sympathetic understanding and proper administrative treatment of the situation.

I have been a pest to the FBI in picking them up on every possible complaint which has come to me. In the course of time these have run to a considerable number. I believe its protection of personal liberty is one of the outstanding contributions to the cause of civil liberties in my time in the United States.

MORRIS L. ERNST

New York, August 26

[*An answer by Mr. Stone to Messrs. Baldwin and Ernst as well as to other critics of the articles by* X X X *will be found on page 342.*]

Setting Things Straight

Dear Sirs: Mr. Rosenberger has me wrong. In my reference to "the shallow ponds of the American provinces" no generalization was intended; only allusion to the fact that, if same existed, Mr. Moult would be apt to find them good fishing. Nor should I like any reader to infer that I think all magazines published outside New York are provincial, or that all magazines published in New York are not. But I do think some of the sources from which Mr. Moult took his material are pretty fishy. Also shallow. As to the magazine *Fantasy* (Pittsburgh), Mr. Rosenberger might have added in praise that its interest in American poetry did not confine itself to the Northern Hemisphere.

Moreover, I might mention the fact that I know that not only good poetry but also good book-reviewing appears in what New Yorkers, parochially maybe, think of as out-of-town periodicals and journals.

That was a beautiful howler Mr. Gustafson caught me in, about my not knowing Raymond Knister had been dead eleven years. The little harm this boner has done to my vanity will be soothed if anybody will take the trouble to look up something about Mr. Knister's life and work; relevant information may be found in the anthology of Canadian poetry edited by Mr. Gustafson and published last year, I believe, by the Penguin Press.

It is cheering to know that people do read reviews about books of poetry.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

New York, September 7

Education for Living

Dear Sirs: As a temporary guest in your country I should like to compliment your correspondent Reinhold Niebuhr on the fairly objective view he presents of the education of H. M. forces in Great Britain.

I use the phrase "fairly objective" because his article does less than justice to the Workers' Educational Association. As general secretary of this organization and as the person who drafted and initiated the original scheme for army education, I feel bound to call attention to an omission which is probably not Dr. Niebuhr's fault. While he had first-hand experience of the work which was being done, he probably received his information about the contributing bodies from one of the many new entrants to this service who know little about the foundations which were laid by the W. E. A. and the traditions upon which the adult-education movement in Great Britain has been built.

I have just finished a tour of the United States from New York to the West Coast, and everywhere I have found immense enthusiasm for the kind of movement we have in Great Britain, a movement in which labor and learning —the trade unions and the universities—cooperate. The former organize the demand for the kind of education which will provide a background of citizenship in a democracy, and the latter, in conjunction with the W. E. A., supply this demand. Our aim is an education for living, not for earning a living; an education in those sociological and cultural subjects about which labor must acquire knowledge if it is to produce leaders and followers who have any sense of social responsibility.

The connection between this movement and education in the army is that the men who give the W. E. A. classes gave and still give their services to the army-education scheme. In addition, the army uses some university teachers, but without the assistance of the tutors employed by the W. E. A. the army scheme could never have been started. What is more, it was these tutors, with their long years of experience in maintaining freedom of discussion in the classroom, who won the struggle against those who were not too eager to encourage the soldier to think for himself. In fact, the greatest achievement of the army-education scheme is not by any means the 30,000 lectures which are being given each month. It is rather the fact that the scheme has won over the service departments to the need for providing compulsory citizenship education as part of army training. Three hours each week are set aside for this purpose, the army authorities issuing study pamphlets dealing with political, economic, and social problems, and the universities and the W. E. A. providing assistance in finding study-group leaders.

What the W. E. A. has done for the army it has done also for civil-defense workers, the women's land army, and munition hostels. For these sections of the community hundreds of classes were being provided by the W. E. A. when I left Great Britain in June.

Finally, may I mention that it was the W. E. A. which first suggested and later organized and administered a postal-correspondence-course scheme in cooperation with the War Office and various colleges, including Ruskin College, Oxford. Thousands of correspondence courses are being supplied each year.

I think Dr. Niebuhr did not mention that the regional committees for army education offer the same facilities to the American forces in Britain. Unfortunately there has not been any appreciable response, and I wonder to what extent this is due to the fact that there has been no strongly organized, coordinated, voluntary adult-education movement in the American labor movement. I do not mean that there is no adult education in the United States, but what there is seems to lack a definite social purpose, which perhaps accounts for the popularity of vocational subjects in contrast to the humanities.

Nevertheless, I am sure from my experience of the last few weeks that there is in the States a profound recognition of the importance of education for social service and responsibility and that it needs only to be canalized in some way.

ERNEST GREEN

New York, August 22

I Remember Spain

Dear Sirs: I want to congratulate you on your article Rehearsal in Sicily which appeared in the July 17 issue of *The Nation.* The political considerations you state in this article are very wise and opportune. I too think that these truths that you point out should be self-evident.

Thinking of the present political problems of the world and of those problems that will arise when the war is over, I remember Spain. The other night I saw at the post theater a short feature on Spain and Franco's regime. The film depicted Franco's militaristic government, its political prisons, and other anachronisms. The scenes I saw made me angry. A United Nations victory in this war will never be complete so long as Franco and his fascist government stay in power.

I am a Puerto Rican of Spanish descent, and I am a member of the armed forces of the United States. I know that I am on the right side in this war. I hope very much that we win the right peace.

LIEUTENANT

New Orleans, September 4

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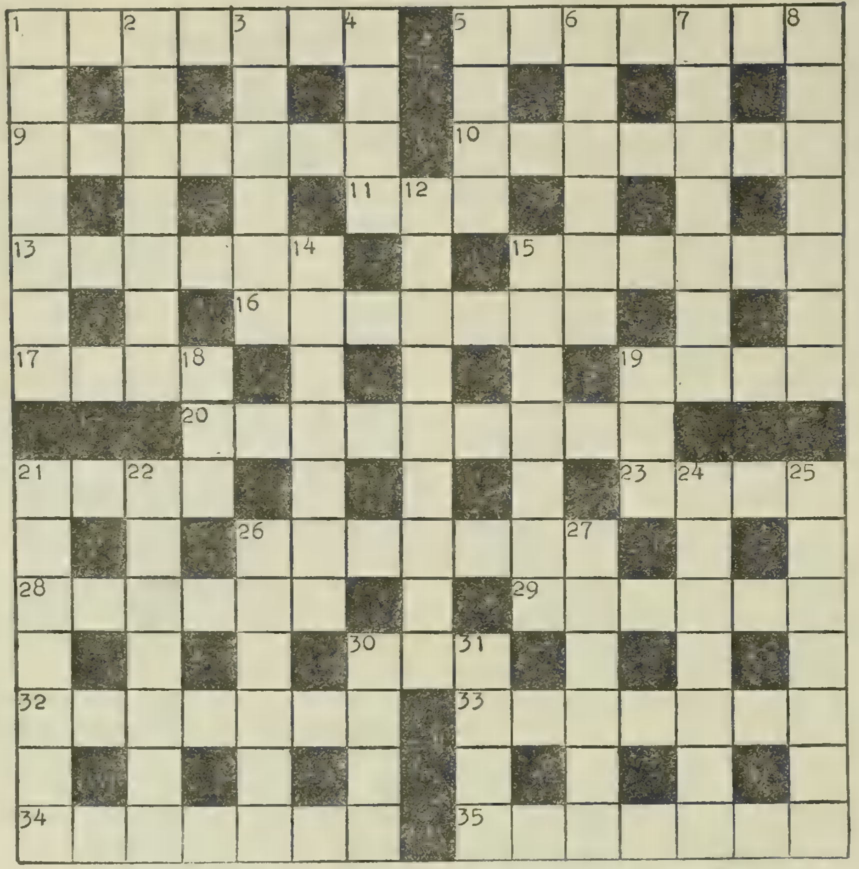
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 31

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Winner of the Camptown Races
5 Contained the suitors' fate in The Merchant of Venice
9 I sail on (anag.)
10 Offensive to the olfactory organ
11 Opposite to fast
13 Stick fast in this place
15 Extremely nice
16 "Fair -------- man's imperial race insnare, And beauty draws us with a single hair" (Pope)
17 What smells most in a drugstore?
19 Responsible for many a storm in a teacup
20 The back stove put in a different place
21 It may come to us via the grapevine route
23 Has teeth but cannot bite
26 Do polite bushmen call them Williams?
28 Sounds a barbaric order of architecture
29 "Look'd at each other with a wild surmise, ------, upon a peak in Darien" (Keats)
30 Who can turn a tank into the Pope's residence? I can
32 Ornamental, and useful, flower
33 Providence is always on the side of the last one, Napoleon said
34 Quicken the pace (two words, 5 and 2)
35 Donkey's years? One of them, perhaps

DOWN

1 One thing that is bigger in Britain than in America
2 In a memorable speech Winston Churchill spoke of defending them
3 Roasts (anag.)
4 "Straight down the crooked ----, And all around the square" (A Plain Direction)
5 One coin or a hundred
6 Wooden legs
7 A sufferer from I-strain?
8 Apparition that inspires respect
12 World's largest island before Australia was discovered
14 A matter of seeing Eric about a deserter
15 The audience at these performances is usually entranced
18 The end of 13
19 Half a second, I'm dry!
21 A humorist with broken legs is no great shakes
22 Is this celebrity incompetent?
24 Hamelin was by rats in the fable
25 Unsmokable part of a cigar (hyphen, 4 and 3)
26 Sick in bed, yet advertised to appear!
27 An old Spanish custom
30 The part of Cinderella's slipper the Prince didn't take to
31 It might have been described as a one-horse town

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 30

ACROSS:—1 INITIATE; 6 PATE; 10 LUCRE; 11 TEA; 12 TROLL; 13 AIRMAN; 16 TOM-TOM; 17 PASSION; 18 PATH; 20 SEAT; 22 DISMISS; 23 EFTS; 24 COGS; 25 LEVERET; 27 SALVOS; 29 SHERRY; 34 NIGHT; 35 AGA; 36 REVEL; 37 TROD; 38 TINCTURE.

DOWN:—2 NICER; 3 TOE-CAP; 4 ACTS; 5 EDAM; 6 PYTHON; 7 TROUT; 8 ULNA; 9 CLEMATIS; 14 NATIVES; 15 ISHMAEL; 16 TOUSLES; 18 PLEASANT; 19 TOT; 21 EGO; 25 LOOTED; 26 THIRST; 28 LAGER; 30 RIVER; 31 YALE; 32 EAST; 33 DAWN.

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The Shape of Things

IT IS MR. CHURCHILL'S "CONFIDENT HOPE" that before the end of the year a meeting will take place between Stalin, President Roosevelt, and himself. Such a meeting has long been highly desirable but now the need for it is becoming desperately urgent. With the Red Army steadily pushing the Nazis back against the old Polish frontier, with the Anglo-American forces reaching toward the Alpine wall of Hitler's fortress, and with the Balkans seething in expectation of deliverance, discussions of the political principles which will guide the peace can no longer be postponed. Before the "big three" get together, however, there is to be a preliminary conference "at the foreign-office level" when, to quote Mr. Churchill, "the whole ground will be surveyed and matters carried forward to agreement wherever possible." Since Mr. Anthony Eden is to represent Britain and Mr. Molotov the U.S.S.R., it would seem that Mr. Hull is the only man carrying sufficient political weight to speak for this country. No subordinate could take to the discussions the same authority; he would have to refer back constantly to Washington and so hamper the proceedings if not destroy their utility altogether. Yet, according to a Washington dispatch to the New York *Times* of September 26, Mr. Hull is still hesitant about undertaking this duty. This seems almost incredible. The Secretary of State has insisted that, under the President, he carries sole responsibility for the foreign relations of the country and he has jealously chased away all poachers on his territory. How then can he even consider turning over such an assignment—perhaps the most fateful of his whole career—to some underling? Responsibility cuts both ways and if those who claim it are unwilling to exercise it, they forfeit their authority.

*

IT MUST BE A MEASURE OF HOW BADLY things have been going for liberals in Washington that the appointment of Edward R. Stettinius as Under Secretary of State comes as something of a relief. It was illogical to have expected the President to name to the post anyone distinguished for militant convictions about the political nature of the war. After all, it was for precisely such inclinations, however mild, that Sumner Welles was forced out. The far-fetched official explanation, revolving about the health of Mr. Welles's wife, only confirms the general understanding that the issue was political, particularly since neither the text of the resignation nor that of the acceptance was made public. In the circumstances the choice might easily have been worse. The former chairman of the United States Steel Corporation belongs to that select group of big business men who understand the changing nature of the times. He has handled the enormously difficult administration of lend-lease efficiently and without substantial complaint. Nothing is known of his diplomatic skill or of his fundamental approach to foreign policy. He is entitled to a fair chance, and until he reveals himself in action we can at least be grateful that the appointment did not go to someone like Breckenridge Long. As for Sumner Welles, the formula employed in explaining his resignation seems, unfortunately, to rule out the prospect of another post for him in the near future. Chalk up a victory for Cordell Hull and a loss for the Administration.

*

UNTIL THIS WEEK PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S most vitriolic opponents have been constrained to admit that he knows how to wage war even if his domestic policies are an abomination in the sight of the Lord. This concession, proving deadly to their political hopes of ousting the President next year, is apparently to be discarded in favor of a campaign to undermine confidence in the Administration on all counts. In our belief this is the essence of the trumped-up excitement over General Marshall. No other explanation makes sense. Some one gets wind of the President's intention to give the army's Chief of Staff another post, the nature of which is undisclosed. Immediately tongues are set wagging to the effect that the General is to be "kicked upstairs," that he has displeased the British, that he is the victim of a conspiracy between Roosevelt and Churchill "because he stands up for American rights," and because he favors an early cross-Channel invasion of Western Europe. All of which is as illogical as it is mischievous. As Chief of Staff Marshall has already exercised the two great functions of his office: he has built an American army from scratch and, perhaps more than any other one man, he has molded the grand strategy of the war for the United Nations. The spotlight now shifts from the planning headquarters to the battlefield. Is it likely that if Churchill wished to see Marshall shelved he would conspire to put him in command of all the Allied forces at the point where the General's own strategy is soon to be exercised? And isn't it strange that the McCormick-Patterson press and isolationists in Congress should shriek hysterically over Marshall's "elimination" when they themselves have noisily opposed the second-front position for which they say he is being ousted?

*

THE MARSHALL EPISODE IS OF A PIECE WITH the repeated efforts to make political use of General Douglas MacArthur. Unfortunately the General, whose contributions on the battlefield entitle him to the highest regard, has not been well advised in his public pronouncements. His most recent remarks seem at once the coyest, the most cryptic, and the least called for. On the dubious basis of press clippings, probably from papers given to political ax-grinding even in their military analyses, the General has seen fit to discuss the contention that he is being given a role in the war subsidiary to that of Lord Louis Mountbatten, recently appointed to the command of Allied forces in Southeast Asia. He has also thought it proper to dissociate himself from the strategy of "island-hopping," which for good or for ill has so far prevailed in the Pacific theater, and to set forth his own idea of what would be a better strategy. We are certainly not equipped to pass judgment on the General's views, though we think he makes an impressive and convincing case. But since when do generals on active duty appeal to public opinion to pass upon strategies determined from above? MacArthur's assurance that he will "play manfully" the role assigned him, "however subordinate," hardly softens the impact of his attack. On the contrary, it feeds ammunition to those who have been sedulously building him up as a martyr to the jealousy and political fears of the President. Exploiting military heroism for partisan ends is a time-worn, if objectionable, tradition of American politics. But it has little to show in the way of success—at least in wartime. MacArthur-for-President boosters are respectfully referred to the Lincoln-McClellan campaign of 1864.

*

SENATOR WHEELER'S HOPE OF USING THE prestige of Bernard Baruch to offset the testimony of the top-flight military and naval leaders regarding the necessity for drafting fathers met with well-deserved failure. Baruch refused to be trapped by Wheeler's cross-questioning, and blurted out that "if George Marshall says that a specified force is needed by our strategic planning, give him what he wants. If you don't do that, then throw him out. No cheese-paring." This outburst seems to have killed the last possibility that Congress might disrupt the administration's military and man-power policies by passing the Wheeler resolution to defer all pre-Pearl Harbor fathers until the end of the year. There is still danger, however, that some compromise measure might be forced through to save the face of the group that has been fighting the drafting of fathers. One such proposal is that the induction of fathers be deferred until November 1 to permit Congress to make a thorough exploration of the man-power question. Senator Taft's suggestion that all fathers under 30 years of age be taken before those over 30 are conscripted has more chance of adoption. Although the Army is not likely to object to a plan that would give it younger men, the Taft program would be acceptable as man-power policy only if the nondeferrables and men over 30 in nonessential industry were drafted ahead of those under 30 who are engaged in essential war work.

*

THE CRUDE EQUATION OF LIVES TO MONEY which has characterized the promotion of the third war loan would surely convince a man from Mars that the United States is even more crass and materialistic than its severest critics have made it out to be. By making the "sacrifice" of buying a bond, runs the line, you hasten the end of the war, save lives—and get your money back with interest. The drive might at least have been used to teach the public the lessons it needs to learn about inflation—which the loan is designed to prevent. But that lesson was barely mentioned. If there was ever a time when the average American should realize that winning the war and the peace depends upon the wakeful use of his heart and his brain, it is now. But the bond-drive slogans might easily have convinced him that even the end of a war can be bought with money; and they have pandered shamelessly to the human but not exactly admirable desire to get something for nothing that works while you sleep. The campaign was probably run according to the best advertising and promotion techniques; and needless to say we hope it is a tremendous success. But it has been a pretty sorry spectacle, considering that its backdrop is a world at war.

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WE HOPE THAT ALL THREE BRANCHES OF the labor movement as well as liberal organizations the country over will join in the fight begun by the arrest in Texas of R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers and vice-president of the C. I. O. Thomas and three other C. I. O. workers were taken into custody after an oil workers' rally in Pelly, Texas, and charged with violating a new state law which requires persons seeking members for a union to obtain a license from the state. Victor Riesel, in *The Nation* of July 31, told the story of this legislation and of the sinister Christian American Association which sponsored it. Colorado, Kansas, Alabama, and Florida have similar laws, and Thomas declared, "We're not going to let any selfish interests here in America—in Texas or anywhere else—sneak behind our back and put on the people of this country the same kind of restrictions and bans that Hitler put on the German people." The Texas law, which has even aroused the ordinarily slow and cautious William Green to action, limits picketing, opens union accounts to any deputy sheriff, and gives the state wide control over the internal affairs of unions. The Christian American Association has already had too much success. The time to fight laws and organizations of this kind is now. It will be harder to defeat them during a period of post-war reaction.

Churchill and Italy

IN HIS wide-ranging survey of the war, Prime Minister Churchill treated the House of Commons and the world to a magnificent piece of reporting. Yet despite the wealth of detail it offered, despite the brilliance of its descriptive passages, despite the appearance of candor almost amounting to indiscretion, the speech did little to allay the disquiet felt in liberal circles about the political conduct of the war. Particularly unsatisfactory were its references to Italy, and what Mr. Churchill had to say on this matter was rendered all the more unpalatable by his reminder that he commanded a majority of the House and intended to use it, if necessary, to silence his critics.

The Prime Minister's speech showed that he either misunderstood or wilfully ignored the nature of much of that criticism. We do not, for instance, object to the acceptance of Italy's surrender from the Badoglio government. There are, in fact, definite advantages in having affixed to the armistice agreement—the symbol of the bankruptcy not merely of a regime but of an idea—the signature of a man long closely identified with fascism. But does the unconditional surrender of Badoglio and the King purge them of their crimes? Is it really necessary, as Mr. Churchill implied, to treat them now as the only true representatives of the Italian nation? Is it wise to underwrite a regime whose only claim to authority derives from its threadbare rags of "legitimacy"?

Yet this is the policy which Mr. Churchill outlined, and it is, presumably, the policy agreed upon by him and President Roosevelt in their conferences at Quebec and Washington. True, the British Prime Minister did not altogether exclude the liberal and labor elements in Italy from consideration. He was even good enough to offer them some advice. "It is necessary," he said, "that all the surviving forces in Italy's national life should be rallied together around their government and that the King and Marshal Badoglio should be supported by whatever liberal and left-wing elements are capable of making headway aganst the Nazi Quisling gang." The suggestion, apparently, is that the people who have fought fascism for years, the men who forced Badoglio to make peace, should now surrender unconditionally to the turncoats of the eleventh hour. But there is no hint of Allied pressure on Victor Emmanuel to form a truly national government and thus give the liberal forces in the country a share in making policy.

Nor, it seems, are we insisting on the readmission to Italy of the anti-fascist exiles who could do much to rally the Italian masses to the cause of democracy. Mr. Churchill said that he could not speak for Count Sforza when asked if the Allied governments would permit this distinguished exile to return to Italy. According to Pertinax, writing in the New York *Times,* Count Sforza was expecting to go to Italy shortly but was prevented by an edict of the British Foreign Office. This makes us wonder if a promise has been made to the Badoglio government to keep out anyone it considers "undesirable." We can imagine how gratefully it would respond to such a promise, for with exiled leaders of the opposition barred and the domestic leaders being slaughtered in the industrial cities of the north, its chances of survival would be distinctly improved.

Mr. Churchill described the Anglo-American forces in Italy as "armies of liberation," and in this case our natural allies inside the country are, as we have pointed out many times, the workers and others who have long fought against fascism and suffered under its tyrannies. They are, in fact, the spearhead of resistance within the German lines which is making the Nazi task of organizing defensive positions increasingly difficult. There is not much evidence that the higher civil officials and military commanders are responding with any fervor to orders to fight the Germans. At best Badoglio and the King command the loyalty only of time-servers who after licking Mussolini's boots for years turned against him to save their skins and fortunes. We cannot expect such men to take risks to rid Italy of Germans. According to Swiss dispatches, German victories in Milan, Turin, Genoa, and Bologna proved easy, thanks to "generals who were unwilling to resist, commanders who sabotaged, and high officials who betrayed."

Formal Italian resistance proved feeble, but it has been succeeded by guerrilla warfare on a scale which is causing serious embarrassment to the Nazis and rendering substantial aid to our forces. It is improbable that this uprising owes anything to Badoglio's appeals; it is rather the spontaneous action of the workers and lower ranks of the army, who are seizing a long-awaited opportunity to finish fascism once and for all. And they don't make fine distinctions between those men who still cling to Mussolini and those who ceased to follow him on July 25. These fighters—trade unionists, radicals, republicans—are our true allies in Italy. Have we no message for them save cold instructions to rally to a feeble monarch and a discredited general whom they rightly regard as traitors?

The Fulbright Resolution

PASSAGE of the Fulbright resolution in the House of Representatives by a vote of more than twelve to one is highly encouraging as an indication that the American people have definitely turned their back on isolationism. In the years immediately preceding Pearl Harbor the House was consistently isolationist on most major issues—far more so, we believe, than the public as a whole. The House passed the Spanish embargo with but one dissenting vote; it adopted a Neutrality Act which prevented the government from promising aid to the potential victims of Axis aggression; and, on the eve of the outbreak of the war, it pinned a cash-and-carry amendment to the act, which said, in effect, that further Axis attacks were of no concern to the United States.

The Fulbright resolution represents a complete repudiation of those policies. It places the House on record as favoring overwhelmingly the participation of the United States in "appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace." This involves a recognition of our international responsibilities that should strengthen the President's hand immeasurably in the United Nations negotiations that lie ahead. The chief question now is the Senate's attitude on this crucial question. After all, it is the Senate and not the House that is invested by the Constitution with the power to ratify treaties. At present writing the Senate seems inclined to shelve the Fulbright resolution in favor of a formula of its own. Its motive for this appears to be nothing better than chagrin over the fact that the House has stolen a march on it. But the Senate's jealousy, however unworthy as a motive, may have a beneficial effect if it leads to an amalgamation of the principles of the Ball-Burton-Hill-Hatch resolution with those of the Fulbright measure.

There is no conflict in spirit between the two. But the resolution introduced last spring by the two Republican and two Democratic Senators has a distinct advantage over the Fulbright resolution in that it contains a specific program of action. It proposes that the United States take the initiative in forming an organization of the United Nations (1) to prosecute the war more effectively; (2) to set up temporary administrations for the liberated territories; (3) to take charge of relief and rehabilitation activities in these territories; (4) to establish machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes; and (5) to create a United Nations military force to prevent future aggression. Some of these steps, notably in the field of relief and rehabilitation, are already under way. The fourth is implied in the Fulbright resolution. But crucial in any scheme for post-war organization is recognition of the necessity for an international military force to check aggression. It was largely because of hesitancy over the military sanctions in Article XVI that the United States repudiated the League of Nations after the last war. Consequently, a clear statement pledging American cooperation in military efforts to preserve the peace would do more than anything else to reassure the world. The Senate is the only body that can speak authoritatively on this question. Unfortunately, while prompt action would be of immeasurable value in the tri-partite conversations soon to begin in Moscow, Administration leaders, fearing noisy opposition from the isolationists, seem bent on postponing debate.

Balkan Possibilities

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE invasion of the Balkans may take place before this commentary appears, or it may be deferred until after further developments in Italy. From the point of view of the political problems which will face the Allies when they land there, the date is a matter of indifference. Now or later the crux of the Balkan situation lies in the amount of active support which the Allied cause can obtain from the Balkan population.

There may be some circles in which the feelings and opinions of the Balkan people are of no great importance. The only consideration for them is that the Allies succeed in marshaling sufficient shipping, men, and air superiority to expedite their military operations. This habit of thinking simply in terms of war and not in terms of a struggle for democracy would make things wonderfully easy were the territories which must be invaded occupied only by enemy armies. Unfortunately, the people are also involved, with their aspirations, their experiences, and their hate of fascism.

There are two ways in which the United Nations can deal with the people: they can leave to the German generals, as in the case of Milan and Turin, the job of exterminating the democratic nuisance, or they can accept the people, from the beginning, as their real and most effective allies. We suggest that now, in the concrete case of Yugoslavia, the People's Liberation Movement be recognized and dealt with as the actual expression of Yugoslav democracy.

When they enter the Balkans, the Allies will find the people armed with more than love of freedom. Without waiting for the arrival of the liberators, they armed themselves with guns and took up the fight against the Nazis. Elsewhere in this issue we publish an article by Bogdan Raditsa dealing mainly with Yugoslavia. His presentation of the problem is particularly timely because in recent days some obvious attempts have been made to confuse the news coming from that country, chiefly through the Yugoslav Democratic News Agency. The purpose is clear: to give entire credit to General Draja Mihailovich for all action against the Germans and to minimize the efforts of the Partisans. The same people who are transforming Marshal Badoglio into one of the great benefactors of the United Nations would make of the Yugoslav general a legendary hero of the entire Balkan region.

There are even those who dream of Mihailovich emerging from the war with enough prestige to head a Balkan army which would prove to Russia that it could not dominate Eastern Europe. A fantastic hope! The attraction which Russia has always exercised on the Balkan people has been immeasurably strengthened by the glorious Soviet military victories. The Balkan countries can constitute a most useful link between Russia and the rest of Europe. But if anyone hopes to use them as a *cordon sanitaire* around the Soviet Union, or to force them to choose between Russia and the West, they will move even more readily toward Russia. Moreover, this movement in favor of Mihailovich is directed by elements which can only discredit him utterly in the eyes of the Yugoslav people and ruin whatever value he might have had as a military leader.

One of the chief arguments cited against accepting the cooperation of the People's Army of Liberation—even for the coming Allied landing operations—is that it is not a part of the regular Yugoslav army, recognized by the government-in-exile. This raises the question to what extent the government-in-exile is recognized by the Yugoslav people. All through the various ministerial crises, which he was obliged to settle far away from his country, the young king never succeeded in forming a Cabinet that could be considered representative. The four governments preceding the present one—that of General Simovich, the two headed by Professor Slobodon Jovanovich, and that of Milos Trifunovich—included prominent political leaders, but they were unable to agree on the national structure of Yugoslavia. While inside the country, according to all available reports, the idea of a democratic federal Yugoslavia is growing stronger and stronger, in these governments a continuous struggle has been waged between those who favor a centralized state under Serbian hegemony and those supporting a federation of autonomous states.

The latest government was born of the impasse over this issue. Headed by an intelligent and subtle diplomat, Dr. Bozhidar Purich, whom I remember well from meetings of the League of Nations, this government offers only a "diplomatic solution." It does not represent the present mood of the Yugoslav people. Its worst feature is its domination by General Zukovich and Ambassador Bogoljub Jevich—two of the most unpopular figures in Yugoslav political life, participants in the dictatorship that ruled Yugoslavia after 1929, who dream of becoming again the strong men to bring "order" out of the post-war "chaos."

Official relations with the government in London should not be permitted to cut the Allied powers off from the most reliable forces of resistance in Yugoslavia. Long ago Britain and the United States should have insisted on a democratic Yugoslav regime and complete reconciliation with the Partisans. This should have been made a condition precedent to any material support. They failed to do so, and as a consequence are now confronted with a situation which offers no further opportunity for diplomatic maneuver. Even if they maintain formal relations with the government-in-exile they must with all possible speed establish full political collaboration with the People's Movement of Liberation and recognize it as the only anti-fascist force in Yugoslavia.

The recognition of this movement would not only give the Allies important military support in the invasion of the Balkans but open the way for a solution of some of the difficult problems that will arise after the war. The question of Italian-Yugoslav relations, so grave in the past, can be solved only by genuinely democratic elements among the two peoples. Already the Yugoslav Partisans have won over the Italian forces on their soil and induced them to join the fight against the Germans. This is an indication of what an intelligent democratic conception of political warfare could achieve in preparing the ground for a free and peaceful Europe.

Straw Vote on the Future

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 24

THE debate on the Fulbright resolution and the resolution itself were made to order for a certain kind of bright comment. The House of Representatives has only a vague and indirect power over the conduct of foreign affairs, and in that sense the balloting was—as one opponent of the resolution protested—merely a "straw vote." Most of the House members were bored and uninterested, and the leaders had difficulty in keeping the discussion going for the allotted four hours. Many of those who did speak said their piece for the *Congressional Record* and left without bothering to hear what their colleagues had to say. Others contented themselves with an "extension of remarks."

The general indifference was so great as to elicit a scolding from Representative Eaton of New Jersey, ranking Republican member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. The angry outburst was blue-penciled out of the *Congressional Record*. "What are we fussing about here," Eaton asked, "when we haven't enough interest to fill these seats, and when we do fill them we sit around and gab and gossip like a bunch of old women at a sewing party?" "If we haven't enough interest," he added, "we should get out and give room for some decent people who have a sense of responsibility about these issues. . . ." It may be interesting to recall the discreet elision of this rebuke from the *Record* next time Congress complains that the OWI is "coddling" the people by failing to give them the brutal truth.

The Fulbright resolution is vague. Mundt of South Dakota, perhaps the most strongly isolationist member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, voted for it and said he couldn't see how anyone could vote against it: "Within its boundaries is haven enough for the most ultra-isolationist in the country as well as the most 'super-dooper' internationalist." The original resolution merely said that Congress favored "the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world," and "participation by the United States therein." "Through its constitutional processes" was a last-minute amendment added by the Foreign Affairs Committee just before it unanimously reported the resolution to the House.

Great value was placed on this phrase by the Republican isolationists, who have never been more Talmudic, if not downright cabalistic. They have been attributing a mysterious potency to words like "sovereignty" and "constitutionalism." Bloom of New York objected that the addition was unnecessary because Congress could hardly authorize any other than constitutional processes. But those in the House, like those at Mackinac, who have no intention of supporting a genuine international order, obviously expect the words to provide them with the necessary loopholes. Articles X and XVI of the League Covenant were similarly attacked as an infringement of "sovereignty" and a violation of the constitutional prerogative of Congress to declare war.

It is the memory of the League debate and of what preceded it that makes so many people here cynical about the Fulbright resolution. They remember Taft's League to Enforce Peace in 1915 and Lodge's indorsement of it in 1916. The most enthusiastic felt the chill when Madden of Indiana read from Jim Watson's "As I Knew Them" the account of a secret meeting with Lodge on the strategy of defeating the Covenant. "It appears to me," Watson told Lodge, "that 80 per cent of the people are for it." "Ah, my dear James," was Lodge's reply, "I do not propose to beat it by direct frontal attack but by the indirect method of reservations." Those reservations also revolved around the concepts of constitutionalism and sovereignty.

This background is discouraging, and much of the debate was on a depressingly low and chauvinistic plane, notably the contributions of the Illinois delegation. Day warned against "a veritable mob of foreigners demanding the things which we Americans call our own," and Miss Sumner thought it "the most dangerous bill ever presented to an American Congress." But there were other voices, too, voices which I think more truly reflect the thinking of the American people. Wadsworth of New York, Eaton of New Jersey, Vorys of Ohio, Judd of Minnesota, Voorhis of California, Johnson of Oklahoma, and Luther Johnson of Texas, members of both parties, men of both the right and the left, were united in a desire to find some way to prevent another world war. Johnson of Oklahoma said it very simply, "I submit in all seriousness that peace—a lasting peace—next to winning the war decisively and getting our boys home as soon as possible, is closer to the hearts of our people than any other problem."

Let those who dismiss the Fulbright resolution as meaningless think how disastrous its defeat would have been. True, the victory is a precarious one, despite the unanimous vote of the committee and the 360 to 29 vote in the House. The Republicans ran out last time on expressions much like the Fulbright resolution. But the vote reflected the politicians' recognition of the public's deep desire for a system to enforce peace, and whether the resolution turns out to be another disillusioning fraud or the first tentative step toward a new order depends on whether or not the country keeps the heat on Washington.

There is danger that the whole issue will be shelved in the Senate for some time. The Senate, which does have a great constitutional role to play in the formulation of our foreign policy, looks down upon the Fulbright resolution. Senator Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, seems to be ready to put aside not only the House resolution but the Senate's own B2H2 resolution, which is more explicit. In part this reflects his ambition to bring forward proposals of his own; in part Administration caution. It is feared that under the Senate's rules allowing unlimited debate many harsh things might be said of our Russian and British allies just as a badly needed three-power meeting was in the offing. Better than postponement would be popular pressure to force favorable Senate action by a large majority, despite the utterances of our new bitter-enders. That depends on you and me.

Financing America's Future

II. DEMOBILIZATION DAY—A PREVIEW[1]

BY STUART CHASE

THE bells will ring on Demobilization Day. Everybody will have a shout in his heart. But the American economic system will be a wonder to behold. It promises to look like something from the back of the moon. Any prophet who might have been bold enough to picture it in 1940 would have been run in by the police as mentally unbalanced. I remember the blank, terrified stares of a group of business men when I ventured to say in 1940 that the national debt would presently go over one hundred billion dollars if the United States entered the war.

The National Debt. I was a rank conservative. When the war ends, the national debt will stand at two to three hundred billion dollars, according to bank presidents, chiefs of great insurance companies, and other financial experts. What is even more astonishing, they seem to take the idea in their stride. To quote Emil Schram,[2] president of the New York Stock Exchange: "I am not appalled at the prospect. The American system is equal to any burden which it may have to carry." Myron F. Converse, former head of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, says that a public debt of $250 billion will not ruin the country if the national income remains above $100 billion, and affirms that we are going to hold it there under our present "managed money" methods.[3]

The National Income. British experience shows that the debt burden can be serviced without too much difficulty if it does not exceed twice the annual national income. In 1943 the national income in the United States will certainly reach $125 billion. By D-Day it may be running at the rate of $150 billion at 1943 prices. If prices have moved up by then, and they probably will move up farther in a creeping inflation, the figure will be considerably higher measured in future dollars.

The War Output. The output for war goods and services is estimated at $80 billion for 1943. If the total national output in 1943 reaches $140 billion, the war will thus be taking 57 per cent of American production. Where will the ratio stand on D-Day? I believe that 70 per cent is probably the limit, based on British and German experience. Donald Nelson looks forward to an annual war cost of $106 billion in the near future. This would be approximately 70 per cent of a national output of $150 billion.

These figures sound insane. When the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity estimated that we could produce $130 billion worth of goods and services in 1929 dollars, the findings were laughed at as wildly and weirdly extravagant. Yet here we are, ahead of that volume, and destined to be far ahead of it by D-Day. None of us, not even the most starry-eyed dreamer, ever imagined the quantity of goods the American productive machine could fabricate once it was given a green light for full speed ahead.

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[1] Based on a chapter from the author's forthcoming report to the Twentieth Century Fund, to be published in the fall under the title, "Where's the Money Coming From? Problems of Post-War Finance."

[2] The New York *Times*, April 19, 1942.

[3] New York *World-Telegram*, May 7, 1942.

War Taxes. Do you remember when a rise of 2 per cent in the income tax was considered practically confiscation? Our leading cartoonists blossomed forth with sketches of *homo Americanus* clad only in a barrel. Happy days! The 1942 rates would have caused apoplexy in many editorial chairs in 1940. As for the rates we can expect on D-Day, no substantial citizen could have looked at them and lived. Yet we shall pay them and live. Federal taxes are likely to amount to at least half the annual dollar cost of the war. If that cost is running at $100 billion, we shall be paying $50 billion in federal taxes.

Lend-Lease. In the last war we loaned some $10 billion to our allies, who defaulted on most of it. The unpaid war debts were an ugly political question for many years. Senators as well as common citizens found it difficult to see that our refusal to take large shipments of imports made it impossible for our allies to pay. We prevented them from paying by virtue of our high tariffs.

This time there will be no such debts—though I am not sure there will be no political arguments. Congress has already appropriated some $50 billion for lend-lease advances to the United Nations. In recent months we have been shipping as much as a billion dollars' worth of goods a month on this account.

It is the theory of lend-lease that such shipments do not constitute a formal loan in dollars, but rather an advance in goods and services which, in due course, will be offset by goods, services, or assistance remitted in return. Substantial offsets in the shape of food for our soldiers abroad are already being made.

The Banks. Long before D-Day the banking system of the country has already become in a sense a ward of the federal government. Let Mr. Kiplinger, the famous business-service man, describe the banks as they appear to him:[4]

> Banks look the same on the outside as they did ten years ago. They have the same awesome fronts, the same barred windows and tellers' cages. But inside they are different. They look to government. . . . They get paid for following instructions, or "suggestions." The pay is the interest on the money they lend to government by buying the government's bonds. The pay amounts to a subsidy to banks. . . . The business of lending has become different. It already *has* become dominated by politics. . . . The war puts government firmly into the driver's seat as the general manager of the people's money, as the social director of the uses to which the people's savings shall be put. . . .

Savings. The Department of Commerce, in a release in April, 1943, estimated that savings in the hands of individuals will reach the unheard-of figure of $60 billion by January 1, 1945. The American people are getting more money in their pay envelopes than ever before in history. They cannot begin to spend it all. They have not points enough in their ration books. There are still many school teachers, farmers, workers, whose pay is below the average, and who are saving nothing, but they are offset by the new class of employees in war industries who draw more pay than they can dispose of. These savings could start a serious post-war inflation. If wisely managed, however, they can help cushion the shock of demobilization.

BACK OF THE MOON

The dollar figures mentioned earlier are necessarily guesses, but perhaps not too wild. Let us venture a few guesses about other aspects of the economy on D-Day.

There will be at least 12 million men in the armed services when the war ends, great numbers of them overseas. Most of them will have been out of touch with civilian life for several years. Some younger men will never have had any regular job but fighting for their country. The whole force will have been extremely well cared for physically—the best of food, the sturdiest of clothing, the finest medical attention, every sort of equipment which their terrible tasks demand. They are already seeing much of the world. In many critical situations they are taking great responsibility. They are highly skilled in using the intricate machines of modern warfare. They feel that they *belong,* that they have a cardinal place in the American scheme of things. Certainly every speech they read or hear emphasizes the importance of that place.

When D-Day comes, most of these men will be glad to go home. But they will not, I think, be glad to sell apples on the street. They may not take kindly to being deprived of their high status in the community. They may not understand such treatment—and they promise to be very tough, well-disciplined, and resourceful young men. We have never had such a terrific human force in our economy before. It is a force which will need to be treated with extreme consideration. Representative Dewey of Illinois knew what he was talking about when he said: "Local boards are drafting these boys into the army. They will come back strong, lean, seeking opportunity and determined to have it. Why should they not find other boards ready to induct them into gainful enterprise? . . . If they don't, look out!"

I live twenty miles from Bridgeport. It had a terrific war boom in 1918, but that was nothing to the one it has now. Bridgeport never recovered from the devastating after-effects of the first boom. Citizens looked forward with dread to another such fever. Now they have it, only worse. Bridgeport is but one of hundreds of American cities seized with munitions elephantiasis. On D-Day there they will be, helpless in their bloated immensity, their chief reason for existence gone or going. The workers in Bridgeport, like the men in the army, have been given a vital feeling of belonging to the community. Like the men in the army, they may not take kindly to being suddenly classed as untouchables at the bottom of the social pyramid.

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[4] "Washington Is Like That." By W. M. Kiplinger. Harper, 1942.

Seventy Per Cent of Man-Power. If the war ends with 70 per cent of our national effort going for military purposes, the man-power situation promises to look something like this:

		Per Cent
In the armed services	12,000,000	
In war industries and activities	33,000,000	
Total for war	45,000,000	70
In the civilian industries	20,000,000	30
Total national man-power	65,000,000	100

Thus some 45 million citizens may be on the federal government's pay roll—directly in the armed forces, indirectly in the war industries and services. The government cannot fire 70 per cent of the working population the way a meat market fires a butcher boy.

By D-Day the ranks of industrial labor may hold 10 million women, boys, and men not subject to the army who, if the war had not come, would be running their houses, playing bridge, living on investments, clerking in stores, studying in various schools, sunning themselves in Florida, or looking for a "respectable" job. The class structure of America has never been so rigid as that of Europe, but this wholesale migration by the middle class into the "proletariat" is something new under the sun.

My daughter went from her college commencement to a sanding machine with which she processed aluminum parts for fighter planes. In my little Connecticut town I can already count a score of professional and highly educated neighbors who are getting themselves covered with grease on the night shift of Bridgeport factories. Suddenly, as history goes, a great segment of our population, well-educated and observant, finds itself faced with the problems of hours, wages, working conditions, safety—not by reading about such things at home, but by punching time clocks and standing in the assembly line. What is this likely to do to the official labor movement? It is likely to push it in two directions. On the one hand, it may make the closed shop far more difficult in many unions. On the other hand, it may make millions of Americans more sympathetic to the problems of individual workers. Women who used to keep two maids will perhaps learn how it feels to be bawled out by the foreman.

The Great Steam Roller. One by one the barriers which divide the wealthy from the poor will be lowered as D-Day approaches. The poor have had their wages raised and, better still, have been delivered from work relief and unemployment. They are self-supporting Americans again. Progressive income taxes are reducing the net incomes of the well-to-do. Where will the levels be when the war ends? Quincy Howe has estimated that no family will get much less than $2,500, or much more than $25,000—a ten-to-one range. It would take a long war, however, to reach this level.

The luxury trades will have been pretty well wiped out by D-Day except such mass luxuries as movies, beer, and cigarettes. Servants will be in the factories or fighting, and the women who stay at home will be doing most of their own work. Already the maid shortage parallels the gas shortage in Suburban Heights. Will servants who have found relative independence in the factory want to go back to "Yes, sir," "No, sir," and "Please, sir"?

Most powerful of all forces making for equality may be rationing. It will be directed more and more toward seeing that every American family receives the essentials of life. Mr. Byrnes has flatly said as much. By D-Day there may be a graded distribution of essentials—the best cuts and qualities for the armed services, next best for the workers in heavy war industries, grade three for the rest of us, with Judy O'Grady doing just as well as the Colonel's lady.

A great steam roller is bearing down to flatten out economic classes and economic distinctions. The big house on the hill is closed, while the people across the tracks have more money than they can spend. It is not to be concluded, however, that we shall be reduced to one dead level of achievement. The steam roller promises to grind over stuffed shirts, deflating reputations blown up by fast-working publicity men. At the same time a new group of managers will be raised up, men who can get things done—produce goods, organize civilian effort, win battles, eliminate waste, bring us nearer to victory. The war on the home front still has its aspects of Hollywood, as *Life* once said. Sooner or later we have got to replace the stage men with real men.

New Patterns for Business. D-Day will see the structure of industry drastically revised. The so-called "concentration" movement may by then include many consumer-goods industries. Take the manufacture of stoves. New stoves are now being produced in a few "nucleus" plants, primarily the more efficient factories. All other stove plants are converted or closed down for the duration, their labor distributed to war production. More than eighty consumer-goods industries in Britain

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have been "concentrated," and we are beginning to follow the same road. The closed plants may keep a skeleton administrative staff; perhaps their brands will be kept alive by the nucleus plants. But in many cases the private brands will be dropped in favor of "victory models," simplified and standardized stoves, shoes, household tools, furniture, and the rest.

Quite apart from the concentration program, it is inevitable that many thousands of small businesses should be eliminated as the war goes on. The vast roadside industry has already been hard hit—filling stations, garages, automobile and tire dealers, road houses. Many Main Street stores are being hit, and will be hit harder as the volume of consumers' goods declines. By the end of 1943, inventories are expected to be savagely reduced. The stores which remain in business will have to drop trimmings, frills, and special services to the consumer. The customer will no longer always be right. The lady who orders five frocks expecting to return four of them after closer examination may get no service at all.

The whole great structure of competitive advertising no longer has much point. In Britain advertising is kept precariously alive by using space to advise the public *not to purchase* the advertiser's canned soup or his motor cars. In this country advertising still keeps going on "good-will" campaigns, where the advertiser's name is tied up with "buy bonds now" and pictures of charging tanks. As the war strips us to bare essentials, one wonders how much of this can be retained. Salesmen are suffering a similar decline as their services become meaningless. Many are in the army or have switched from white collars to overalls.

Big business may be easier to recognize than little business when D-Day comes, but here also there are sure to be great changes. Many of the ablest executives are already working for the government, their horizons widened to a real comprehension of the public interest. Patent monopolies and pre-war practices involving the restriction of output may be largely broken up. Some great industries—like the automobile industry already—will be working exclusively to government order when the war ends, producing not a single item for civilian use except possibly spare parts. It is not going to be easy to reconstruct the old techniques, where production was delicately adjusted to maximum profit or minimum loss. The market itself has disappeared for the duration.

Foreign trade in the old sense has already disappeared. Lend-lease now accounts for most of our exports, and such private traders as remain can move their goods only by permission of the Office of Economic Warfare. Perhaps we should drop the word "trade" for the duration. There are no free international markets left, almost no meeting of private buyers and sellers haggling for a just price. What we have now, and are sure to get more of, is a condition of exchange where the several governments decide what they will swap to speed the war effort, or to keep raw materials out of the hands of the Axis.

When the war ends, the economic systems of the United States, Britain, Canada, Mexico, the Caribbean countries, New Zealand, Australia, North Africa, may have been hammered into one super-system which will make the old national tariffs, currencies, trade practices look like remnants of the Stone Age. To unscramble this pattern will not be the work of a day.

The American crop output is sure to be very different on D-Day from what it was in 1941, being designed to feed armies and foreign allies as well as to provide subsistence for citizens on a balanced-diet basis. There will be few surpluses dumped to rot. The farm labor force will be greatly changed. Perhaps squads of youngsters from the schools will do much of the seasonal work. The railways, highways, airways, waterways, pipe lines may be under one integrated control. This control, after the bugs are shaken out of it, may be so much more efficient in moving freight that one wonders how successful the effort will be to dismantle it.

The great American recreation industry, shorn of its cash customers by the restrictions on pleasure driving, may have retreated to its condition in about the year 1900.

This is but a modest preview of the changed national picture on D-Day. If the war is long, the change may be still more drastic. The date I had roughly in mind was early in 1946. Perhaps the end will come in two instalments, the first in Europe, the second in the Far East. A military miracle or a sudden internal collapse of our enemies may happily move up the date of the final cease-firing order.

The free market gone; foreign trade obliterated by lend-lease; the government ordering 60 to 70 per cent of everything produced; new and strange contractual relationships; the incentive of competition badly weakened; great areas of little business boarded up; a scarcity of man-power, and the ranks of labor inundated by a flood from the middle class; the distribution of the national income leveled and shifted in curious directions; the crop pattern rearranged; great taxes, great public debts, great levies of forced savings, great national income; the government in complete control of the banks, the British Empire and Latin America sitting in the middle of our laps. Is there any road back?

One cannot operate a financial system in a vacuum. Behind the dollars lies a background of men, women, and things. I have tried to indicate the surprising nature of that background on the day when the guns cease to speak.

[*This is the second of a series of articles on America's post-war economy. Mr. Chase's concluding article, to appear in an early issue, will expound the thesis "There Is Nothing to Fear but Fear."*]

Choices in Italy

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

REMINISCENT of the days of blitzkrieg has been the speed with which events have moved in the Mediterranean. The liquidation of German resistance in Tunisia, the conquest of Sicily, Mussolini's downfall, the aerial blasting of the Italian mainland, the successful invasion of southern Italy, and the unconditional surrender of the Badoglio government have been telescoped into a period of a little more than four months. The suspicion that Italy was the weak point of the Axis has been abundantly confirmed, for resistance from the Italians before their surrender was in many cases no more than nominal.

The fighting in both Sicily and Italy has been highly creditable to the troops and military leadership of the United Nations. The most critical single step, the landings in Sicily, were made with comparatively light losses and a high degree of cooperation among air, sea, and land units. General Patton's men, after encountering severe initial opposition from superior German forces, made good their bridgehead and in the later exploitation of gains did as well as any army has done during the entire war. After the American Seventh Army scored its break-through, the result of the campaign was a certainty; the only question was that of the time required, and this was reduced by the sea and air superiority which made our problem of reinforcement much simpler than the enemy's.

The campaign in southern Italy presented a different set of problems. The landings in Calabria were as simple as such military feats can be, as a result of the lack of Italian resistance, the few beach defenses, the short distance to be covered, and the powerful air and sea coverage. But landing General Clark's Fifth Army at Salerno was a more risky procedure, since it permitted the Germans to concentrate a superior force against the American bridgehead. Once that bridgehead was secured, however, all German troops to the south were threatened with the cutting of their communications and line of retreat. Probably the nearest parallel in this war was the Malayan campaign, in which the Japanese, who at that time held command of sea and air, compelled the British to retreat continually by landing forces behind their lines. In a country with the geography of Italy this process can be repeated almost indefinitely as long as air and sea control is secure and the troops landed are strong enough to take care of themselves.

The Germans have in Italy more troops than were used by the Axis in Sicily. But the Allies have lines of reinforcement that are more secure and also the choice of where and when to strike. Hitler faces two alternatives. He can pour men into Italy and make a serious attempt to hold the country. Or he can retreat after resistance by small German units and the application of a thorough scorched-earth policy have multiplied Allied problems.

Neither of these policies can be termed desirable from the German point of view. The only real value of a determined effort to hold Italy would be to prevent or at least delay air and land offensives against more important sectors of Hitler's fortress. And by land few roads lead from Rome to Berlin. Moreover, a decision to hold Italy would mean the employment of large land armies and further depletion of German reserves. Garrisons everywhere else would have to be weakened and the risk of utter disaster in the east accepted. If such a policy were persisted in, Italy might well become a real second front according to the Russian definition of the term, and one on which the Allies would in all likelihood be victorious.

The second plan, a retreat up the Italian peninsula with possibly a determined effort to hold along the Po, certainly at the Alps, neither of which lines could be readily flanked, would appear to be the more profitable strategy. But not even this can be done without danger. The longer the Germans resist the greater their danger of becoming involved in a costly campaign or, if the resisting forces are left small, of having their retreat cut off by landings farther north. Yet prestige hardly permits a hasty withdrawal, and the threat of close-range bombing of Austrian, Czech, and Hungarian war centers is not one to be lightly considered.

Many of the fruits of complete victory in Italy are already falling to the United Nations. The main gains are three:

First, the surrender of most of the Italian navy greatly affects the naval balance of the war. While few of the ships can be profitably incorporated in the Anglo-American fleets, their surrender releases a great deal of British sea power for employment against the Japanese in the Bay of Bengal. Allied naval superiority is now overwhelming. A successful campaign in Burma is therefore brought materially closer to realization.

In the second place, the balance of European land power, already leaning toward the United Nations, is now tilted very decidedly in their favor. Italian troops, notoriously poor fighters, have previously been used in garrisons and to protect lines of supply, thus releasing Germans for active duty. Germany must now choose between weakening these garrisons and supply lines, which would play into Anglo-American hands, or weakening its front in Russia—a short cut to complete disaster. Mr. Churchill's estimate that Axis strength has been diminished 10 per cent may very well be accurate, but the importance of such a decrease is heightened by the fact that German military resources are now barely sufficient to stave off catastrophe.

Finally, the Italian surrender is a great blow to Axis prestige. All Europe shows the effect of it, though probably the German public has not yet grasped its full meaning. Neutrals like Sweden are becoming more courageous, and the satellite powers, especially Bulgaria and Finland, are uneasily attempting to find a not too disastrous method of reaching peace terms and escaping involvement in the expected German collapse.

Our recent gains in the Battle of Italy are also paving the way for offensives elsewhere. With the Mediterranean cleared for Allied shipping and new Italian and Sicilian bases at our disposal, a Balkan campaign becomes for the first time entirely practicable. The Italian surrender has opened Greece and the entire eastern coast of the Adriatic to attack and so effectively flanked the German position in the Balkans that Crete and the other Aegean islands which guarded against a thrust based on Alexandria are all but worthless. An invasion, if it is launched, will very probably come from another direction. At the same time the growing unrest in the satellite Balkan states and the reduction of garrisons there have created conditions highly favorable to an attacker. Should our leaders choose to strike here, they would of course face a hard problem in the civil divisions and local conflicts for which the Balkan states are celebrated, as well as in the difficulties of the terrain, but the war has repeatedly demonstrated that handicaps of this sort need not stop a skilled and determined invader.

Southern France looms as a second possible battlefield. The approach in this case could be made either by an amphibious force based on Corsica and Sardinia or by land armies advancing directly along the Mediterranean coast from the Italian Riviera. (The mountain route directly north is probably too difficult.) Both moves assume preliminary preparations, in the form of establishing nearby bases and bombing shore targets, which have not yet been made.

The greatest drawback to either of these offensives is not tactical but strategic. If undertaken after the thorough preparation which has characterized other Anglo-American moves they would be quite likely to succeed. The trouble is that success in neither area, nor indeed the complete conquest of Italy, would strike a blow at Germany in a vulnerable spot. With nothing but defeats for the past year Germany today is groggy and sagging at the knees. We can continue to punish it with land, sea, and air attacks before striking a final blow. But if we are to land the knockout punch, we must use a far greater proportion of our available land power in a better location than we have used it heretofore.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE ARGUMENT of all arguments which did best service in expelling the Republicans from power last year . . . was the danger and horror of letting them go on giving legislation to manufacturers in return for campaign contributions.—*October 5, 1893.*

M. ZOLA WAS RECEIVED with effusive enthusiasm in London, whither he went to read a paper on "Anonymity in the Press" before the Institute of Journalists. This was the more surprising inasmuch as, while she was embracing the writer, England was at the same time sending a publisher to jail for bringing out a translation of his works.—*October 12, 1893.*

IT IS FREELY ADMITTED by those who know anything of the subject that leprosy, which at one time was a widespread scourge in Europe, and which isolation rendered practically extinct there, is now advancing up the line of diseases, and in some parts of the world is a very serious plague. In Minnesota and Louisiana at home, and in New Brunswick on our borders, there are formidable groups of cases.—*October 12, 1893.*

IT IS DOUBTFUL if the power of any former Tammany boss has been as absolute as that which Croker is exercising at present. There is no concealment of the fact that he is selecting all the candidates for all the offices. He decides what Senators and Assemblymen shall be allowed to return to Albany, what men shall go on the ticket as delegates to the Constitutional Convention, who shall run for comptroller, district attorney, and the judgeships, and who shall be "turned down."—*October 19, 1893.*

SEVERAL PUBLIC EXECUTIONS in France have recently been attended with such scandals that interest is renewed in a proposed law to prohibit these demoralizing spectacles. . . . A curious and degrading feature of modern executions in France is the resort to them, besides the ordinary rabble, of decayed old roués and profligates, male and female, who go about in search of horrible sights to flog their jaded sensibilities into action. They cannot, perhaps, be shut out of their other favorite haunts, the morgues and mad-houses, but at least the state ought not to pander to their depravity by admitting them to public executions.—*October 26, 1893.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: Alger, Horatio, Jr., "In a New World; or, Across the Gold-Fields of Africa." . . . Sacher-Masoch, Léopold de, "Seraph: A Tale of Hungary."—*October 26, 1893.*

Five Years of "Munich Peace"

BY EMILE BURE

SEPTEMBER 29 is the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Munich pact. By now the entire world is in agreement that for the French and British the pact was the greatest diplomatic defeat in modern history. But it was not an isolated defeat. It was the culmination of a series of shameful submissions that began in 1936 when German troops entered the demilitarized Rhineland and Mr. Chamberlain informed Sarraut, the French Premier, that he found it entirely natural for the Germans to reoccupy territory which they had been forced to cede that France might be secure. For him the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno pact were scraps of paper. Hitler, who had already decided to violate them despite the opposition of the army leaders, took Chamberlain at his word. He was convinced that nonentities ruled in London and Paris, and Mussolini shared his conviction after meeting Pierre Laval at Rome and Stresa.

Before Laval met the Duce I went to see him at the Quai d'Orsay. "Do you at least agree with the Belgrade government's rejection of Italy's offer of an Italian-Yugoslav alliance which would be contingent on Yugoslavia's denunciation of its old treaty with France?" I asked. He smiled, then, shrugging his shoulders, said scornfully, "You political traditionalists annoy me to death. I'll use my common sense." When I saw him again on his return from Italy, he warned me clearly of the event which his visit had made inevitable. "You know," he said, "no one can stop Mussolini from invading Abyssinia." I knew then that he had given Mussolini a free hand to assassinate a nation friendly to the French people, one which had been admitted to the League of Nations at the demand of the Fascist government supported by the French representative. When Abyssinia was attacked, Laval was forced to ask for sanctions against the aggressor, but he maneuvered so well that the sanctions were never applied, and Mussolini was saved. Jules Romains in his "Sept mystères du monde" writes:

> In 1937 I spoke with S. E. Yotara Sugimura, Japanese ambassador to Rome. I put this question to him: "At the beginning of December, 1935, did Mussolini really believe that his game was up?" Weighing his words carefully, the ambassador replied, "Yes, there's no doubt about it. I was on very friendly terms with Mussolini and saw him frequently in that period. I can say categorically that he thought himself lost. In a box on his desk he kept a loaded revolver. He once showed it to me. He was ready to blow his brains out at any moment during those days."

In betraying Abyssinia, France betrayed itself. The Spanish War followed—and then came Munich. At Munich France and Britain sacrificed their national honor for the illusion of peace. Laval was no longer Premier, but he still exercised enormous power through his accomplices in the Daladier Cabinet. Georges Bonnet, Minister of Foreign affairs under Daladier, once solemnly affirmed in the presence of the American ambassador, William C. Bullitt, that his country would remain faithful to the Czech alliance, but those who saw him daily were not deceived by his lying protestations. He was continually pointing out that France was not prepared for war, but when I suggested that he urge the government to buy planes from the United States, he paid no attention. When Guy La Chambre, Minister of Aviation, ordered some Curtiss planes, friends of Bonnet and Flandin protested that the Curtiss models were worthless and that their purchase would deprive French airplane companies of legitimate profits. And besides, it was necessary to save the gold of the Bank of France! Bonnet was resolved to abandon Eastern Europe, and unfortunately Daladier, though he doubted the wisdom of such a policy, was too weak to oppose it.

The French press, already thoroughly corrupted by the agents of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, and Bonnet, whipped on the defeatist elements in the government. The former Radical deputy, Joseph Barthélemy, a professor of law, received 50,000 francs from the secret funds of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for telling the readers of the *Temps* that the Franco-Czech alliance had been invalidated by the violation of the Locarno pact. Flandin developed the same theme for the readers of the *Journal*. General Faucher, head of the French military mission in Prague, revealed that "certain French newspaper articles had scarcely appeared in Paris before they were reproduced in leaflet form and exploited to the limit by the German press and radio." "It looked to me," he said, "as if certain of these newspapers were outright agents for German propaganda."

The moral—or immoral—state of France on the eve of the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia, so glaringly revealed in Henry Torres's book, "La Machine infernale," is clear from a rereading of the French press of those days. The newspapers entered into a veritable contest to see which of them could most grossly attack President Benes, an ardent friend of France. "Why fight the Czechs' war?" asked Léon Daudet. "Why fight for the Jews?" echoed Charles Maurras. In *Je Suis Partout*

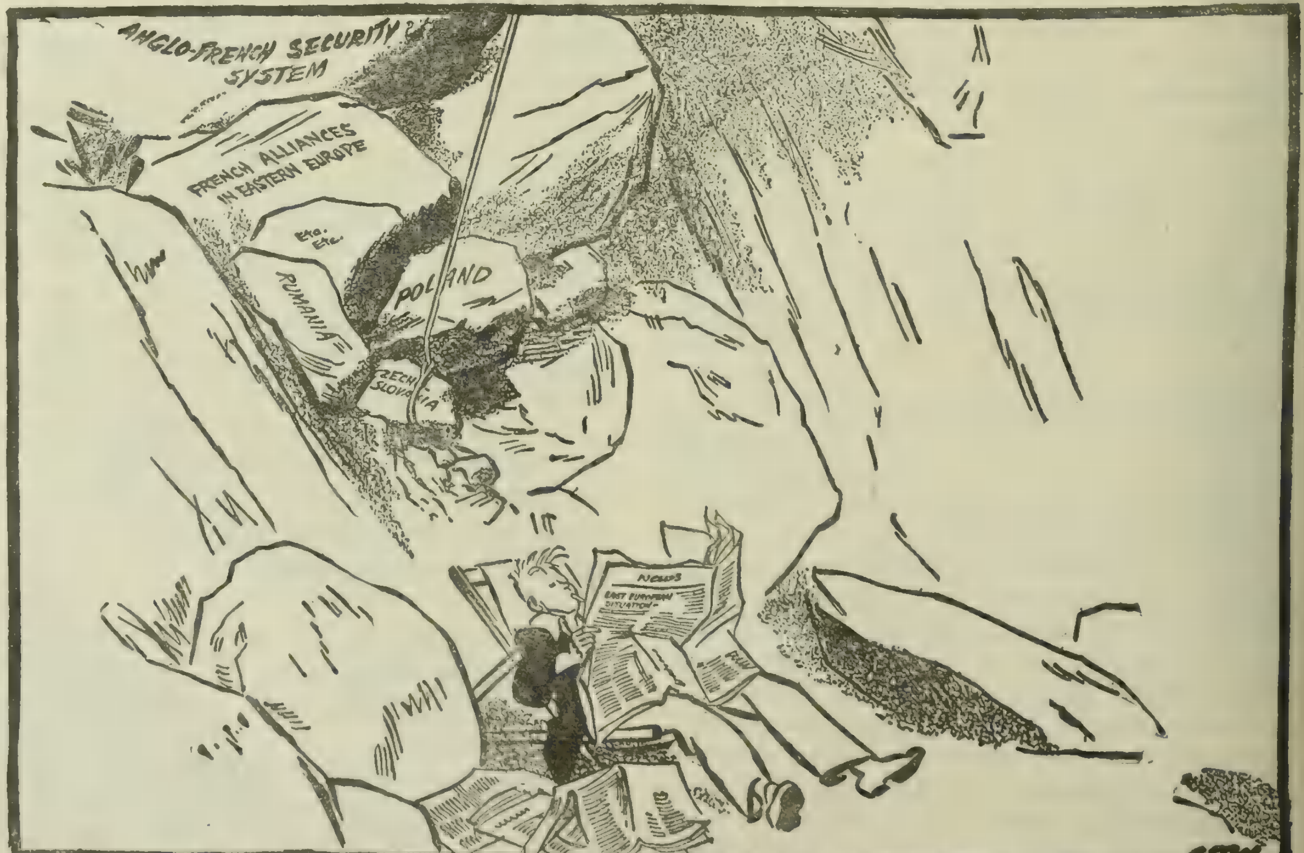
Robert Brassilach and Pierre Cousteau, disciples of the two directors of Action Française, went even farther: "Benes, that villainous wretch"—"that ignoble human excrement which goes by the name of Benes." Nor did they spare Mr. Roosevelt, whom Germany had good cause to fear. "Of all the idiots who have blossomed forth on the malodorous soil of the democracies, Franklin Roosevelt is probably the most perfect specimen, the newest model of his kind," wrote Pierre Cousteau. "He is of Jewish extraction, descended from a family named Roscampo which was driven out of Spain in 1620 and took refuge in Holland, where Roscampo became Rosenveld and finally Roosevelt," added his colleague Tracy.

I was not surprised therefore to learn one morning that Georges Bonnet, despite his promises to Osuski, the Czech minister to France, had informed President Benes that France would not fight for Czechoslovakia and that if his country resisted, the French government might even make common cause with the aggressor. Mussolini had won the hand. He dragged the representatives of England and France to Munich to be humiliated and blackmailed. Chamberlain, with his symbolic umbrella, returned to London certain that he had secured "peace in our time" and was received with acclamation. Daladier, a professor of history, had no such illusion and was afraid of being booed. When, instead, he was greeted with cheers, he muttered even as he acknowledged the applause, "What imbeciles!"

I watched the French people, so cruelly deceived by their own press, celebrating in the streets and then returned to my paper, utterly discouraged. "What sense is there in continuing the struggle?" I asked my colleagues. "Aside from *l'Humanité* [the Communist newspaper] there are no more than two anti-Munich papers in Paris—ours and Kerillis's *Epoque.* Léon Blum himself in the *Populaire* is savoring the shame of his pacifist satisfaction." "Boss," said one of the reporters, "you have no right to call quits, to let us down. Write your article. But be moderate, for it's true we are almost isolated." I wrote:

> I am too human not to have been touched yesterday by the joy of mothers who saw their sons return home and the horrors of war recede. I wish I were as convinced as they that the danger of war is over for good. But I would be lacking in intellectual honesty if I denied my anxiety about the Munich accord. . . . The *Drang nach Osten* will meet no more obstacles, and the last hope for peace will be found from now on in the good-will of Hitler and Mussolini, whose intentions I must be allowed to doubt.

The next day I got a grip on myself; I abandoned the sentimental note to lash out at Daladier, who remarked to one of my friends, "I'll have that fellow Buré



WHAT'S CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO ME, ANYWAY ?

Reprinted from *The Nation* of September 24, 1938 shot yet." What a strange period when one had to fight the government of one's country in order to oppose the enemies of one's country.

In the weeks that followed Munich the big Paris papers launched campaigns for contributions with which to buy gifts for Chamberlain. The Provost of Launay, president of the Municipal Council of Paris, invited the English Prime Minister to attend an extraordinary session of the council. On October 20, before the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Daladier publicly celebrated the victory which he had brought back from the Bavarian capital. That evening the pact was acclaimed in the Chamber of Deputies. Outside the Communist bloc in the Chamber, only one deputy opposed a vote of confidence in the government. In the night clubs they danced the *Chamberlaine;* in the candy stores the boxes of chocolates were adorned with pictures of the English and French Premiers.

On December 6, 1938, the situation became serious again. Von Ribbentrop, the Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Paris to meet Georges Bonnet and prepare a Franco-German pact. The *Temps* of December 7 listed an imposing array of industrialists who attended the banquet at the German embassy. With customary German delicacy, ham from Prague was served—the two Jewish ministers, Jean Zay (Education) and Georges Mandel (Colonies), had not been invited. Madame Campinchi, wife of the Minister of the Navy, cast a slight shadow on the celebration by declining the invitation because of a previous engagement—with Madame Osuski, wife of the Czech minister.

Did Bonnet in these conversations with Ribbentrop give Germany carte blanche in the east? The German minister has declared that he did; the French minister denied it before the defeat of France, and admitted it afterward. In any case, on March 14, 1939, Hitler, as had been foreseen, decided to break the Munich pact and destroy Czechoslovakia. Summoning President Hacha of Czechoslovakia to Berchtesgaden, he informed him of his decision. "I give you one hour to sign the capitulation of your country," he said. Old Hacha broke down completely; when he recovered he cried, "I cannot—I cannot sign." "Very well," answered Hitler, "tomorrow our planes will reduce Prague to ashes; millions of women and children will die. And you will have killed them." Hacha yielded. Even before his arrival at Berchtesgaden German troops had occupied Moravstra Ostrava on the frontier. The next morning at nine o'clock they entered Prague.

The day after Munich I and several other friends of Czechoslovakia met in the small house in the rue des Beaux Arts which had been the cradle of Czechoslovak independence. Speaking over the radio, I said, "France is henceforth a captive. It will not be free until Czechoslovakia is free." I say that again today.

In the Wind

A SERIES OF SHORT MOVIES designed to stimulate recruiting for the WAC is offered as an advertising medium by its producers. These patriotic films "provide you with an unprecedented opportunity to put your company and product name in the line of march to victory. . . . Each subject closes with the sponsor's name and message impressively narrated against a musical background."

PAUL MALLON OFFERS this thought on social security: "The cure for unemployment is employment—not insurance."

AMONG THE NEW ORGANIZATIONS devoted to the cause of preventing future wars is one called Forever This; its prospectus begins, "This plan for perpetual peace is based upon mutual distrust. . . . We must come to the clear realization that any argument between nations had better resolve itself into twenty-five years of dissension than twenty-five minutes of war!"

WHERE CREDIT IS DUE: *Printers' Ink,* an advertising trade magazine, editorializes thus: "It will probably never be possible, not even after the war is over, to justly gauge the tremendous contributions to victory made by advertising. . . . But the average citizen will remember that it was what he read in an ad that made his Adam's apple swell until he just had to go out and buy a bond to prove he's glad to be an American."

THE FASCIST Sinarquist movement in Mexico is thus described in *Columbia,* a Catholic magazine published in the United States: "It is essentially a Catholic agrarian movement. Its object is to establish every family on its own land and provide an education for all. It aims at a 'Christian order,' a 'Christian democracy' based on the family. It intends to lift the peasant masses out of ignorance and practical serfdom, and it is unalterably opposed to totalitarianism in government."

THE PRINCIPAL SPEAKER at a recent meeting of the Staten Island, New York, Foremen's Association was Dr. Charles Copeland Smith, a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers. According to the Staten Island *Transcript,* "He said that foremen would lose their identity as part of management by becoming associated with labor organizations."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A tank trap one-third of a mile wide now cuts across The Hague from end to end. All buildings in the way were destroyed. . . . General Chatlos, commander of the Slovak army under the Nazis, has been bringing units of troops back from Russia and parading them in various towns of Slovakia to prove to the people that most of their boys survived.

[The $5 prize for the best item received in September goes to a correspondent in Rochester, New York, for the story of the cancelation of three weeks of "Little Orphan Annie." The item appeared in the issue of September 4.]

BURLINGAME

Tito's Partisans

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

THE Allied invasion of Italy has sounded the alert throughout the Balkans. Under the vigorous leadership of General Tito, the Yugoslav Partisan forces of the People's Liberation Army have surged down the Adriatic coast from Gorica to Split, and the interior is flaming with revolutionary fervor. When the armies of the United Nations are ready to march through the Balkan gateway, they will find it open and the people ready for military action.

The pillars of the satellite system, in fact, are swaying. Bulgaria, the only puppet state which has not declared war on the U. S. S. R., will collapse at the first appearance of Allied soldiers at its borders. The Rumanian peasants, weary of a quisling collaborationist regime, will rise when they are given the signal. In "independent Croatia" Pavelich grows weaker. The German commander, von Horstenau, has taken control; his henchmen —the new Premier, Nikola Mandic, and the new Minister of War, General Navratil—struggle against the rising tide of rebellion.

Hitler's puppet in Serbia, General Nedich, has made two nervous visits to Hitler's headquarters in recent days. Hungary is making hasty arrangements to insure that it will not be forgotten in the future Balkan set-up. Turkey anxiously watches Soviet Russia and clings to its neutrality. The Greek guerrillas fight on, assured by their exiled king that after his return they may choose between monarchy and republic—they have already chosen.

Yugoslavia is composed of three nations—Croatia, Serbia, and Slovenia. Only in the measure that these three nations can form a social, political, and economic unit will Yugoslavia be able to participate advantageously in the post-war settlement. Under General Tito the three peoples have already united in one national movement of liberation. Two hundred and fifty thousand people—workmen, peasants, intelligentsia—have closed their ranks against the invader and thereby laid the foundation for real political unity.

The animating force of the People's Liberation Movement is the aspiration of the masses for social justice and political equality. In its manifesto the People's Movement announces as its aims and principles: (1) the liberation of the country from the occupation forces and the establishment of truly democratic rights and liberties for all peoples of Yugoslavia; (2) the inviolability of private property, with full opportunity for initiative in the economic field; (3) no radical changes to be introduced in the social structure, except that reactionary district administrations are to be replaced by others democratically elected; all social and administrative measures to be decided after the war by representatives freely elected by the people; (4) no violence or lawlessness to be tolerated; (5) full recognition of national rights for Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia, the Macedonians, and others.

The organization's political head and the chairman of its Anti-Fascist Council is Dr. Ivan Ribar, former president of the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly. He is a small, tough democratic leader, with the open, sympathetic face of a Croatian peasant. The military leader is General Tito, whose real name is Josip Broz or Brozovich. Before the war he was a worker in the railroad machine shops in Zagreb. Reports from his headquarters describe him as energetic, clear-minded, decisive, audacious. He is not a military man by training, but his deep understanding of revolutionary movements has enabled him to bring about political and military cooperation among his followers. The puppet paper *Nova Hrvatska* does not underestimate his power. "When he came to Slunj," it said, "and appeared among the Partisans, they looked upon it as the greatest event. He enjoys great political influence among them." The German military command in Yugoslavia has offered a reward of 100,000 gold marks for information leading to his capture, dead or alive.

The Anti-Fascist Council which heads the movement has sixty-five members, forty-nine of whom are Serbs, nineteen Croats, and four Moslems. The Slovenes are represented by the leaders of the Slovene Liberation Front. The Executive Committee is made up of ten members under the presidency of Ivan Ribar. The organization operates everywhere—in the liberated areas publicly, as the civil administration; in occupied territory underground.

The military organization of the movement consists of the People's Army and the Partisan units. The first is composed of large units commanded directly from army headquarters. The smaller Partisan groups are scattered over the country, and although they receive instructions from headquarters, they operate individually. Their leaders are mostly former officers of the Yugoslav army or men who served in the Spanish War, where they learned a dynamic, disciplined strategy for guerrilla warfare against the Germans.

On September 6 Dr. Ribar asked Allied headquarters in the Middle East for a status similar to that of the French Committee of National Liberation. Soon afterward the Middle East commander-in-chief, General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, in a broadcast to Yugoslav and Greek guerrillas called upon them to facilitate the departure of Italian troops garrisoned in Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia, and to avert a general uprising or any other movement which might "play the German game." Reports from Cairo say that high Allied officers are now at the headquarters of the Greek guerrillas, of General Mihailovich, and of the Yugoslav Partisans. The Stockholm newspaper *Aftontidningen* reports that Russian officers have arrived in Yugoslavia to assist the guerrillas, accompanied by political advisers who will seek to coordinate their activities with British and American plans. The Partisans have finally been recognized. Tito, however, has made it clear that Allied officers have not supplanted him in command.

According to other reports from Cairo, the Germans have now concentrated nearly 250,000 men in the Balkans, under the Balkan military expert Field Marshal Maximilian von Weichs. The German commandant in Zagreb, von Horstenau, has proclaimed the whole of Dalmatia and also Fiume—until now part of Fascist Italy—to be part of the puppet state of Croatia and has rushed German and Ustachi troops there. General Wilson recommended that the Partisan forces await further instructions from him, but they were impatient and have started large-scale operations along the whole of the Dalmatian coast and on the islands to resist the entrance of German troops. On September 9 the Free Yugoslavia radio announced that the "People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia now controls areas of that country larger than the entire area of Switzerland." And a CBS correspondent in Switzerland has reported that the Yugoslav Partisans control almost the whole northern Adriatic coast, "constituting an enormous Balkan bridgehead for the forces of the United Nations."

On September 11 the BBC said that fighting had broken out in Split, the main Dalmatian port, when the Germans tried to disarm the Italian soldiers. In the ancient streets of the Dalmatian town the Italian Bergamo Brigade, changing its name to the Garibaldi Brigade, joined the Partisans. As soon as the Italian soldiers in Slovenia and Croatia learned of Italy's surrender, they began to fraternize with the Yugoslav patriots and volunteered to cooperate with them. On September 18 a proclamation was broadcast to the Italian soldiers:

> Since for more than two years the People's Liberation Army and guerrilla detachments of Yugoslavia have been fighting, together with Allied troops, against the German invaders . . . Italian officers and soldiers, we call upon you to surrender your armaments and stores to the People's Liberation Army and to join our men in resisting the German violators. Thereby you will hasten the defeat of the enemy of our peoples—sanguinary Hitlerite fascism. . . . Long live the alliance of the Italian and Yugoslav peoples in the struggle against their common enemy—Hitlerite Germany.

The People's Liberation Movement and its army today is a coalition of all democratic and progressive parties of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia—the Croatian Peasant Party, the Serbian Democratic Party, the Independent Democratic Party, and a small minority of Communists. It is a popular front composed of Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Moslems, Catholics, Jews, and anti-fascists from all Southeastern Europe. It is trying to build a new Yugoslavia and a new Balkan order based on a commonwealth of free and equal nations.

Another element in the Yugoslav picture, in Serbia, where the Partisan movement has its roots, is General Mihailovich, Minister of War, to whom the Yugoslav government in exile has remained loyal and to whom the Partisans are strongly opposed. In order to understand Mihailovich's significance one should analyze objectively the background from which he derives.

Mihailovich is the last representative of the Chetnik warriors who during the nineteenth century fought to liberate Serbia from Turkish and Austrian rule. But he is also a product of still older Serbian traditions—those of the great medieval empire of King Dushan, during whose reign the Serbian Orthodox Church, after separating from Byzantium, identified itself with the state. The triangle of church, state, and military is symbolized by General Mihailovich and his political committee. All the old Serbian political parties, especially the Radical Serbian Party, are imbued with this ancient spirit—and that is understandable, for through it Serbia was lifted from the ashes and made free and independent.

This spirit is too static for today, when the Yugoslav people are fighting for a new and better world. The Liberation Movement is closer to the life which will emerge from this revolutionary war. The new, dynamic forces of the liberation movement look on Mihailovich and his committee as a purely military force, a sort of military dictatorship in which the state is inseparably bound up with the church, and which offers no basis for modern democracy.

The pitched battles which have taken place between Mihailovich's men and the Partisans in Yugoslavia show the tremendous chasm which exists between them. To bridge that chasm, the whole political and social structure of Serbia, of Yugoslavia, of the Balkans, and even of Europe as a whole, must undergo a complete change. Yugoslavia cannot accept the medieval conception of the state because it eliminates the possibility of union between the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and condemns, a priori, any federalist solution for Balkan problems.

BURLINGAME

If this war is not to lead Yugoslavia and all the Balkans to open revolution, the various elements within the country must come to an agreement. The Allies have already made efforts to help in that direction. But more is needed. It is imperative that Great Britain, the United States, and Russia arrive at a thorough understanding of the Balkan problem, and that they uphold the principles of democratic legitimacy which constitute the genuine, spontaneous expression of the people's will.

The poor and ill-equipped Balkan masses have been fighting valiantly, manifesting to the world their political maturity and moral strength. For centuries they have been betrayed by their own rulers and by foreign powers which have exploited them for their own imperialistic ambitions. Now they are finally approaching political and social liberation. They are inspired by a great ideal. They know what they are trying to create; they are conscious of the end of one world and the beginning of a new. No one will be able to use them as a tool. They are forging their own destiny.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IN CONNECTION with the Salerno episode it may be useful to establish certain facts. The newspapers, it will be remembered, reported that the German radio was announcing a severe defeat for the Fifth Army, the beginning of its evacuation, a new Dunkirk. Then they told us that the Germans had "tuned down." And finally they rebuked the public for having been influenced by enemy propaganda.

Now it may be useful to know that such announcements were never made in Germany and never "tuned down." In no official communiqué, in no comment published by any German newspaper or broadcast by any German station, was there one word about a defeat of the Fifth Army, its reembarcation, a Dieppe, or Dunkirk, or Gallipoli. All announcements said that for the first time an Anglo-American landing in full force was being combated, and that a furious struggle was in progress. As has been the practice ever since Stalingrad, the greatest pains were taken to give the German people no news of victory which within a few hours might be proved false.

It was not the German radio but stations in the occupied countries that gave out the Dunkirk story—Radio Paris and others. And that is quite another thing. For it is notorious that German propaganda in the occupied regions is bound by very different rules from those it observes in Germany. For some inexplicable reason it indulges outside the Reich in the most careless fantasies. Why the American and English news gatherers pay so much attention to Radio Vichy, Radio Paris, and the others is not clear. Those stations are entirely dependent on Berlin for information. Their broadcasts are either the same as those from Germany, in which case there is no need to listen to Vichy or Paris, or they contain news which, like the Dunkirk story, is not broadcast in Germany, thus showing it is not of the quality that Goebbels wishes to set before his people. When anything so dubious is repeated here, there should at least be a note saying that it is a German representation which is kept from the Germans themselves.

The course of events has made the terms of the armistice between Eisenhower and Badoglio fairly unimportant. But not in Germany. On the contrary, Goebbels is using them as one of his principal themes. Though the document has never been published by its signatories, the Germans claim to know its contents. They have disclosed what they allege to be its "thirteen points" and choose to call them "the most shameful degradation, the most pitiless enslavement, ever known in the history of the world." In short, the armistice shows how a people fares when in the hour of peril it is deprived of its great leader! As Goebbels expressed it on September 17 in his weekly article:

> The Italian example will not attract us Germans but rather scare us off from anything similar. We look on it as a school exercise in how things may not be done. The consequences that followed the betrayal of a great leader of the people by the Roman clique around the king are for Germans a lesson and a warning. They have opened the eyes of the most stupid and most frivolous. In the flood of letters we have received in the past days are some whose writers offer a repentent apology for having given way to discouragement at the time of this or that calamity. A university professor wrote us that though he is a peaceable man, after he had read of the conditions of surrender imposed on the Italians he took a solemn vow to beat up with his own hands anyone who even by intimation ranged himself against victory. So think all people in Germany today.

Fortunately there can be found in Germany, so Goebbels says, no parallel to the "perfidious Italian gang who misused their high offices in obedience to that false cleverness which seeks to evade danger and just because of that perishes." And fortunately Germany is a republic. There is no "degenerate court society" to overthrow a great leader "because it has the blind delusion it can get along without him." And there is no king:

> If one would blame *Fascismus* at all, it is for having believed in the loyalty of a king whose throne was saved by the March on Rome in 1922 but who like most kings in recent history rewarded the strong political line of his faithful servant by betraying him and going over to the enemy. Kings are not usually distinguished by the virtue of gratitude. Wilhelm I, whose faithfulness to Bismarck made him an exception to the rule, was for that reason called Wilhelm der Grosse.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Here Is China

BATTLE HYMN OF CHINA. By Agnes Smedley. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

WHAT to praise most in this deeply passionate and sincere book I do not know. There have been other sincere books that have purported to deal with China's struggle; yet looking back on them one sees that sincerity can be exercised about abstractions and their shadows. Beside the sense of reality, beside the utter nakedness of the land and the people described in "Battle Hymn of China," all but one even of the novels on China merely smoke a little as they fade out. (I except only "Man's Fate," which still remains brilliant, with the false discoloring brilliance of fluorescent lighting.) And, to compare it with another fine work of reportage, in sheer informativeness Miss Smedley's book exceeds even Edgar Snow's still invaluable "Red Star Over China." For it is an army forming itself in campaign which the author describes in the superb eyewitness chapters of her Sixth Book. Having read "Battle Hymn" one dismisses with an incredulous shout all the stuff that the "Far Eastern experts," including most of those writing in liberal magazines, are handing out about China's future. Listen, the diseased dragon of China's past is spewing green poison over the face of her dying present! It is, indeed, a tragic book, a powerful, heart-breaking book Miss Smedley has written, and yet a glorious courage and revolutionary determination burn through even its starkest pages.

I had taken voluminous notes in preparation for this review. They had to do with such matters as the evolution of the "new" woman, the Sianfu incident, Western appeasement, and the one lonely mention of an old classical poem. The silk-working girls of the south are notorious throughout China as Lesbians. Why have they been given this name? Miss Smedley obtained permission to travel up-river on one of the steamers of the Canton Silk Guild. She was accompanied on much of her months-long trip by a young whippersnapper of a silk expert who revered the fat-chopped merchants of the Guild. The girls jeered at him as they sat around the steaming vats, amid the stench of cocoons, their parboiled fingers twinkling as they worked with incredible speed. They were Communists, he said, and they had certainly gained the ten-hour day by means of a strike. They scorned marriage, the little man said—as one whose contribution to womanly happiness had been refused. If these "Lesbian" girls were forcibly married off by their parents, then the girls often used a part of their wages to bribe their husbands to take a concubine. And in truth the government had just issued a decree forbidding this disrespectful practice. "They're too rich, that's the root of the trouble," the silk expert said. "They earn as much as eleven dollars a month and become proud and contemptuous." In short, they reject Confucius and they have found a way to escape the intolerable degradation of the old-time marriage.

Then the Sianfu incident. Miss Smedley was in the City of Western Peace at the time. Chiang Kai-shek was captured on a mountainside in his nightshirt and carried pickaback into captivity to spare his bruised feet. Old-time chivalry and the interests of the struggle against Japan—which Chiang at that time refused to undertake—caused his captor, Marshal Chang, to release him. Whereupon Chiang threw his unusually generous captor into prison, where to the bitter resentment of all Manchurian patriots he still lies. Then about appeasement. Until Pearl Harbor the International Red Cross committees which controlled the distribution of all foreign aid would supply no drugs to the Chinese army. That would have been contrary to some devilishly respectable law or other, even though the Chinese soldiers may have been wounded by war materials sold to Japan, quite licitly, by American capitalists.

But most of these themes had to be put aside because as I write on this morning of September 8 the newspapers report that in Shantung the Communists have scandalously revolted against the Kuomintang and have made war against its Peace Preservation Corps in that region. Now any man in his senses who had the least knowledge of Chiang's past and the Kuomintang's social content would be suspicious of an outfit with a name like Peace Preservation Corps. Considering that China is at war with Japan and that Shantung is held chiefly by guerrillas organized by the Communists, one would take such a name to mean that the corps was an anti-Communist political police. And not merely anti-Communist but anti-democratic also. As long as Chungking considers such a movement as the National Salvation League dangerous, as long as it permits no trade unions to be organized and forbids and persecutes the popular anti-Japan committees and seeks to lay its dead hand on the industrial cooperatives—which were originally financed with British, not Russian money—as long, I say, as bureaucracy and corruption and sheer medievalism cramp the Chinese people's effort, it is to be expected that the Kuomintang will fear the popular guerrillas.

But it so happens that Miss Smedley gives an abundance of facts on the "suspended civil war." She spent many, many months with the Fourth Army, she took part in its political troubles, in which, she says, she nearly broke her political neck. She was, with others, responsible for the fact that this Communist fighting force came to possess the first regular military medical service, despite the stubborn opposition of its Communist commissar, Hsiang Ying. Everything she writes about the Fourth Army rings as true as a silver dollar. There were troubles in that body. Chiang, or his Minister of War, took care to insure that by appointing an ex-party member, Yeh Ting, as its commander. Hsiang Ying, whose enemies said of him that "intrigue and craftiness had become part of his nature," notwithstanding his suspicion of the new doctors, did more than conspire against his chief. He built the most effective and intellectually enlightened force in the enemy rear. Compare the Fourth with the opium-smuggling anti-Communist Fiftieth next door and you begin to believe

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LIFE IS TOO SHORT

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that in China the honest man is left with no real political alternative. And, the author insists, the Fiftieth itself was an army in transition. There were far worse than this in the field.

But there it is. The Fourth was a fine fighting corps, but Chungking had not supplied wages, arms, or ammunition for three years! It lived and fought on materials stolen from the enemy. And its most implacable enemies were the saboteurs in office. Nor did official opposition stop at sabotage. On one occasion in 1940 a Chungking army surrounded and massacred three to four thousand of the Fourth Army guerrillas, hospitalized wounded and unwounded alike. The reason? It goes right to the heart of the contemporary problem, the problem not merely of China but of the entire world. The Chinese guerrillas persist in making contact with the people. They need to do this, for as Chu Teh said long ago, a partisan force must move among the people "as a fish swims in water." That is the inescapable logic of guerrilla warfare, just as contact with the French people should be the logic of our effort, and is not. Since the guerrilla forces are cut off from draft recruiting, they must recruit for themselves. Quite naturally they grow. Chungking, having tried to fix the strength of the Communist armies, objects to their growth. Hence it will neither arm nor nourish them. Fearing the future influence of the Communists, Chungking prefers to sabotage the war against Japan.

Like this reviewer you may have seen something of war and revolution. Nevertheless, a new gravity and a new clarity will possess your mind, I believe, as you read this Battle Hymn. China is dying because its decayed landlord culture desperately needs the revolution now suspended. There is no other route, no liberal way, for there is no genuine liberal movement. There are revolution and reaction and between them a few weak tendencies and a handful of noble and lonely individuals.

To have done with all the piff and the paff of propriety, reaction is now in power. Miss Smedley herself may protest, but her book moved me to an indignation that gave me more encouragement than any book has done for a long time now. The fighting multitudes of China were dying of misery, of untended wounds, when Miss Smedley served at the front. There were only a few hundred doctors in the Chinese army. Why? The old tradition was that educated men were not to be drafted, and doctors were educated men. Chungking therefore allowed them to nurse their private practices, while a few heroic volunteers sank under the avalanche of work at the front. Nor was it merely a matter of the rich and the corrupt. The tradition also stands hard against new things. There were no skeletons for the use of medical lecturers. Chungking and popular superstition would not allow their use, for the disembodied spirits might never find rest. So Dr. Gung and Dr. Chang, while the radio played Beethoven's Fifth, planned competitive graveyard raids. Dr. Chang, a woman, eventually came back with a sack of bones. Her remark will put you down among those far-off hills of China, "She was from my native town of Wusih and she died of tuberculosis," Dr. Chang said of the bones. "I could tell because the body had been wrapped and the orifices stuffed with silk wool. The people of Wusih think this prevents the disease from escaping."

Italy has just surrendered, and like everyone else I want to go out and celebrate joyfully. Yet the force of this book keeps my imagination in China. And that is the function of a book. How rare are those which fulfil their functions one-tenth as well as "Battle Hymn of China." RALPH BATES

Captain Rhodes and Others

SWORD OF BONE. By Captain Anthony Rhodes. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

LOG BOOK. By Frank Laskier. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.

THE LADY AND THE TIGERS. By Olga S. Greenlaw. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

ONLY the British seem to produce such shrewd, lovable, incredible people as those who appear in "Sword of Bone"; and not the least of these fabulous people is the author himself. Captain Rhodes went through the entire British fiasco in France—into the "phony war" of 1939 and out through the definitely non-phony Dunkirk. At no time did he care for war, nor did his pals. They did not have the instincts of world conquerors; they were more interested in requisitioning (stealing) a bottle of champagne from a French cellar. Throughout the whole horror of the calamitous campaign Captain Rhodes kept a humorous, urbanely observant eye on the behavior of himself and those about him.

He was on the beach at Dunkirk, along with thousands of helpless men dotting the shore as far as the eye could see. They pawed holes in the sand, like children at play, seeking futile shelter against the Stukas that roared just above, bombing and machine-gunning them. "Once again," writes Captain Rhodes, "I felt that had our minds not been clouded with petty doubts and fears, it would have been a most exhilarating performance." Those "doubts and fears"—who else could have called them "petty"?

No world-shaking revelations are in this book; from a news point of view it is an old story. Yet it is a wholly fresh story because it is the mental history of a man who loathed war, who loved life in a highly civilized way, and who still was a good soldier and kept his head in the midst of unimaginable terror. People say England always wins the last battle; men like Captain Rhodes are the reason why. People might add that it is a pleasure to live in the world with England after the last battle is over. Again, men like Captain Rhodes are the reason why. Certainly this soldier-author is a pleasure to read.

Frank Laskier is an utterly different sort of Englishman, a life-long merchant seaman who survived three sinkings in the Atlantic and suffered the loss of a leg. "Log Book" is his brief account of the life of a supposedly mythical merchant seaman named Jack whose career apparently paralleled Laskier's in many respects. Jack, like the author, went to sea when he was fifteen. Jack progressed from a cocky, maladjusted boy into a drunkard, a fighting bully, and a thief who served two years in prison. He kept returning to the sea, because that was all he could do. His heart was still full of bitterness when war came, but he didn't shirk the perils of the Atlantic. "I and the rest of the bad boys . . . we'll

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JOHN DAY

fight your war for you. We'll win it. But, my God, there'll be some interesting little ceremonies afterward. We'll win the peace."

The unlovely story of this supposedly mythical seaman is told in staccato fashion, with great economy of words and with considerable power. For more than a year now the author has been talking to workmen in shipyards and munitions factories. In that role he no doubt casts the same sort of spell over his audience as did reformed sinners in America who went on evangelistic circuits. Perhaps he himself derives some of the same psychological satisfactions.

On the other side of the world Olga Greenlaw was in the midst of the aerial fighting over China. She was the wife of one of the American Volunteer Group pilots, the only woman among the Flying Tigers. To her the war was just a big adventure, and she is amusingly chatty about it. One of the high points in her lusty story is her not too charitable account of the visit of Clare Boothe Luce to Kunming. Mrs. Luce breezed in and immediately mistook Mrs. Greenlaw—daughter of a Kansas mining engineer—for a Russian adventuress. Mrs. Luce was corrected. Mrs. Luce introduced herself as the noted playwright and part-owner of famous magazines in America. "It had been some time," says Mrs. Greenlaw, "since any of us had worried about theaters or even magazines." Finally Mrs. Luce went away without saying either thank-you or goodby, and subsequently wrote about Mrs. Greenlaw as a White Russian.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Fiction in Review

IN HER latest collection of short stories, "The Wide Net" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50), Eudora Welty has developed her technical virtuosity to the point where it outweighs the uses to which it is put, and her vision of horror to the point of nightmare. Of course even in her earlier work Miss Welty had a strong tendency toward stylism and "fine" writing; she liked to move toward the mythical, and she had a heart for decay and an eye for the Gothic in detail. But she also had a reliable and healthy wit, her dialogue could be as normally reportorial of its world as the dialogue of Ring Lardner, and for the most part she knew how to keep performance subservient to communication; she told her story instead of dancing it, and when she saw horror, it could be the clear day-to-day horror of actual life, not only the horror of dreams. There was plenty of surrealist paraphernalia, if you will, in a story like The Petrified Man—the falling hair of the customer, the presence of the three-year-old boy amid the bobbie-pins and sexual confidences of the beauty parlor, the twins in a bottle at the freak show, or even the petrified man himself. But compare to The Petrified Man the story Asphodel from Miss Welty's current volume, with its Doric columns and floating muslins, its pomegranate stains and blackberry cordial and its "old goats and young," and you will recognize the fancy road up which Miss Welty has turned her great talents.

The title story of Miss Welty's new volume is its best story but not typical. An account of a river-dragging party which starts out to recover the body of a supposed suicide but forgets its mission in the joys of the occasion, The Wide Net has its share of the elements of a tour de force, but it has more communicated meaning than the rest of the stories in the book, and it best fuses content and method. Of the six other stories Livvie is the only one which I like at all, and the only story, in addition to The Wide Net, which I feel I understood. Yet the volume as a whole has tremendous emotional impact, despite its obscurity. However, this seems to me to be beside the point, for the fear that a story or a picture engenders is likely to be in inverse proportion to its rational content: witness the drawings of children or psychotics, or most of surrealist art; and Miss Welty employs to good effect the whole manual of ghostliness—wind and storm, ruined buildings, cloaks, horses' hooves on a lonely highway, fire and moonlight and people who live and ride alone. But the evocation of the mood of horror or of a dreamlike atmosphere has become an end in itself, and if, for each story, there is a point of departure in narrative, so that I can report, for instance, that First Love is about a deaf-and-dumb boy who falls in love with Aaron Burr, or that Asphodel is about a tyrannical half-mad Southern gentlewoman, or that A Still Moment is a legend of Audubon, still the stories themselves stay with their narrative no more than a dance, say, stays with its argument. This, indeed, is the nature of "The Wide Net": it is a book of ballets, not of stories; even the title piece is a *pastorale macabre.*

Now I happen to think that to make a ballet out of words is a perversion of their best function, and I dislike—because it breeds exhibitionism and insincerity—the attitude toward narrative which allows an author to sacrifice the precise meaning of language to its rhythms and patterns. The word sincerity has lost caste in the criticism of serious writing, I know. But this seems to me unfortunate. We live in a very crafty literary period in which what aims to be art but is only artful is too often mistaken for the real thing. When an author says "Look at me" instead of "Look at it," there is insincerity, as I see it. The test of sincerity is wasted in the sphere of popular art, where criticism has sent it; most popular art is nothing if not sincere, and where it is not, it is usually because it is aping the manners of its betters. In these new stories Miss Welty's prose constantly calls attention to herself and away from her object. When she writes, ". . . Jenny sat there . . . in the posture of a child who is appalled at the stillness and unsurrender of the still and unsurrendering world," or "He walked alone, slowly through the silence, with the sturdy and yet dreamlike walk of the orphan," she is not only being falsely poetic, she is being untrue. How does the walk of an orphan differ in its sturdiness and in its dream quality from the walk of a child with two parents? How would you even explain "unsurrender" to a child, and wouldn't a child be appalled precisely by the *surrender* of the world, if the concept could reach him? This is the sin of pride—this self-conscious contriving—endemic to a whole generation of writers since Katherine Mansfield and most especially to the women of that generation.

Somewhere between Chekhov and Katherine Mansfield the short story certainly went off its trolley. I think it is Miss Mansfield who must be held responsible for the extreme infusion of subjectivism and private sensibility into the short fiction of our day. In Miss Welty's case the subjectivism takes the form, as I say, of calling attention to herself by fine writing; in stories for a magazine like the *New Yorker*, which happily has no taste for fine writing, the form it takes is rather more subtle—the calling of attention to oneself for one's fine moral perceptions. This is a point I shall develop next week in discussing several other current collections of short stories, including those of Sylvia Townsend Warner.

I have spoken of the ballet quality of Miss Welty's stories: in this connection I am reminded of the painter Dali and—via Dali—of the relationship between the chic modern department store and much of modern fiction. (One day I should like, in fact, to trace what I see to be the direct line of descent from Miss Mansfield to Bonwit Teller.) Although the suspicion intrudes itself that Dali works with his tongue in his cheek, Miss Welty's dedication is of course unquestionable: this should be said at once. Still, the resemblance in performance and the subtle cultural kinship between the two is striking. Both Dali and Miss Welty are mythologists and creators of legend, both take their metaphor from dreams, and yet both are devoted naturalists; and each has a mother-country—Dali, Spain; Miss Welty, the Natchez country—whose atmosphere and superstition permeate his work and whose confines are determining beyond the power of travel or maturer experience to enlarge them. Rather more suggestive, however, than these similarities is their common service to what amounts to a myth of modern femininity.

For if it seemed a strange day for both art and commercialism when Bonwit Teller engaged Dali to do its windows, actually it was not so revolutionary as it looked. In the making of modern myths, the American department store has been at least abreast of the American artist. The chic department-store mannequin is surely one of the great metaphors of our time; the displays of merchandise one of the great abstractions, based upon naturalism, of our art. But more fundamental, we recall the slogan created a few years ago by Bonwit Teller, "Have you that cherished look?" and we realize that it was the department store which stated most unmistakably (so unmistakably, indeed, that the slogan was dropped) the modern woman's dream of herself. Here in all its economic nakedness is the narcissism which is so widely supported in current female writing, including Miss Welty's. This mythologizing of the feminine self, whether by means of clothes or prose, is as far from femininity as from feminism.

There is now running in the magazines an advertisement for a Schiaparelli product, "Shocking Radiance," the illustration painted by Dali. "Shocking Radiance," it appears, is four oils—for the body, the face, the eyelids, and the lips—and to promote its sale Dali has painted a Venus rising from her shell, attended by a trio of sprites, one of whom pours a libation on her breast, while another holds before her the mirror of her self-regard. Even at the risk of satirizing Miss Welty's stories, I suggest a study of this Schiaparelli-Dali advertisement to see the *reductio ad absurdum* of the elements in Miss Welty's latest work which have no place in such a serious and greatly endowed writer.

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THE FALL CROP OF BETTER BOOKS

will be reviewed, discussed, advertised in *The Nation's* Fall Book Number, to appear on October 16.

Advertisers are hereby notified that space reservations for this literary issue must be placed not later than October 4, and that final copy OK's are required by Friday, October 8.

Advertising Department

THE NATION
55 Fifth Avenue New York 3, N. Y.

Restrictions Lifted
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to Overseas Armed Forces

In the past, written requests were required from members of the armed forces overseas before magazine gift subscriptions could be mailed to foreign countries.

The army now approves the acceptance of Christmas gift subscriptions without such requests. The Post Office Department requests that they be placed before October 15, and definitely not beyond the Christmas period.

We urge you to place your gift subscriptions for your friends in the overseas armed forces at your earliest convenience. Our special rate to servicemen remains unchanged—$3 a year.

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DRAMA

FOR some time now Broadway has been going through all the motions of beginning a new season, but so far the score, in terms of quality, must be set down as no hits, no runs, and a series of egregious errors. "The Army Play-by-Play," which made the best showing, really doesn't count because it was scheduled for only two weeks. Neither do the revivals of such operettas as "Blossom Time" and "The Merry Widow," which I haven't seen but which are, I gather, adequate but not inspiring exercises in resuscitation. "The music is nice, of course." As for the revivals of vaudeville—this is beginning to sound like the annual report of a life-saving station—one, "Bright Lights," died immediately, and if Frank Fay can keep "Laugh Time" going it will be due to that production's rather shopworn reflection of the glory that was vaudeville, its large infusion of the spirit of radio, and the attitude of the theater audience, which has reached a new high in numbers and what seems to me a new level in toleration. Of this more later.

The only new "legitimate" plays now current are "The Two Mrs. Carrolls," which I have mentioned before, Elmer Rice's "A New Life" (Royale Theater), and "Land of Fame" (Belasco Theater). The Rice play, which is supposed to be serious, is difficult to discuss seriously. It is the Grand Hotel sort of thing which Mr. Rice has done before, only this time it is a grand hospital. Mr. Rice knows how to keep a play moving, and the hospital background is expertly reproduced, even to the bawling of newborn infants, which is authentic. Betty Field, who is very decorative and takes her acting seriously, manages to carry off her part as the young mother with dignity despite rather terrible odds. For, as everybody knows, she is called upon to simulate the throes of childbirth in public, and Mr. Rice has not hesitated to pepper her delivery-room monologue with remarks at which the audience is supposed to laugh—and does. The scene must be set down as sheer and pretty low-cost exploitation. Quite aside from any question of taste, the natural functions, in my perhaps old-fashioned opinion, do not qualify as dramatic material, but, again, the audience seemed to have no objection. The cast as a whole is well chosen except for the husband, who is conventionally handsome and looks like a wooden doll made up by Max Factor. I kept wondering what she saw in *him.* The radical who knows what it's all about and expresses his point of view in the most simple-minded left-wing terms is uncannily well represented by a young man who might have just come from a fraction meeting. My favorite character—his lines were few—was the old trouper played by a genuine old trouper, Walter Greaza. The only really good scene in the play is the quarrel between husband and wife. "A New Life," even as theater, strikes a low tone, and its social comment, as I have already indicated, is not worth comment. "Land of Fame," which deals with Greek resistance to the Nazis, is surely well meant; but it is so shallow and stagy and amateurish a representation of the deep and continuing agony of Europe that I had to leave after the first act.

Broadway, then, presents a rather sad spectacle at this moment. I second the remark of a talent scout who saw "Othello" in New Haven. "It's a delight," he told *Variety,* "to see Shakespeare for a change after wading through what's on Broadway."

Yet the Rice play and the Bergner revival are drawing good houses—it is too early to tell about "Land of Fame"—and "Laugh Time" is going strong. Which brings me back to the audiences that keep such productions alive. War prosperity has increased their numbers. The increase has coincided with an acute war-time shortage of good scripts, and most people seeking an evening's entertainment would rather go to a mediocre play than to no play at all. But that doesn't quite account for the apparent attitude of audiences. That attitude is one of passivity amounting to apathy punctuated by indulgent applause at the most feeble attempts at humor or dramatic effect, as if the mere intention were enough. Watching them, I can hardly believe that any play was ever, in the good old phrase, hissed off the stage.

My private theory, which may be wrong, is that the radio audience has finally swamped the theater audience. The radio audience has been conditioned over a period of years to accept, partly by default, bit-by-bit entertainment from which it expects no more than an occasional laugh or titillation and which absorbs only part of its attention. The movie audience is noted for its passivity, but the radio makes far fewer demands than the film.

What effect this extreme toleration will have on the theater I don't profess to know. So far I doubt whether any good plays have gone unwritten or unproduced because the public seems to be satisfied with mediocre ones; but certainly mediocre ones will go on being staged if there is a market for them. This is not a happy prospect; but perhaps the next curtain going up will dispel it.

MARGARET MARSHALL

ART

Feeble War Art

PAINTERS, like writers, have been accompanying the troops as war correspondents. Recently 150 of their "reports" have been exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum, and now these works are to be sent out on a cross-country tour lasting well into 1944. After that the pictures—which were first commissioned by *Life* magazine—will be donated to the United States government, probably to become part of some permanent war memorial yet to be erected.

The show includes ten painters, of whom Tom Lea is the most ambitious. Lea attempted a lengthy sequence on the last day of the aircraft-carrier Hornet: anxious patrols, bombs ripping decks, water gushing into the hold, survivors dropping off the sides. A great assignment it was, but the result is puny. For Mr. Lea never was moved by this catastrophe. He meticulously finished his silverpoints and polished his canvases—conversing, as it were, in a monotone. Yet he is more impressive than Peter Hurd. Mr. Hurd took a lot of varnish to say that English skies were filled with aircraft, that gunners or pilots sat rigid in their planes, that old castles looked pretty on the greensward. But the tension, fire, and staunchness of the combat are missing. Perhaps they were covered by the varnish. Paul Sample was more sparing with his water-color wash—so sparing, indeed, that his flying fields, camp cooks, and religious services have the aspect of a rather depleted vitality. Edward Laning confected troop trains that slip from the tracks because of their poor drawing. And the color is ashen. Aaron Bohrod's "Idle Hour Park," though populated by soldiers, has more the carnival than the martial note. Fletcher Martin tried very hard, in "Service Club," "Bizerte Ruins," and "Hill No. 609" to say something about the war. A lesson in composition is the only result.

More acceptable, perhaps because more animated, are the water-color "notes" of Barse Miller. Soldiers on guard at tunnels, young chaps lugging up their duffle bags, New Year's Eve in a barracks—these do convey some flicker of spontaneity. Mr. Miller is not adept in his medium, but sometimes he grasps for the lively anecdote and almost gets it. Lieutenant Commander Anton Otto Fischer, well-known illustrator for the *Saturday Evening Post,* did three more of his customary marine depictions. They have knowledgeability. And Floyd Davis, another successful illustrator, actually laughed and had a satiric moment or two. His tumbling scene in a USO canteen is almost mad enough to be good, and he seldom fails to suggest a direct *ocular* experience. This was the limitation of almost all the others: they too often gave the impression that they had worked from photographs, in effect, merely tinting them. Such pains are useless, for the camera does better at recording. Hence, too, the general lack of emotion in these reports. They convey little, all too little, of war's calamity, grief, heroism, humor, depth, and generosity. Generally they are cold, noncommittal, dead. If that is good reporting, let us have newsreels.

Why such works should get the support of our museums is still more difficult to explain. Certainly they have nothing to do with art. Nor can it be said that war breaks and severs all art. Constantin Guys long ago, in the Crimean fighting, greatly surpassed these feeble recorders. Our own Winslow Homer sent back many a live, vivid report from the Wilderness campaign. Even Frederick Remington dashed and shouted as he depicted the troops in Cuba. War has produced capable delineators in the past—why not today? And why don't the museums seek them out? JEROME MELLQUIST

RECORDS

COLUMBIA has issued, for September, Serkin's performance of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Opus 27 No. 2 (commonly referred to as the "Moonlight"), which was recorded here (Set X-237, $2.50); and the performance of Weber's Konzertstück for piano and orchestra by Casadesus and an orchestra under Bigot, which was recorded abroad and issued here a number of years ago, and which is now featured as Columbia's record classic of the month (Set X-59, $2.50).

I have the impression that if I heard Serkin's performance of the sonata in a concert hall I would find it well conceived as a whole, though I would be disturbed by occasional crudities of inflection and sentimental retardations and bumpy unevennesses of touch in the first movement. I have to put it in this tentative way because I have to judge by what comes off the records; and the upper range of the recording is so limited or weak that many high sounds in the music are not reproduced at all, while the lower sounds that are reproduced are dull, muffled, and clouded and confused by noise, grit, and—on side three—rattling vibration. With some recordings the defects revealed by wide-range machines have been concealed by limited-range machines; but I have tried this one on everything and found no machine poor enough to make it sound good.

One of the machines I tried it on is in the home of a friend—an editor of a mass-circulation magazine—who exclaimed: "A record company may think it's smart to sell a recording like that if people are willing to buy it; but it's stupid. Someone buys it; and he knows that what he hears must be good because it's Beethoven—the "Moonlight" Sonata — Serkin — Columbia; but he knows also that what he hears is something he doesn't enjoy. All right—it's good music, and good music is not for him; and a potential buyer of records of Beethoven has been destroyed. Multiply him by thousands; and that recording has done enormous damage to the record business and the cause of good music." (If Columbia thinks this is one of the stories that journalists invent to make their points it may have my friend's name.)

Weber's Konzertstück is a virtuoso display piece, but one with passages of delicate charm and loveliness; and Casadesus plays it with brilliance, grace, and finish. But the set is a poor choice for this particular month, since the old foreign recording reproduces the sound of the piano with brightness and clarity and cleanness and quiet background that show up the defects of Columbia's own recording of the Serkin performance. Even the surfaces are quieter, though the records were pressed from the same material and by the same machines as the Serkin records—indicating that the processing of the recording itself had been done better.

A California reader who recently heard all of Beethoven's quartets played by the Budapest Quartet at Mills College writes that "it has been the major musical experiences of our lives," and continues with some interesting observations. For one thing, though she can report that one person stood up most of two hundred miles in crowded trains to hear the performances, she is shocked by the fact that so many who profess to be music-lovers did not attend the concerts; and "while I am not sufficiently naive to suppose that one finds many music-lovers on the music faculties of universities, I was nevertheless surprised to see only one member of the music department here at Berkeley [i. e., the University of California] at only one concert." Then, the reassembled London String Quartet also gave a series of concerts at the University of California, of which the first was "a very sorry affair. . . . I realize that they have not been playing together steadily, and that this makes a great difference, but it is hard to excuse an almost complete lack of unity and two downright sour entrances by Primrose. By the third concert they were in much better form and had much of the style and subtlety that we remembered. I mention this only because I was surprised to notice that the audience went quite wild with applause, forcing one to the conclusion that there is nothing compelling a musician to try to give a good performance except his own integrity, and this must make for a certain cynicism on the part of performers.

"It makes for sadness, rather than cynicism, on the part of the listener, because we, and the composer too, are at the mercy of the performer. This is what is so particularly wonderful about the Budapest—they are such a perfect medium between ourselves and Beethoven. . . . What Beethoven thought and wrote, what the Budapest reads and plays, what conception they have of what conception Beethoven had, what sounds reach us, how amazingly all these unite to bring us the music at last." And feeling presumptuous for saying anything about the musicianship of the Budapest group she adds: "But when I read the local reviews and see the rave notices about the Budapest, and the identical phrases used the next day to describe a mediocre performance by the London, I feel that someone must come out flatly, if not in print, at least in typescript, and say once and for all that there is no other musical organization approaching the Budapest Quartet in any way at all."

I've said that in print; and I say it again. B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

"Music of the Spheres"

Dear Sirs: Last night, while we were listening to the news that Taormina had been taken, the air was filled with an immense, deep vibration. Sometimes I have thought of Goethe's "music of the spheres," but in a pleasant sense. The vibration with its deep low note seemed to fill the room and grip you, as if it were an uncontrollable muscle of gigantic size or an electric current which rendered you powerless. I went out into our little back garden, which contains no more than an acacia tree and, usually, along the wall, a frieze of cats, and which is more or less surrounded by high houses so that the sky space is limited. I was looking for planes in the twilight sky, hardly expecting to see them. And then I saw one flying low, pounding heavily along, and then another. And another. Now and again a small light flashed. Now and again I mistook a star for a light. The heavy planes flew on slowly, relentlessly, heading south, always with this tremendous, vibrating hum—though hum isn't a big enough word for it. I watched them for some time, listened to a crescendo and diminuendo that were so intermingled as to become almost level. It was extraordinarily sinister, and the house-tops helped to make it more so. As it grew darker, I thought the gigantic procession must have come to an end, but then along the skyline of the houses yet another emerged very slowly, and then another until the skyline itself seemed to be broken by bits detaching themselves from it. The emergence of each plane from the solid mass of houses was as impersonal as fate and as terrible. And all the time the frightful vibration went on which seemed to reach from our little garden and the acacia tree to the very top of the sky.

The stern purpose of this endless procession of bombers, their deliberate slowness, the heaviness of it all, hardly bear thinking about. I thought of panic-stricken peoples and the reduction of beautiful things to nothingness or worse. And then I thought of the men in the planes, some of whom would certainly never come back. They must know this and they must wonder which of them it was to be. And I remembered the bombing of London, how we had sat in that very same house and how the inside of it had fallen about us and how a great iron girder from a near-by garage had been flung into the little garden and instead of hitting the house had lodged in the acacia tree. And I thought how the Italians—for it seemed as though it was to be the Italians again—had a few days ago transferred British prisoners to Germany and even how Mussolini had expressed his joy at the honor of being allowed to help in the bombing of London.

It was a long list of indictments, quite sufficient to do more than justify that long, fateful procession of bombers that were filling the whole sky with their progress. And I felt that many of us will have to remember that we are out to stop something awful; the moment the enemy cries out and is panic-stricken and the world is made horrible for him, we shall have to remember this very hard. When the quiet summer night with the thousand noises of little living things that make for peace and loveliness is broken by that sinister vibration, we have to remember the devotion of the lives which go to stop the awful thing that has come upon the world; we mustn't be sentimental—the English are horribly sentimental, and they have no memories; we must be strictly and sternly just. It is a good thing not to shut ourselves away from the fearfulness of retributive bombing but to face up to it, to realize that it is awful, even to see that deadly procession going out on its terrible mission, still more to know, in our own bodies, what that procession is going to do—in short, each and every one of us must shoulder some responsibility for a terrible act which, in this uncivilized world of ours, seems the only means of preventing something even more dreadful.

I couldn't stop thinking about the men in those bombers last night. And the uplift one experiences when—only too rarely—the news comes the next morning: "All our bombers returned safely." I think one of the things which warm our hearts most is the big part your airmen are taking in this most heroic of ventures. I didn't know how we could bear the blitz, but it was quite possible to do so. I can only imagine that airmen, equally, can face an almost unthinkable situation.

MURIEL HARRIS

London, August 17

What's Wrong?

Dear Sirs: Your issues of August 21 and 28 have stirred me to join the slowly mounting protests in "Letters to the Editors" coming from men in the service.

First, I must join Dr. Niebuhr and Pfc. E. W. in their critical attitude toward service men in general. It is not to be denied that they are "good fellows," yet many are totally lacking in sound moral principles or in any philosophy, sound or unsound, by which to govern their many relations with their fellow-man.

I have been in the service eighteen months, have spent eleven of them over seas. I have seen many men in all branches of the service, and in spite of their vacuous conversations, it would seem that many of them have simply failed to realize their full potentialities. They are mentally alert and keen, but their energies are expended on nothing. This would seem an indictment of our educational system.

It has been amusing—or should the word be disheartening?—to see so many men, looking for something to read, pick up my copy of *The Nation*, thumb through a few pages, and then pass on. But why should I expect them to read it? Men who can spend hours bragging about their amorous conquests and their staggering capacities for liquor—some put a tank car to shame—cannot be expected to have a moment for sober and serious reading. Why is it that the war has not jarred them loose from indifference and shallow thinking? It still amazes me that men who complain about being away from home and families, men who have spent uncertain hours in fox holes, still can give no thought as to why all this has happened, or why so many must die.

Mine has been a desire to be hopeful for a better post-war world, to be able to see some justification for the small sacrifices I have so far made. Yet, of what avail are the few weak voices of brotherhood and international good-will against the ignorant howl of the pitifully uninformed mass of my fellow-countrymen? Will I be called "Un-American," "unpatriotic" if I venture to say that, at times, I am ashamed of my country? Suppose, for example, that I had to explain past and present foreign policy to a Spanish republican or to a Chinese guerrilla. What could I say? How can I honestly have hope for a better future when so many political acts of my country give the lie to all our fine words? Can I feel other than discouraged and disappointed in the future which looms uglier day by day?

Italy has capitulated. Is my waning patriotism to be snuffed out with Mr. Hull's "blessings on thee little man"? Shall we bolster the discredited House of Savoy and then condemn the Soviet Union for its lack of enthusiasm? Or does the word that Russia has concurred in the armistice give reason to hope for better days?

A BEWILDERED SEABEE

Somewhere in California, September 12

Presidents and Pressures

Dear Sirs: I have just read I. F. Stone's article, The President and Sumner Welles, in the issue of September 4 with great interest, but find myself somewhat at a loss to understand the position taken by Mr. Stone. It seems to me he has placed a large part of the blame for the present situation involving Welles and the State Department squarely on the shoulders of the President and let it go at that. There is little evidence of perception behind the scenes, or at any rate, a sublime ignorance of the governmental forces which might have motivated Mr. Roosevelt's actions. I view this attempt to lay the blame at the door of the White House, and of the White House *alone*, as a dangerous new "tack" among liberals which is potential dynamite, playing directly into the hands of the anti-Roosevelt forces.

First of all, the title itself indicates the incorrect emphasis which Stone has given to the State Department affair: The *President* and Sumner Welles. It is not Roosevelt who should be taken to task but rather the obstinate, recalcitrant, and in some instances out-and-out hostile members of Congress who have hung like dead weights around the President's neck. Admittedly Roosevelt has moved toward the right within the past few months—as evidenced by his support of Hull against Welles, his blast at Pearson, his attack on Wallace, and his indignant repudiation of columnist Samuel Grafton and the OWI. But these are only external symptoms of the great internal pressures being brought to bear on the Chief Executive in a time of crisis. Instead of abandoning the ship of state and its skipper—as the article implies by the reference to "we old-pro-Rooseveltians"—Stone and the rest of us would do well to start cleaning the barnacles off the hull. There are two simple expedients at the present time: (1) to continue support of FDR and his win-the-war policies, and (2) to expose more and more the vicious Congressional sabotage now going on within the government.

Wasn't it *The Nation* itself which, a few months back, published an exclusive article on the deliberate efforts of antagonistic, isolationist, anti-Roosevelt Congressmen to "gum up the works"? Doesn't Stone read his own magazine?

L. A. GREENBERG

New Rochelle, N. Y., September 11

Mr. Joesten to Mr. Bolles

Dear Sirs: At the end of his penetrating review of my book "Stalwart Sweden" (*The Nation,* September 11), Blair Bolles writes: "Mr. Joesten himself was born a German, and he has shown that nobody can be more anti-German than a German."

The last time I saw this judicious remark was in the *Völkischer Beobachter* of Berlin. I did not attempt to explain the matter to the editors of the *V. B.*, but I shall try to do so for the benefit of Mr. Bolles:

I am not and have never been anti-German, any more than I am anti-Swedish or anti-Danish. I have the deepest sympathy for the German people, who has been consistently misled, sacrificed, and betrayed by unworthy leaders. I am even pro-German in the sense that I desire nothing more than to see my unhappy country of origin at last purge itself of all the forces of evil that have controlled it so long and take its place among the democratic and progressive nations of the world. Because I am intensely pro-German in this sense I am, and have been all my life, irreconcilably opposed to Nazism, Fascism, and appeasement.

That Mr. Bolles, who fails to grasp the difference between an anti-Nazi German and an anti-German German, also should feel duty-bound to defend Sweden's policy of interning anti-Nazi Germans while leaving the Nazis free to do as they please does not surprise me. It is merely logical.

As to Sweden and its policies: Mr. Bolles lightly dismisses all my well-substantiated charges, based on a six years' stay in Scandinavia and constant preoccupation with the subject, by merely saying that I have a "grievance." His own knowledge of Sweden springs from a three or four weeks' conducted tour under the auspices of the Swedish Ministry of Propaganda. That, I admit, makes him an authority on the subject.

J. JOESTEN

Elmhurst, N. Y., September 9

Workers and Surpluses

Dear Sirs: I have heard much talk about the necessity for draining off surplus earnings of the workers by taxation to avoid inflation. I think such reasoning is absurd. Such talk implies that the worker, our average citizen, hasn't sense enough to handle his personal affairs intelligently. I am sure the worker would resent such implication. Furthermore, if he isn't permitted to retain a surplus earned in an abnormal period, how is he to provide for himself and his family in the subnormal period which is certain to follow? We can't get away from the balancing process—downs will follow ups and ups will follow downs.

Other persons, real and artificial, are permitted to accumulate surpluses for their protection, such surpluses being called reserves for depreciation, reserves for depletion, reserves for bad debts, etc. As a matter of simple justice, the American worker should be permitted a reserve for depression.

Self-respect and self-reliance have been vital American characteristics. We must retain them. Bread lines of depressions and dependency on unemployment insurance have a tendency to destroy both self-respect and self-reliance. With opportunity to provide, and responsibility for providing, for himself and his family, the worker, or the average American citizen, will remain the rock upon which this nation stands.

FLAHAVHAN MARTIN

Amarillo, Tex., September 9

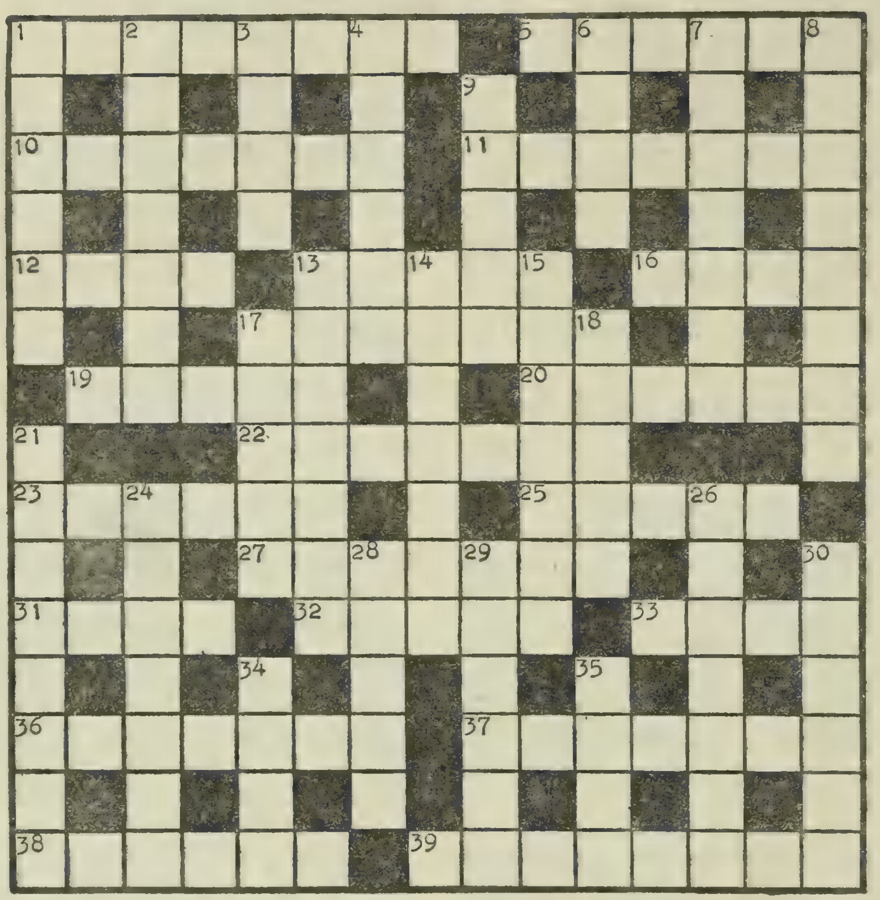
CONTRIBUTORS

STUART CHASE, one of America's foremost economists, is the author of "The Tragedy of Waste," "The Economy of Abundance," "Government in Business," "Idle Money, Idle Men," "Rich Land, Poor Land," and other books.

EMILE BURE was *chef de cabinet* under Clemenceau and Briand. Later he edited the well-known conservative paper *l'Order* in Paris. He is now the editor of *France-Amérique* in New York.

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 32

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 There's no denying that this drink may go to the head
5 K 9
10 There is ice in the drinking cup already
11 An uninteresting morning in a biblical cave
12 Tart, far from sweet
13 Two I's and only one dot! No wonder he's dotty!
16 Worst
17 I read on (anag.)
19 Many a singer has inquired where she was
20 He's quite at home in someone else's house
22 Roll along
23 A village tragedy
25 Order to publish about a hundred
27 These repasts include the place where you may obtain them
31 The number who resign political office, according to Jefferson
32 Jupiter's gift to Minerva
33 This number is a riot
36 A thankless person
37 His work is elevating
38 To run a car into one involves comparatively little risk
39 Followed Louis in France

DOWN

1 Drink which may produce a trance
2 A very cold period indeed
3 No journey for the footballer
4 Opens with a closing word. That's fine!
6 Will give you the shivers
7 It is better to take it lying down
8 Hatreds ending, happily, in bonds of union
9 Despicable character from Gulliver's Travels
13 I tear in (anag.)
14 Pressing work, this
15 Needed on farms—and on boats
17 Played, but not in a game
18 Should life be measured in years? No, in these
21 An object with ink in it
24 This executive might be a German
26 Some smokers like this at the end of a cigarette (two words, 4 and 3)
28 Is fresher with mutton in it
29 One bit?
30 A change of course
34 You should not stand in this way
35 Laid up

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 31

ACROSS:—1 BOBTAIL; 5 CASKETS; 9 LIAISON; 10 NOISOME; 11 EAT; 13 INHERE; 15 STRICT; 16 TRESSES; 17 NOSE; 19 STIR; 20 REARRANGE; 21 WINE; 23 COMB; 26 BILLIES; 28 GOTHIC; 29 SILENT; 30 VAT; 32 LOBELIA; 33 RESERVE; 34 SPEED UP; 35 YEARNED.

DOWN:—1 BILLION; 2 BEACHES; 3 ASSORT; 4 LANE; 5 CENT; 6 STILTS; 7 EGOTIST; 8 SPECTER; 12 AUSTRALIA; 14 ERRATIC; 15 SEANCES; 18 ERE; 19 SEC; 21 WAGGLES; 22 NOTABLE; 24 OVERRUN; 25 BUTT-END; 26 BILLED; 27 SIESTA; 30 VAMP; 31 TROY.

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The Shape of Things

NOW THAT THE REICHSWEHR HAS PUT THE Dneiper between itself and the Red Army will it make a stand or will it merely fight a rearguard action on this natural defensive position and continue its retreat to the west? The answer to this question has an important bearing on the timing of the coming invasion of western Europe. According to Drew Middleton of the New York *Times,* writing from London, any indication that the German eastern army was becoming demoralized would strongly encourage a revision of the Anglo-American timetable for political as well as strategic reasons. It would suggest a reduction in the risks attending a landing in western Europe, making possible the undertaking of this operation with smaller forces than have hitherto been considered necessary. At the same time the approach of the Red Army to the borders of Poland, and even to Germany itself, would make it politically desirable that the Anglo-American forces should not lag too far behind. This dispatch appeared on September 25. Five days later the same correspondent reported that the majority of military experts in Britain were inclined to reject the popular estimate that the Germans had suffered a defeat of the first magnitude in Russia, and to believe that while their retreat may continue they will be able to make a stand on a shortened line running from Leningrad to Odessa. The facts available do, on the whole, tend to support this view. While the Reichswehr has been forced to retreat rapidly, it has not been routed and remains substantially intact. The comparatively meager number of prisoners reported by the Russians shows that they have not been able to cut off any large segment of enemy forces. But although this may lessen the strength of the political reasoning cited by Mr. Middleton, from our point of view it increases the urgency of an all-out offensive in the West.

*

THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE has finally decided to draft for immediate Senate consideration a resolution on international cooperation to replace the House Fulbright resolution. Chairman Connally had previously declared that in his opinion the Senate should wait until the international picture was clearer before bringing any resolution up for debate.

Fear lest isolationists make statements that would arouse anxiety in Europe or open a breach with our allies appears to have been his primary reason for counseling delay. Fortunately, the President does not share this fear; following a hint to this effect from the White House, Senator Connally announced that he had "changed his mind." Doubtless a full-fledged Senate debate on foreign policy will produce some intemperate and alarming speeches. No one dares to hope that men like Wheeler, Nye, and Reynolds will refrain from statements that will hurt us in the eyes of the world. But these Senators, and others of their type, have been making foolish speeches for years, and it is high time that the world be given a convincing demonstration of the fact that they do not reflect majority opinion, either of the country as a whole or of the Upper House. The decision to shelve the Fulbright resolution is apparently due to resentment at the intrusion of the House into a field which the Senate considers peculiarly its own. We can only hope that this sense of outraged protocol will find appeasement in the production of a resolution even better than that sponsored by Mr. Fulbright.

* * *

WALTER LIPPMANN HAS DELIVERED THE dictum that "angry articles in *The Nation* and *PM*" about the State Department are not of "cosmic significance." The decision comes as no great blow to the editors, though of course the business office is taking it hard. We are used to hacking away at dragons in our own crude and inconsequential way until such time as real knights like Sir Walter, armed with clarity and charity, decide to give battle. What bothers us about current discoveries that the State Department is unwell, now that rigor mortis has set in, are the pains taken by toplofty critics to dissociate themselves from the "ideological" approach. "What is the good," Mr. Lippmann asks, "of creating a myth about the department's being beset by ideologists when what is wanting is knowledge, judgment, and wise consideration of intensely practical and . . . vital American interests?" If we lived at the heights where Mr. Lippmann has his being perhaps we too would perceive pure knowledge, judgment, and wisdom suspended in a vacuum, without roots in the vulgar soil of "ideology." As it is, we shall have to go on in our angry way relating those attributes to democracy, the only ideology we care anything about.

* * *

WHILE WE REMAIN UNCONVINCED THAT the defense of the country is exclusively the function of bachelors and childless husbands, we readily admit that an honest case can be made against the immediate drafting of fathers. What we do not concede is that Senator Wheeler has made out such a case or that he has in fact done anything but reveal the demagogic depths to which his vengefulness toward the President has carried him. The government is riddled with "slackers" who should be taken ahead of fathers was his first argument. Under questioning he was forced to admit both his inability to cite a single instance of draft dodging and his shocking ignorance of the actual number of government men who had been examined and rejected. When this slander was punctured by Senator Barkley, Wheeler pointed out that Britain and Russia are using "thousands of men" who would be classed 4-F by our draft boards. As though these men were substituting for fathers in those countries, or as though any country of the world, in any major war, had ever absolved fathers from active duty. Wheeler then tried futilely to twist General Marshall's testimony to his own purposes, and finally concluded with relish that the "man-power muddle" was attributable to "only one person in the country," supported of course by "bureaucrats" who sit in the safety and ease of Washington. One would think that Wheeler himself were speaking from a foxhole, this man whose only part in the war so far has been a bitter opposition to the Selective Service Act ("this talk about a crisis in this country ought to stop") and untiring efforts to spread disunity and suspicion.

* * *

THE INFLATIONARY BLOC IN CONGRESS, relatively quiet since the setbacks of early summer, is again threatening the Administration's stabilization program. In a surprise move the House Agriculture Committee, under the leadership of the farm bloc, approved a bill to guarantee parity prices for all basic farm commodities. Passage of this bill would require the government loans now supporting the principal crops to be made at 100 per cent of parity instead of the 85 to 90 per cent rate now prevailing. Since this would force many food prices above the present ceilings, the Administration would be compelled either to raise the ceilings or to resort to heavier subsidies in order to preserve the existing price level. All proposals to increase subsidies are, however, meeting violent opposition from the same group that pushed the new parity bill through committee. Two large farm-bloc agencies, the National Cooperative Milk Producers' Federation and the American Farm Bureau Federation, have announced that they will seek legislation prohibiting further direct subsidies such as the one recently announced for milk producers. Meanwhile Marvin Jones, Food Administrator, is preparing to ask Congress for a $500,000,000 increase in the borrowing power of the Commodity Credit Corporation to provide the funds necessary for the roll-back program and for the stimulation of food production. Another bitter Congressional struggle over price policy appears to be inevitable, but the relative success of the roll-back program to date, plus fear of the wrath of organized labor at the 1944 elections, may make the task of the Administration's supporters easier than it was last June.

*

THE TREASURY'S NEW $10,000,000,000 TAX program, as indicated in Secretary Morgenthau's preview for the benefit of a few Congressional leaders, appears to be soundly based on the principle of capacity to pay. Approximately $6,400,000,000 of the new funds will be obtained from a rise in the rates on individual incomes, chiefly those in the $5,000 to $25,000 bracket. Another billion and a half is to be found by increasing the corporation tax, while the remainder will be obtained from steeper luxury taxes. Although the withholding tax would be stepped up from the present 20 per cent rate to 30 per cent, the burden on families with incomes of less than $2,000 would be reduced through a repeal of the unfortunate Victory Tax. To lighten the burden on the middle-income group, the Treasury has proposed a post-war refund of part of the tax to an amount not exceeding $500 in any one year. A special inducement will be offered to encourage taxpayers to use this refund to purchase government annuities or life insurance at rates based on actuarial tables. This proposal is of particular value since many families in the middle-income brackets are denied protection in old age under the existing Social Security Act, while the advantages of government life insurance have hitherto been reserved for war veterans. Some legislators have suggested that this program might not be liked by the big life-insurance companies, but experience under the Social Security Act has shown that the advertising given to life insurance by a limited government program tends to benefit the big companies.

*

PALESTINE'S JEWISH COMMUNITY HAS BEEN thoroughly aroused by the charges and insinuations of the British military prosecutor in the six weeks' gun-running trial which recently culminated in the conviction of two Jewish civilians of illegally possessing Australian and American arms and ammunition. Instead of sticking to the proved evidence, Major J. L. Baxter, the prosecutor, built his case on the vague and wholly unsupported allegation that there existed a "huge and ruthless organization" with power and wealth sufficient to obtain arms for the Palestine Jews. He particularly incensed the Jewish group by imputing "Nazi discipline" to the organization and implying that it had the connivance, if not the backing, of the Jewish Agency. The trial has reawakened tension between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. The Arabs profess concern over the steps the Jews may take if immigration is suspended next spring, while the Jews insist that the case is the outgrowth of the anti-Semitic attitude of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Palestine police. Certainly the British authorities in Jerusalem seem to have handled the case with a total lack of statesmanship. It is, of course, their job to stop gun-running—whether Jews or Arabs are involved—but their decision to turn an ordinary criminal trial into a political *cause célèbre* was unnecessarily provocative. And the irresponsible attacks that have been made on the Jewish Agency are well calculated to increase the influence of Zionist extremists.

*

WILLOW RUN, THE GREAT FORD BOMBER plant, should have been investigated months ago. Bomber production as a whole is behind schedule, and we hope the letter sent to the President by the United Automobile Workers' local at this famous but continuously disappointing Ford factory will lead the Truman committee to make an inquiry. Despite the man-power shortage at Willow Run, the management still refuses to hire Negro workers, of whom there are 6,000 available in the Detroit-Willow Run area. An additional building is being added to the plant, though its present facilities are idle six hours a day. Personnel and labor-relations policies are bad. Parts departments are being moved from Willow Run, which is to be converted into a final assembly plant. The workers, however, insist "that the record will show that the Ford Company has demonstrated that it can do a much better job of manufacturing small parts and assemblies than it can in performing the final assembly of planes. It has been in the final assembly departments of the Willow Run plant that the company has fallen down." The union "cannot understand why it should be decided, at this late date, to concentrate on this aspect of production, at which the Ford Motor Company has failed so conspicuously." From its first fatal failure to provide adequate housing, Willow Run has been operated in a way that seemed to court trouble and assure inefficiency.

*

THE RIGHT TO ELECT THEIR GOVERNORS would be given Puerto Ricans by a bill which the President has sent to Congress on the recommendation of an interdepartmental committee headed by Secretary Ickes. Both the President and the Secretary of the Interior have been friends and champions of the islanders, and we hope Congress will pass this long overdue measure. The case for it is eloquently and comprehensively argued by Rexford G. Tugwell, their present governor, in his new report to the Chavez committee of the United States Senate. Less dramatic but equally important is the need to centralize in one pair of hands the operations of all federal economic agencies in Puerto Rico and to make this officer subject to the governor. "If the federal administrators," Tugwell writes of his own troubles with them, "are unable or unwilling to submit to supervision by a Presidential appointee, they will reduce a Puerto

Rican governor almost to invisibility." Beyond this desire for greater self-government are the profounder economic and social problems so ably presented by Tugwell. Freedom to Puerto Rico is an illusion unless (1) we enforce the land laws against large holdings, (2) encourage the diversification of agriculture, and (3) help develop new industries to provide employment. The last can be achieved only under government auspices, for Puerto Rican capitalists prefer the protected and subsidized sugar industry.

*

FRANK E. GANNETT HAS YET TO MAKE GOOD his threat of a libel suit against the author and publisher of "Under Cover," an exposure of fascist activities in the United States, but he is still using it as a means of intimidation. The latest success of the New York newspaper owner is in persuading radio station WGY in Schenectady to cancel a scheduled discussion of the book by its author, John Roy Carlson, and a panel of three critics. Judging by the outcome of Mr. Gannett's previous victories, this action should add thousands to the circulation of "Under Cover." Since it first came under attack this book has shot to the top of the best-seller list and the publishers are hard put to keep up with the demand. They must be grateful to Mr. Gannett.

Expediency plus Caution

WHILE the American and British armies have been thrusting the Germans out of Naples, General Eisenhower and his chief aides, together with Robert Murphy, United States diplomatic representative in North Africa, and Harold MacMillan, British Minister, have been negotiating with Marshal Badoglio at Malta. Although it is almost certain some decision has been reached on the future status of Italy in the war, no official announcement has yet been made. If the Darlan incident taught no other lesson to the Anglo-American high command, it impressed it with the need for seasoning expediency with caution.

Consequently we are now being treated to an unofficial, although rather obviously inspired, build-up of King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio. Three different bodies of opinion have to be reassured, or at least neutralized. In the first place, the Italian people have to be persuaded to "rally round the throne," and to this end the King and the Marshal are being permitted to broadcast appeals suggesting that this is the way to rid the country of Germans—an objective which all but a handful of Italians applaud. Thus in an interview in Algiers, beamed to Italy, Badoglio recalled the alliance of Britain, America, and Italy in the last war and said he was "convinced that this new cooperation will produce the same results."

Considering the spoils Italy acquired at Versailles, this suggestion may not sit too well with some of the United Nations—Yugoslavia and Greece, for instance. Nor are the American and particularly the British troops in Italy quite so willing to forgive and forget. The official organ of the British Eighth Army has been extremely frank on this subject, indicating that the men for which it speaks have been disconcerted to find the Italian civil administration hampering their activities. They cannot forget the comrades killed by Italian bullets, and they believe, says the Eighth Army *News*, that Italians must "pay the price of their folly in believing in Mussolini."

It is easy to understand why the veterans of El Alamein and the Mareth line hold such views; in the interest of army morale, they cannot be left out of account in whatever arrangements are made for the immediate future. Public opinion in America and Britain, however, is apt to take a rather milder stand. It has never been possible to feel that Fascism and the Italian people were as closely identified as Nazism and the Germans. The crime of the majority of Italians has been a negative, fatalistic acceptance of Fascism. But we may perhaps consider that they have made some atonement by their passive rejection of Mussolini's alliance with Hitler and of the war into which it plunged them. If the Italians had fought with the disciplined fervor of the Germans, the task of the United Nations in the Mediterranean theater would have been infinitely harder.

We may agree, then, that the Italian people should be given a chance to redeem themselves by helping to throw out the Nazis who are now ravaging their country. But we also believe that they deserve better leadership in this task than that which is being thrust upon them. And we are not impressed by the inspired statements being put out in an effort to soften or forestall liberal criticism. An Associated Press story from Washington, for instance, quotes an unnamed official as saying that the Italian royal house had a splendid tradition as a leader of liberal parliamentary government. "If the present king has hardly continued that tradition," the dispatch went on, "he nevertheless is the head of the house, thus giving the advantage of legality and legitimacy to the government accepted by the Allies." Hence, it is argued, he is the "natural rallying point for the reestablishment of democratic government." Here we see the State Department mind at work championing the cause of "legitimacy," for which it finds theoretical support in the works of the late Guglielmo Ferrero. Unfortunately, it forgets that the great Italian historian stressed the fact that legitimacy in this age derives from a democratic choice. Thus in urging the Italians to accept the leadership of the king it puts the cart before the horse. He can only achieve legitimacy by winning popular indorsement.

Existing sentiment in Italy clearly rejects the royal house. According to a New York *Times* dispatch from

Capri, the trend of feeling among important elements s toward a republic, and even the army is said to be overwhelmingly anti-monarchical. If this is so, what guaranty have we that the present Italian regime can deliver the goods once we recognize it as head of a "cobelligerent state." It can hardly succeed in rallying he people unless it is put on a much broader basis and ome substance is given to Mr. Churchill's assurance that no arrangements made now will prejudice the right of he Italians to a future free choice of their form of government. This could be done by bringing popular leaders into the Badoglio government, not as window-dressing, but as heads of some of the key departments, such as foreign affairs, finance, the interior, and education.

Italian liberals recognize that the primary task is to rid he country of Nazis. They are prepared, apparently, to put the monarchical question "on ice" for the duration and to accept Badoglio as the head of the army though not as political leader. And on this basis some form of cooperation may be achieved. Badoglio has declared that when the government is reestablished in Rome, "political participation will be extended on a wide basis," while he State Department has agreed to permit Count Sforza o return to Italy. But so long as the campaign to sell the House of Savoy continues, we cannot regard these swallows as signs that the democratic summer has arrived.

The Case Against Cox

NOW that the odor of scandal about Representative Eugene Cox of Georgia has grown too strong even for his friends in the House and he has been forced to resign as chairman of the committee investigating the Federal Communications Commission, it is time for Attorney General Biddle to take his courage in his hands and do something about the case of Cox and station WALB. The Attorney General months ago was given the check for $2,500 paid to Cox by that radio station. He was given evidence that Cox had represented the station in its dealings with the FCC. He was asked to investigate the question of whether the payment to Cox was in return for those services and if so to take action under the law which makes it a felony for a member of Congress to represent a client before a federal court or agency. So far Biddle has done nothing.

Far more courage has been shown in other quarters. Cox's resignation as chairman of a committee investigating the FCC is due principally to two men. The first is Clifford J. Durr, the one member of the FCC who had the nerve to file formal charges against Cox with the Speaker of the House. Durr contended that it was highly improper for the House to permit one of its members to investigate an agency which was in process of bringing serious charges against that member. Sharing credit for forcing Cox out is Eugene Meyer, editor and publisher of the Washington *Post*.

Only those who know Washington realize that the Washington papers exert a great influence on members of Congress—it is only less great than that of their home-town papers. The Washington *Post* under Meyer has become the capital's most respected and influential paper. A series of editorials in the *Post* on the Cox affair culminated in an energetic front-page open letter from Meyer to Speaker Rayburn, printed on September 27. Meyer demanded Cox's removal as head of the FCC inquiry on the ground that "the legislator shall not for private pay place himself in a position of possible conflict with public duty." Three days later Cox turned in his resignation as chairman. This was a victory for decent government, and we congratulate Meyer.

Credit must also go to Representative Magnuson, Democrat, of Washington, a member of the committee investigating the FCC, for threatening to take the fight against Cox to the floor. And the American Civil Liberties Union is likewise entitled to a share of praise. A group acting for the A. C. L. U. placed a comprehensive analysis of the Cox case and the work of the Cox committee on the desk of every member of Congress the day the Washington *Post's* open letter appeared. The committee was headed by Professor Clarence R. Ayres of the University of Texas and included Charles Beard, George Counts, Morris Ernst, Arthur Garfield Hays, Thomas R. Carskadon, Robert E. Cushman, Dean Christian Gauss of Princeton, William Allan Neilson, Jennings Perry, editor of the Nashville *Tennessean,* and Clarence L. Watts, a prominent Alabama attorney.

The analysis made by this group paves the way for the next task, which is to remove Eugene L. Garey as counsel for the committee investigating the FCC. The report by the A. C. L. U. committee leaves no doubt about the unfair and one-sided way in which Garey has conducted the hearings, which have "been given over to charges and accusations, largely unsupported by evidence, without a chance for the commission to reply."

The A. C. L. U. report makes it clear that in investigating foreign-language stations, the FCC was not presuming to act as censor but was acting on the instructions of the Office of Censorship. The latter had asked the FCC to look into complaints against pro-fascist Italian and German radio announcers. The witnesses whose grievances were aired by the Cox committee were largely drawn from the stations and the announcers suspected of fascist sympathies. One was an Italian announcer formerly interned as an enemy alien. In this as in other spheres of the inquiry Cox and Garey gave the FCC no hearing, permitted it no defense. The only "free speech" in which they seemed to be interested was that of suspected fascists. We believe the counsel, Garey, should follow the chairman, Cox, into the discard.

Britain Between the Acts

I. WHAT ENGLAND EXPECTS

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I FOUND Britain immensely difficult to grasp, and now I find it equally hard to write about. Any single concept, any easy generalization, denies itself as soon as it is made. Just before I left London I met with the members of the American division of the Ministry of Information—my official hosts. I tried to tell them what I had seen and what the things I had seen meant to me. My impressions criss-crossed one another; my conclusions were tentative to the point of helplessness. I could have made clearer comments about Britain before I went there.

I say this not by way of apology for what will follow in these articles. The contradictions in British life after four years of war are real: they are important and mark the beginning of the end of a period. It is those contradictions that must be reported and analyzed. The instinct of a reporter is to simplify, to focus his material. Three years ago one could have done that without falsifying the facts. To do it today would be dishonest. Three years ago, even two years ago, Britain was a nation fighting for its existence against unlikely odds. Today it is part of a great coalition certain of ultimate victory but uncertain of what lies beyond victory. Its temper, its behavior partake of both periods. Even its picture of itself is distorted by the swift change in its situation and prospect. English friends told me: "You've come here at a slack moment. This lull affects everybody. We're all tired, and now that things are going well at the front, people are letting down. You should have seen this country after Dunkirk, and all through the blitz." Or they said: "You'll find the workers rather cynical. It's the sort of mood they get into during a lull. They'll come out of it when something happens. Either a big victory or a big defeat stiffens them up."

These comments were true enough; but they were only part-truths. They missed one of the most important facts of all, the fact that Britain is in a process of profound transition. The tension of the months when invasion was a daily possibility, the unity created by the blitz, those are gone, or largely gone. They should go. The fusion of a nation, its ruthless self-discipline, its conversion from a people into an army, are healthy only so long as they are necessary. The girl working at a machine for three-quarters the wage of the man working at an identical machine next to her will accept that situation as long as he and she and their machines are engaged in a struggle for survival. But when a "lull" comes—when the smoke of battle clears and the combatants find themselves not only alive but in sight of victory—then th girl begins to wonder why her pay is lower than his and he too begins to wonder whether it wouldn't b just as well to "upgrade" her so that she can't undercu him and pull down the whole scale after the war. This i the sort of symptom of change you find everywhere i Britain. And you find it mixed with that solid determination and sense of a common cause that still hold th great war machine together. Both moods are there, an many modifications of both. And they affect not onl working people but government officials and journalist and politicians and even factory managers. The future i crowding in on the present, thrusting forward new threat and promises, creating doubts. . . . I asked a forema in a small war plant what he thought would happen to i after the war. Would it keep open? He looked very gri and, for an Englishman, even theatrical. "We'll keep thi place running," he said, "if we have to use a machine gun to do it."

TRANSATLANTIC

The plane was dark and stripped bare of insulation The engines roared, and sleep seemed a remote hope We sat five in a compartment, our light luggage an overcoats strewed around us. N. A., my seat-mate, wa kind beyond all the demands of politeness. He refused t spread out over his share of the long seat; refused even t stretch his legs. He sat quiet as a Buddha, his coat drape over his head, an eyeshade over his eyes, his arms folded his legs propped up on his rucksack. As the noisy hour wore on he scarcely moved. "That's how he survives," decided. "He is not young; he is not strong; but he draw into himself and saves his energy." Wriggling in m corner, I marveled at his immobility. The other occupant of the compartment shifted and heaved and pushed thei luggage around. Our ten legs seemed to multiply in th space between the seats. Once I ventured out into the corridor. A single berth was made up: one passenger wa crossing the ocean in horizontal comfort. Next day discovered who it was—a British M. P., Sir —— —— His exclusive position drew tart comments from severa compatriots; but since he didn't hear them his calm wa unshaken. Englishmen will have to learn to speak loude if privilege is to be made uncomfortable—even in wa time. Its possessors have taken it for granted too long

My first discussion of British conditions was at dinne the second night. We had assimilated the roar of the engines and could hear one another talk. The little dining compartment seemed sociable and bright, and the dark ocean below us was out of mind. My table companion didn't identify himself, and it was not until later that I found he was a member of a powerful old industrialist family and himself a distinguished social worker. He was eager that I should not delude myself into expecting profound social change—or any wide demand for it. "What people want now and will want after the war is security, not change. The men in the forces want their jobs back. They intend to settle down with their families and forget the war. They will vote for people who promise jobs and security; not for those who urge them to rise up and seize new power. Even the young fellows. Many of them have got married during the war. The rest want to get married. After four or five years of war—years snatched out of their education, their work, their normal life—they are looking forward to homes and a settled job."

"I wonder," I said. "Last time there was a lot of restlessness after the war—especially among the demobilized troops. They wanted change. They couldn't settle easily into old ruts. Many went to the left. Many were all but unemployable. Thousands emigrated. . . ."

"Yes, there will be a lot like that. But the men who are emotionally uprooted by war are always a minority; the great mass are normal people desiring with extra intensity the normal satisfactions they've been deprived of. You'll see. In any case, I suggest that you regard skeptically the ideas of leftists who expect great changes after the war."

But his warning was unnecessary. I met very few—left or right—who expect very much.

POST-BLITZ LONDON

London was worse than I had anticipated. The destruction of famous buildings, the empty spaces around St. Paul's, the ruins in the Temple and House of Commons—these I accepted without shock. What surprised me was the minor damage everywhere. Hardly a street is intact. The façades may be whole; but behind them are gutted interiors. The buildings may be sound—and lived in—but the windows are patched. Or entire blocks may give the appearance of normality while in fact every house has been so shaken that it is structurally unsafe for habitation. So many churches were gutted that the blitz came to be symbolized for me by a glimpse of sky through the window of a Christopher Wren steeple.

With Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman*, and one of his staff, I visited the East End—street after street of two-story houses in the dreary area down toward the docks. A member of the Women's Voluntary Services drove us. She had worked in that section throughout the worst raids, and both Martin and his associate had put in many days there. Direct hits had wiped out countless houses, but the astonishing sight to me was the rows of structures not smashed or outwardly much damaged but shivered from end to end by lateral explosions. The region is a desert. Houses here and there are lived in; some whole blocks seem populated; but from other sections most of the people have gone. The streets where Mosley's toughs paraded are empty of Jews and fascists alike.

The car stopped at a house in a half-abandoned street next to a demolished church. We walked through to the rear and found an Anglican priest in shabby robes busy tending a garden surrounding a neat lawn. Vegetables grew behind a fine display of dahlias and delphiniums. The priest, Father Richards, had turned the yard of the house and the empty space behind the church, produced by the bombing, into a hidden oasis. We talked a while, and then Father Richards came with us on an inspection of his neighborhood. He had lived there for years, working with another well-known and loved priest, Father Grosser. During the blitz they had done a big job of sheltering and caring for the homeless.

Before the raids began, the government had prepared for a totally different emergency from the one which developed. It had expected wounds and deaths by bombing and fire; London's hospitals had been cleared out and thousands of papier mâché coffins provided. What it hadn't expected were mass homelessness and the destruction of clothes and household goods. Relatively few people were killed, but vast numbers lost everything they owned. As a consequence the authorities were all but helpless during the first great raids; relief had to be improvised in the face of incredible confusion and suffering, and the emergency work was done by the churches and voluntary societies and by heroic individuals like Father Grosser.

The blitz has moved back far enough to take its place in history; but not so far that any of the details are forgotten. People talk about that period of terror as if it were a priceless national possession. They regard it as something to take pride in and exhibit to visitors. And it has produced a voluminous folklore which should somehow be preserved. In it are to be found most of the typical qualities of the nation—its resistance to regimentation, its irritating habit of converting emotion into comic understatement, its talent for creating thoroughly inefficient forms of organization which work with amazing success, even its exaggerated love of pets. All these and a hundred others are imbedded in the endless saga of the blitz—a saga which, like every genuine folk tale at its inception, is still being told by word of mouth. Any individual you talk to has better stories to tell than you ever read.

PLANS AND POLITICS

Several master plans for the rebuilding of London have been made and exhibited. Everybody talks about them. Hitler's bombers have presented the people of

London with a challenge that the least imaginative can hardly ignore. A handsome volume embodying the London County Council plan was sold out almost as soon as it appeared. But Father Richards and Kingsley Martin discussed with considerable skepticism the chances of these over-all projects. They doubt whether any of them can get past the organized resistance of the various interests, economic and political, which stand to lose by them. Not even the L. C. C. plan has government backing. And already big sections in the devastated areas have been bought up for speculative purposes. It will take tremendous public pressure to prevent a piecemeal restoration, jerry-built and keyed to profit.

Father Richards said the people of the East End were curiously apathetic about politics. They expect little from Labor and nothing from any other party. A few energetic Communists carry on, but without much following. The electoral truce, however necessary as a war measure, has, he believes, flattened out the opposition and robbed it of its functions. "Of course most of the young men and women are away," he said. "Nobody knows what mood they'll come back in."

In a rather long discussion that followed, he and Kingsley Martin between them developed a position which I shall summarize here without attributing it in full to either man. It is worth setting down for its intrinsic interest and also because it was put to me many times by other shrewd and watchful persons; it is roughly the position of the skeptical left intellectual at this moment in Britain. According to this view, Labor's leaders, both in the party and in the unions, would be afraid of power even if they could get it. They have no serious hope or desire to make a Socialist England. A few modest reforms and retention in the peace of some of the most valuable war-time controls are about all they expect. This moderate program is so obviously essential if economic collapse and dangerous unrest are to be avoided that business and the Conservatives will probably accept it and will keep Labor in a continued coalition to carry the country through the period of demobilization and industrial conversion. Thus a triumvirate of big business, Conservative politics, and official Labor will create a sort of national semi-socialism, propped up on the right by trade pacts and, if necessary, subsidies and on the left by educational reforms, continued welfare schemes, and a fair chunk of the Beveridge plan.

This view, I need not say, is rejected by the Labor people I talked with, whether government officials or trade-union or party leaders. They have, it is true, a stake in a more aggressive and optimistic view of the future; they will also have more to do with creating that future. I shall get around to their opinions in a later article.

[*In the second article of this series Miss Kirchwey will take up South Wales and Glasgow, with particular attention to the "red" workers and their leaders.*]

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IN ONE OF HIS LATEST speeches the German Emperor characterized this war as a struggle between American and German (Prussian) ideals. In fact, the war is a struggle between democracy and theocratic monarchism. . . . In this struggle the Czechoslovak nation joined the Allies. . . . One hears the argument that the German minorities in the new national states might be endangered. . . . So long as they exist, however, the democratic rule of the majority must be put into effect. Is it more just, for instance, that ten million Czechs and Slovaks should be oppressed by Austria-Hungary than that the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia, numbering only three millions, possess national freedom?—THOMAS G. MASARYK, *October 5, 1918.*

"VON HINDENBURG SPURS ARMY ON," reports a headline. So the old rascal lives, after all. In the last six months, to our certain knowledge, he has actually died four times, once after a violent quarrel with the Kaiser—or was it the Crown Prince?—and has been in four sanitariums and three insane asylums.—*October 5, 1918.*

CHEERING NEWS for our downtrodden friend the ultimate consumer is contained in Chairman Baruch's announcement that the War Industries Board has put into effect fixed prices and selling arrangements for boots and shoes at retail.—*October 12, 1918.*

DISTINGUISHED BY MR. EASTMAN'S remarkable speech to the jury, as noteworthy for its legal ability as for its eloquence and straightforwardness, the second trial of the *Masses* editors ended like the first, with the jury unable to agree.—*October 12, 1918.*

IT WAS LORD ROSEBERRY who once wrote that in his Utopia he would like to have a board of censors appointed to divide the world "into those people whose biographies were to be written and those whose biographies were not to be written." Were there such a board, it would, we are sure include autobiography within its domain, and then acclaim "The Education of Henry Adams," just issued for the public (by the Houghton Mifflin Company), as one of the very great autobiographies of our literature—the rare kind to be fostered.—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *October 12, 1918*

THE SERIOUS STUDENT of contemporary things who see the title "The Willy-Nicky Correspondence: Being the Secret and Intimate Telegrams Exchanged Between the Kaise and the Tsar" (Knopf; $1) is not apt to believe that he ha in hand a significant contribution to historical literature. I should be said in defense of the publishers that this sill title does indeed render faithfully the spirit of the work.—*October 19, 1918.*

THE SEPARATION OF HUNGARY from Austria, prematurely announced as already decided on at Budapest, is a least under discussion on motion of Count Karolyi, and i appears to have a strong body of opinion behind it.—*Octobe 26, 1918.*

Stettinius and State

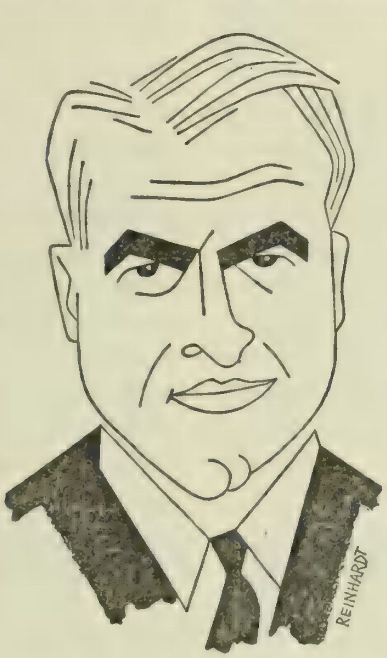
BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 30

THE inner circle at the State Department suffered a defeat when the President appointed Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Under Secretary of State and set up the new Foreign Economic Administration. Secretary Hull would have preferred Breckinridge Long or Norman H. Davis as Under Secretary. Some of his closest departmental advisers had hoped to bring Lend-Lease, the Office of Economic Warfare, and Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation directly under State Department control. These agencies were assigned instead to the new FEA under Leo T. Crowley. According to the President's executive order, the new agency was also to take over the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination, which has been operating in the State Department under Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson. But this section of the executive order contained a parenthetic loophole—"(except such functions and personnel thereof as the Director of the Budget shall determine are not concerned with foreign economic operations)"—and the department at this writing seems to be hoping to salvage and retain this office and most of the men in it. It contains many new men and much fresh young blood.

One of the methods which Mr. Roosevelt uses to keep his audience from getting too restive is to shift the scenes and costumes from time to time. If a change had to be made, it wasn't a bad idea to place all foreign economic activities under a single agency, and it was a good idea to organize that new agency outside the State Department. One of the obstacles to good government is the tendency of departments to grow too large for any one man to handle, and a far better administrator than Secretary Hull would have been a bottleneck if these activities had all been placed under his jurisdiction. Crowley has wisely announced that he will retain Lend-Lease, Relief and Rehabilitation, and Economic Warfare as divisions within the new FEA.

Crowley is not one of those characters who burn with a hard, gemlike flame. He has managed to keep several jobs and his health by letting well enough alone. As Alien Property Custodian, he has been nothing to write harshly to the Bank of International Settlements about. Where there has been no outside pressure, Crowley has let big business and the carteleers have their way. But he will also leave alone the progressives under him, provided only that there is peace and quiet. All things considered —I am beginning to feel like Boethius adjusting himself to the barbarians—those agencies could have a much worse boss than Crowley.



Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.

I would not speak harshly of the departed, but it is wise to remember that under Milo Perkins, for all his devoted work and courageous struggle, the Board of Economic Warfare was beginning in many of its sections to be a little replica of the WPB. By a gravitational process whose effects are visible everywhere in government, private interests were taking over control of the strategic posts affecting them. Though Perkins is gone, the same private interests are still active. But Crowley has announced that Lauchlin Currie will remain as executive officer in charge of economic warfare, and I know of no abler or more genuine progressive in Washington. It is equally good news that Crowley has placed Murray Latimer in charge of foreign relief and rehabilitation. Latimer is an old and devoted New Dealer. I know little about Bernhard Knollenberg, who was senior deputy administrator of Lend-Lease under Stettinius and is to remain acting administrator of this division under Crowley.

Almost everyone, including *The Nation's* own dour correspondent, seemed pleased by the Stettinius appointment. Lindley likes him, Lippmann likes him, the *Daily Worker's* Lapin likes him (though in moderation), and Helen Essary in Cissie Patterson's *Times-Herald* positively gurgled. "Mr. Hull, Mr. Stettinius, and Mr. Harriman," Mrs. Essary believes, "will make an elegant trio of good-looking, intelligent Americans when they bow to Mr. Stalin. . . . Long-legged ambassadors are always impressive—and smooth." Stettinius does seem to be what readers of less literate publications than *The Nation* would call a swell egg—an unfamiliar type in the State Department, where most of the officials seem to be trying hard to look like one of their own ancestral portraits. Since we are gathered together, however, to do more than size up a new recruit for a college fraternity, it might be well to subject the Stettinius appointment to dispassionate scrutiny.

Stettinius is a White House choice, and that means that the Under Secretaryship is once again to be held by a Roosevelt man rather than a Hull man. This is to the good, though the President and his Secretary are much closer than the former likes the liberals to think. Stettinius was acceptable to Hull. Stettinius did not object to giving the State Department greater control over the economic agencies. One plan was to place these agencies in the department and make the heads of each an Assistant Secretary. Stettinius, unlike Lehman, was reported to be in favor of this proposal. For Stettinius does not like to take too much responsibility. He was continually in hot water at the Defense Commission and the OPM when he had to make decisions. He did not begin to make friends and influence people until he was placed in charge of Lend-Lease. Most decisions were made for Lend-Lease by other agencies. Materials were allocated to it by the WPB, food by the WFA, munitions by a joint Anglo-American munitions board. Stettinius could make promises but not assure deliveries. That rested in other hands.

Stettinius is a likable and unspoiled variety of the genus rich man's son. He was one of the big business men cultivated by Hopkins in order to give the New Deal some upper-class support. As head of United States Steel, Stettinius—like J. P. Morgan and Company, the firm's financial advisers—was relatively friendly to labor and enlightened on price problems. At the Defense Commission, where he was in charge of materials, he helped the basic raw-material monopolies, especially in steel and aluminum, to ward off expansion. At the OPM, where he was in charge of priorities, he failed to impose them strictly enough to end the waste of steel, aluminum, copper, rubber, and other vital materials by booming civilian industries. In neither case did his inaction spring from lack of patriotism. He naturally believed what he was told by his big-business colleagues and customers; he is that kind of man. At Lend-Lease, with many young New Dealers on his staff instead of Gano Dunns, dealing with matters which did not immediately affect his own business, Stettinius won the liking of men who had previously attacked him. Again like Morgan, he was friendly to Britain and the Soviets, and this is important in his new position.

He is a man of good-will, but he is not forceful, shrewd, or well-informed. The deft and subtle cliques in the State Department may find this big guileless boy scout easy pickings.

Economics of the Air

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

WHAT will happen to our war-inflated aviation industries when peace comes? Will there be a shrinkage as dramatic as the expansion which has taken place in the last three years? Must we write off as war scrap the colossal investment in plant and machinery? Must the majority of the two and a half million workers now employed in building planes find other jobs? Or have we, as an incident to meeting the demands of war, laid the foundations for an expansion of civil aviation great enough to maintain the manufacture of planes as a major industry?

The scheduled output of the American aviation industry for 1943 is $20 billion—one-fifth of our estimated total war expenditure, one-eighth of our swollen national income. True, it seems unlikely, because of man-power and other difficulties, that this goal will be achieved. But even if we allow for a 10 per cent lag, a total output of $18 billion would still mean a production ten times as great as in 1941 and more than sixty times that of 1938. In 1939 aviation stood forty-fourth in dollar volume among the nation's industries; today it has taken the lead by a huge margin, and it now completely dwarfs the automobile industry, which at its 1941 peak turned out vehicles valued at $3.7 billion.

During the last war, as aviation authorities never tire of reminding us, there was a comparable expansion followed by practical collapse. For a long time government orders were negligible, and large numbers of surplus military machines sold at low prices satisfied the demands both of the amateur enthusiasts and of those professionals who sought a precarious career as barnstormers. It was a discouraging period for manufacturers who had large plants and designs for improved machines but no visible market.

We must remember, however, that prior to 1914 flying was little more than a dangerous hobby and that there had been no commercial development. Under the forced draft of war, techniques of manufacture and operation improved rapidly, and by 1918 aviation was ready for the experimental stage of commercial exploitation. That was the year the United States Air Mail was started, and from then on, although progress often seemed heartbreakingly slow to the impatient pioneers, aviation began to establish itself as an accepted form of transportaion. By the beginning of the present war it was well beyond the incubator stage in the domestic field and was beginning to reach out for international traffic.

When peace comes again, therefore, commercial aviaion will not be starting from scratch. On the contrary, t will have a well-developed organization all ready to go ahead with plans which, but for the conflict, would probably have matured much more slowly. Once again war has proved to be the mother of new techniques. It has fostered new designs, new and cheaper methods of manufacture. It has rapidly advanced the science of meteorology and has promoted the invention of a host of navigational aids. Peace-time applications of "radar," for instance, will make all-weather flying far safer and do much to solve the problems of air-traffic control.

In the last war the plane was only a weapon; in this it is playing an increasingly important part as a means of transport. The Army Air Transport Command is covering more than 90,000 route miles, linking this country with every theater in which American troops are engaged. Hundreds of transocean flights are being made every week with large numbers of passengers and millions of pounds of cargo. And, in addition, the services maintain regular transport flights over many internal routes. Much of this work is being carried out under contract by the established air lines, which are thus being afforded a priceless opportunity for training their pilots in intercontinental flying. "The most important air-line attainment of 1942," wrote Robert S. Morton in *Flying* for January, 1943, "is this intangible but invaluable experience being acquired in every phase of air-transport operation under almost every conceivable condition. All this, financed by the government, will redound to the benefit of the commercial operators in the post-war period."

Nor are these the only contributions of the war to the future of civil aviation. The training of hundreds of thousands of pilots and navigators and of millions of mechanics is providing both an enormous reservoir of technicians for the industry and a huge potential market of the "air-minded." Again, military exigencies have necessitated the construction of hundreds of modern airfields both at home and abroad. Many of these, of course, have only strategic significance, but others are so located that they can be easily adapted to commercial purposes.

We cannot doubt, then, that after the war conditions will be ripe for a rapid and immense expansion of civil aviation in all its forms. But let us not forget that it will be an expansion controlled and limited by economic factors. Those enthusiasts who prophesy the early displacement by the plane of all other forms of transport are doing aviation no service, for their calculations seem to leave out of account the vital question of comparative costs. In an address delivered in November, 1942, W. A. Patterson, president of United Air Lines, extinguished some of the wilder claims with a jet of statistical cold water. He pointed out that an average freight train operating between Chicago and San Francisco would carry 780 tons of revenue cargo and make two round trips a month at a total operating cost of $50,000. To move the same amount of freight by air, in the same period of time, 57 planes of the Mainliner type used by the United Air Lines would be required at a total operating cost of $1,750,000. Comparisons with ocean-freighter costs are equally illuminating. Mr. Patterson took as an example a cargo steamer carrying a revenue load of 6,400 short tons from San Francisco to Brisbane, Australia. The round trip under peace-time conditions would take about two months, and the total operating costs would be about $120,000. If four-motored transport planes, carrying four tons of cargo, were used to haul the same amount of goods, 1,440 trans-Pacific round-trip flights would have to be made in the same period; 144 planes would be required to perform the job; and these would consume about 18,000,000 gallons of gasoline while the ship was burning less than half a million gallons of fuel oil. The cost of this gasoline alone would be $2,250,000, and total plane operating costs would be $29,000,000. Moreover, in order to lay down the necessary gasoline supplies for refueling in Australia and at intermediate points, three tankers would be needed.

Mr. Patterson's figures are based, of course, on the use of present-day equipment. No doubt these costs will be gradually reduced by the use of lighter metals and materials, by the design of more efficient planes and engines, and possibly by the discovery of more economical fuels. But our inventive geniuses have a long way to go before they can build machines to overcome gravity as efficiently as a locomotive or a ship overcomes surface friction. The major part of the power developed by an airplane motor is consumed in lifting the machine into the air and keeping it there; only a relatively minor portion is available for the task of pulling a useful load.

The economy of the airplane in competition with well-developed land and sea transport systems lies only in the time factor, thanks to which it is able to compete for passenger traffic on medium or long hauls and for specialized freight. In passenger transport the time element serves to increase the costs of the older methods. A man who is spending three or four days in a transcontinental train or upward of four days on a transocean trip wants something more than mere transport; he demands hotel service. That means that every passenger consumes a large amount of cubic space. On the other hand, a plane flying from New York to London in ten or twelve hours, while it may have to provide a meal or two and some kind of sleeping accommodation, does not need to give fifty passengers any more cubic space than a single passenger would occupy on the Normandie. Thus it is not surprising that the air lines are able to forecast future passenger rates to London of about $100 per head, or far below the fares charged by the pre-war luxury liners. And at such rates not only will most of the post-war transatlantic passenger traffic move by air, but a great increase in the total volume of travel to and from Europe can be confidently predicted. The Queen Elizabeth is probably the last of the great floating hotels.

As soon as they can get sufficient new equipment, the air lines will also begin to bite deeply into domestic long-distance passenger traffic. Already the costs of air travel have been brought within striking distance of first-class railroad fares. A recent 10 per cent cut in air-line rates makes it possible to fly from New York to Chicago for only $2 more than it would cost to take a lower berth on a Pullman. There should be still further reductions after the war, and provided that competition between the airplane and the railroad is not artificially restricted, it should be possible in the not very distant future to travel by air at no more expense than is involved in the cost of a railroad coach ticket at present.

When it comes to freight, however, the airplane has an advantage over land and sea transport only when the goods to be shipped have a high value in relation to bulk or when the time element is especially important. Edward Warner, vice-chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, has estimated the minimum cost of moving mixed freight by air, even when all-cargo planes are used, at 16 cents per ton-mile. Allowing for a post-war increase in efficiency, this authority believes that the cost might be reduced to 14 cents per ton-mile provided speed was kept under 200 miles per hour and frequent stops were made for refueling. Thus the minimum cost of moving a ton of freight by air across the Atlantic would be in the neighborhood of $462, which compares with shipping costs, even at war-time rates inflated by high insurance and crew bonuses, of about $30 for the transatlantic trip, or less than one cent per ton-mile. Obviously as long as anything like such a margin exists, there can be no question of moving bulk cargoes by air. Wheat, metals, gasoline, meat, coffee, machinery—all the items that comprise the major part of international trade—will continue to move by sea for many decades.

It is more expensive to move goods by rail than by water, but even so rail freight rates are far below those charged by the air lines. The average rate on railroad express shipments is around 10 cents a ton-mile, while air express, even after recent cuts ranging up to 12½ per cent, is many times as great. Undoubtedly there is scope for much greater reductions in rates if the air lines organize to get the business, as they have not done hitherto. The recent abrogation of their restrictive contract with the Railway Express Agency is an important first step in this direction.

If within the next few years air freight rates are brought within hailing distance of Mr. Warner's theoretical cost figures, below 20 cents a ton-mile, there will undoubtedly be a tremendous increase in the volume of goods moved by air. But this will not touch the bulk freight business of either railroads or shipping companies. As Mr. Patterson pointed out in the address already cited, the volume of domestic air cargo could increase one-hundred-fold and still capture only 0.1 per cent of the freight now carried by American railroads.

What is likely to happen is that the air lines will develop a good deal of specialty traffic in goods which because of their perishable nature cannot at present be shipped long distances. We may receive in New York, for instance, tree-ripened fruit from California or the Caribbean, or flowers picked in the south of France twenty-four hours earlier. Of a more prosaic nature is the opportunity that exists for the building up of a big business in the carriage of spare parts. Provided they can count on overnight delivery, dealers and manufacturers will be able to absorb additional transport costs by savings on inventory charges.

And while the plane will create new traffic for itself, it will also be the means of originating new business for its rivals. The automobile took many passengers from the railroads, but at the same time it added to railroad freight revenues by its demands for raw materials and the carriage of finished products to distant places. So, too, the growth of the aviation industry will require the services of many freight cars. Shipping will also benefit, particularly the tanker trade, since international air traffic will depend on many bases far removed from fuel supplies.

Assuming that commercial aviation is permitted to develop along economical lines, without interference for the benefit of existing monopolies, what sort of expansion can be safely predicted for the first decade or two after the war? The National Resources Planning Board estimates that within this period air travel in the United States will take more than 70 per cent of the present-day Pullman traffic, which will mean the transportation of roughly twenty million passengers per year. Other good authorities regard this estimate as conservative, and there is in fact reason to believe that the air lines will eventually capture nearly 100 per cent of the long-distance passenger traffic on both domestic and international routes. In 1942 only about 5 per cent of first-class mail moved by air; this figure could be multiplied many times if the air-mail surcharge was abolished—a step which has recently been urged in Congress. Finally, we may expect a very considerable growth in the carriage of goods by air even though the overwhelming mass of freight continues to move by sea, rail, and road.

What will such an expansion in air traffic mean for the manufacturers of planes? Since our commercial air fleet operating over domestic routes comprised only some

50 machines in 1941, even a ten- or twenty-fold inrease might seem rather small potatoes to an industry which is now producing at the rate of 100,000 planes a ear. But if the predictions previously mentioned are fulfilled, an increase of a much greater order may reasonbly be expected. Mr. Patterson, who has earned a repuation for sober prophecy, believes that his United Air Lines alone will require more than 5,000 planes to handle the business which will be developed within the next ten years. On this basis a total commercial air fleet of some 50,000 machines, covering foreign and domestic outes, would not be a far-fetched estimate, and this would mean a replacement market of some 10,000 planes nnually. Add the demands of the export trade and the equirements of the armed services, which are not likely o be reduced to pre-war levels, and we can see that alhough the process of reconversion will be a painful one, the prospects for the aviation industry are not so gloomy as is sometimes suggested. Moreover, we have not taken into account at all the certain but perhaps slower expansion in private flying, for this is a subject that requires separate treatment.

Perhaps the best index to the future prospects of commercial aviation is the huge volume of applications for new routes at home and abroad which are now swamping the Civil Aeronautics Board. The disposal of these applications can hardly be achieved without a settlement of some extremely controversial questions: Should surface transport companies be permitted to enter the field of aviation? Should overseas air traffic become a government preserve, a private monopoly, or be thrown open to competition? On what basis is international air traffic between the different sovereign states to be regulated? These problems will be discussed in further articles.

War Profits and the Press

BY NATHAN ROBERTSON

THOUGH the newspapers are doing their best to keep the public from knowing it, corporation profits are running far higher in this war than they did in World War I, which raised a crop of 23,000 new millionaires.

During the last war there was a lot of talk about profiteering, and yet when the full story was told after the war the public was so shocked that it firmly resolved never to let it happen again. Both major parties pledged themselves to prevent it. Scores of measures were introduced in Congress to control future war profits. And when mobilization for this war started, President Roosevelt promised that a new crop of war millionaires would not be permitted. Since then there has been little talk of war profiteering except with reference to labor unions and farmers. The public has been given the impression hat with a 90 per cent excess-profits tax and a maximum ncome tax of 92 per cent on individuals it can't happen again. Unfortunately, it is happening again.

As was the case last time, we shall not know the full story until the war is over. But despite the silence of most newspapers, the kind of story it will be has already been indicated. Much of the evidence was developed at he recent hearings of the House Ways and Means Committee on the contract-renegotiation law.

Industry has demanded the repeal of the renegotiation law, under which contracts are revised to prevent excessive profits. At the hearings business men tried to show hat they were taking extreme risks for a small and inadequate return, but the evidence they presented was a boomerang. If industry was less harmed than might have been expected, it was only because the newspapers generally ignored the revelations. They carried the business men's scare stories that high taxes and contract renegotiations were going to leave them without sufficient funds to carry on in the post-war period but not the figures that refuted them, even when the figures came from official sources or from the reluctant lips of the industry witnesses themselves.

The most sensational development of the hearings was an estimate by Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson that by the end of next year corporations engaged in profitable war work would have accumulated the equivalent of a post-war reserve of more than $42 billion. This is more than the entire national income in 1932, the last year of the Hoover Administration. It is more than the national debt at the outbreak of the war—the debt that the New Deal had incurred to keep the nation going and to feed hungry mouths and that business was screaming would ruin the country. Yet hardly a newspaper mentioned the figure. Most newspapers carried long stories about renegotiation but found no room for Patterson's startling statement.

Actually the Under Secretary's estimate was conservative. He obtained it by adding the following figures, which represent sums that will be available to the prosperous corporations by the end of next year at the present rate of profits: $2 billion in post-war refunds from excess-profits taxes; $22¼ billion in undistributed profits retained by the corporations out of their war business after the payment of all taxes and dividends during the years 1941-44; $5 billion in new plants and equipment paid for by the companies out of their war business, in addition to profits; $13 billion in excess-profits taxes available for refunds to the corporations if their profits should fall below normal in the two succeeding years.

Treasury figures show that Patterson's figure of $13 billion available for post-war refunds from war taxes was a gross underestimate. The amount, at the present rate of accumulation, will be $26 billion. This $26 billion constitutes a virtual guaranty of normal profits and makes the demand for additional post-war reserves sound a little hollow. Thus revised, the figures given above, most of them representing war profits, add up to more than $55 billion instead of Patterson's more conservative $42 billion.

Over and above this huge sum, the corporations have acquired other potential wealth from the war. The government has built for them, for war production, more than $14 billion worth of plants and machinery. Many of these plants will have great value after the war. The companies have options on them, and will probably be able to buy them for much less than their cost. In some cases the government will have to take the prices offered by the companies or junk the plants. The total of post-war reserves and possible collateral benefits derived from the war is therefore about $70 billion—in addition to the profits enjoyed by stockholders during the war and the swollen salaries paid to corporation officials.

Patterson emphasized these swollen salaries again and again. He said that increases in corporation salaries from $5,000 to $50,000 were a "very common thing." "We find salaries going up from $5,000 and $10,000 to $100,000," he said, "and the men who get them think they are worth it. But I say the soldiers are serving for $50 a month. If that be demagoguery, make the most of it. I don't think we need to allow such salaries. A man has to be a whale of a good man to be worth that much."

Randolph Paul, general counsel of the Treasury, told the committee an almost equally sensational story without breaking into the headlines. Paul reported that the corporations in war work were making this year the unheard-of profit of $8.7 billion after all taxes were paid. Since some companies losing money were included, profits of the money makers would be over $10 billion. This figure, only slightly higher than that put out by the conservative Department of Commerce, is more than double what the corporations were making before the war, more than they would have made in the fabulous year of 1929 if they had been forgiven all federal taxes, and far more than they made in the best year of the last war.

Corporation profits, after taxes, were estimated by Paul at $24 billion for the three years 1941, 1942, and 1943. This compares with about $4 billion for 1939, the last year of peace in Europe. His figures disclosed how corporations are able to realize such huge profits in the face of a 90 per cent excess-profits tax. They do it by pushing up profits faster than taxes, so that their taxes—normal as well as war taxes—are passed on to the government and the public in the sale of their products. This year they will have pushed their profits before taxes up to the record-breaking peak of $22 billion, or four times what they were in 1939. That is the measure of what corporations have done to raise the cost of living through inflation. Profits of some corporations have multiplied ten, twenty, even one hundred times.

Several of industry's witnesses before the committee frankly admitted that they were passing on their taxes to the government by raising their bids on war contracts to cover their income and excess-profits taxes. They seemed surprised that anyone should think they were going to pay income taxes out of profits. Some of the Republicans on the committee agreed that this was a preposterous idea.

Paul's figures also showed how corporations have concealed their vast war profits—so that even their stockholders don't realize how much they are making—by pursuing a conservative dividend policy. Corporations dividends are running only slightly higher than in 1939 and are actually lower than in 1936 and 1937. Only about half the profits are being paid out in dividends; undistributed profits for 1941-43, inclusive, are estimated at almost $12 billion. This, however, is a deceptively low figure since it includes the companies losing money. The profit-making corporations will have accumulated $16 billion in the three years. The Securities and Exchange Commission recently reported that United States corporations have $33 billion in quick, liquid assets.

From the standpoint of the public this conservative dividend policy is wise because it helps to control inflation and provide post-war reserves. It is still wiser from the standpoint of the companies: it fools the public, and if the profits are distributed after the war instead of now, they may be subject to lower individual income taxes.

The contention of Patterson and Paul that war contractors are making too much was fully substantiated by the testimony of the big business men who are administering the renegotiation law. The Office of Price Administration has recently provided similar evidence on the profits of consumer industries. Its studies have shown that meat packers and manufacturers of hosiery for women have multiplied their profits many times while they have been complaining about price ceilings and the grade labeling that makes ceilings effective.

Industry failed to make a case for repeal of the renegotiation law. Although its stories of poverty were sympathetically received by the Republicans on the committee and by one or two of the Democrats, every witness who was forced by more skeptical committee members to compare his war with his peace-time profits revealed that he was making many times what he did before other men began to give their lives for their country. The committee turned down the repeal demand but is still considering amendments that might gut the law. The evidence, however, indicated that, instead of being weakened, the law should if possible be strengthened, because even a 90 per cent tax cannot recover excessive profits if corporations are allowed to make too much before the taxes are applied. For the same reason, price control needs to be much stiffer.

The facts about war profits revealed at the hearings are of even greater value in connection with the tax problems now confronting Congress. Congressmen are talking as if it were impossible to raise the $12 billion the Administration needs to finance the war without taking it from the pockets of men and women who have not enough to live on decently. The figures presented by Paul and Patterson indicate that several of those billions could be taken from the corporations without starving anyone—even the much-talked-about widows and orphans who live on their dividends.

Although the excess-profits rate is already 90 per cent, there is room for higher rates on normal corporate profits. The Treasury last year wanted 50 or 55 per cent, but Congress refused to go above 40 per cent, and wrote a top limit of 80 per cent on the taxes that could be applied to a corporation, regardless of how excessive its profits might be. The post-war refund should be applied to normal taxes instead of excess-profits taxes. The companies which face trouble after the war are the ones which have not shared in the fat war profits. All the benefits so far have been for the profiteers. Corporations which have had excessive profits during the war should not be the only ones to be allowed post-war refunds.

But aside from raising rates, there are other ways to tighten up the taxes on corporations. Many of them have found wide loopholes in the tax laws through which they can squeeze their excessive profits without sharing them with the government. One of these loopholes is the formula for computing excess profits, which the corporations virtually wrote themselves. It conveniently permits them to choose the easiest of two lenient methods. They can measure them either by their normal peace-time profits, no matter how excessive these may have been, or by their invested capital, in which they can include capital long since lost and almost forgotten.

The corporations are doing a lot of talking about the risks they take. But most workers and farmers would gladly pay more taxes in return for the guaranty—already provided for the war profiteers—of a normal profit for two years after the war.

In the Wind

ON OCTOBER 10 the Associated Press will send to its member papers a feature story to the effect that the remaining kings and royal houses of Europe have always opposed totalitarianism.

A HANDBILL urging the election of Edward A. Carey as mayor of Detroit explains the race riots thus: "The high prices charged by the Jewish merchants of Hastings and Antoine streets were responsible for the unrest we find amongst the colored people. . . . There is no reason why the mayor of a large city should confine himself to local affairs, if his ideas will benefit the nation at large."

BOTH THE OWI and the State Department have disclaimed jurisdiction over the broadcasts of the United Nations radio station in Algiers. In the resulting confusion supporters of Marshal Badoglio have twice used the station's microphones to present propaganda for the Marshal's regime.

LAST FALL Romeo Booker, president of a local of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, was arrested at Ruleville, Mississippi, for soliciting labor to harvest crops in Florida under government contract. He was released and told to leave the Delta and never return. Now, however, he is back—in jail at Clarksdale, Mississippi. He was arrested by the FBI in Florida on a charge of impersonating a federal officer. The uniform he wore when arrested consisted of army trousers and shirt of World War I vintage, without insignia.

ACCORDING TO the *Wall Street Journal,* General MacArthur's "garrison hat is in the ring" for the Republican Presidential nomination. In this connection political observers have noted a possible link between the general and the Midwestern groups who are promoting his candidacy in the person of Phil La Follette, now a lieutenant-colonel on his staff in Australia. La Follette, ex-governor of Wisconsin and founder of the short-lived National Progressives of America Party, was a leading isolationist until December 7, 1941. He applied for a commission December 8.

FEELER?—*Printers' Ink,* a magazine reflecting the views of big business, reports from "an authoritative source" that the government, after the war, "will not turn its present war plants into industrial production of any kind—that it will lock them up and in due time junk them for whatever they will bring."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Dr. F. Breedvelt, Nazi superintendent of education in Utrecht, explains why so many new school principals are hardly more than boys. Older men "just do not seem to understand the New Order." . . . At a recent meeting of storm troopers in Prague, *Obergruppenführer* Jüttner said, "Germans must not permit a repetition of 1918, when the people snatched the weapons from the soldiers' hands."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

Poland and Russia

BY MARCIN RYLSKI

POLAND and the Soviet Union are the only United Nations with no official diplomatic ties. Following a procedure often observed in time of war, though never before between allies, the Polish government has asked the Australian minister to take charge of Polish interests in Russia. With the Soviet Union playing an increasingly important role in European affairs, Russo-Polish relations have become the dominant problem of Polish politics.

The leaders of the Polish left are in practical agreement with conservative Polish groups on this issue. Indeed, it is a question which transcends the boundaries of parties, as the Foreign Committee of the Polish Socialist Party in London openly acknowledged in a resolution adopted on June 30, 1943: "In the present conflict between Poland and the Soviet Union the attitude of all Polish groups is similar. Any assertion that there is a split between Polish democracy and Polish reaction on this matter represents the interference of foreign elements in Polish internal affairs—and we reject such interference resolutely."

The official policy of the leadership of the Polish labor movement and the Polish Peasant Party in London upholds the integrity of the Polish frontiers of 1939. It denies the Soviet thesis that the eastern portions of Poland, occupied in 1939 by the Red Army, belong to the Soviet Union as integral parts of the Ukrainian, White Russian, and Lithuanian Soviet Republics.

The Soviet and the Polish governments have stated their respective positions many times. It is undeniable that the territories in question—especially if some rectifications of boundaries are made—have Ukrainian and White Russian majorities, the Poles constituting an important minority. But the Polish boundaries established by the peace treaty signed at Riga in 1921, ending the Polish-Russian war, aroused no debate for eighteen years. The Polish government wants to reestablish those boundaries. The Soviet government, however, invoking the right of nations to self-determination, demands that the Ukrainians and White Russians who suffered under Polish rule be allowed to join the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet Republics. It bases its case on plebiscites conducted in these regions in October, 1939—plebiscites not recognized by the Polish and other Allied governments.

That either government can prevail upon the other to yield is more than doubtful. The Soviet Union, elated by its military victories and inspired by a growing nationalism, will not abandon its program voluntarily. Since this is so, the logical course for Polish groups which make the reestablishment of the frontiers of 1939 their basic claim is to seek the aid of external forces capable of *coercing* Russia. Official Polish policy is therefore trying to win the support of the Anglo-Saxon allies for its program. It represents Russia's demands on Poland as part of a larger desire to dominate all Europe and sections of Asia. Poland is the test case, it affirms, and any concessions to Stalin on this question, any attempt to "appease" him, would only cause him to formulate new demands.

All Polish plans for the post-war organization of Europe, particularly of Central-Eastern Europe, have the same starting point: Poland is always conceived of as it was in 1939, with the military force of any federation made up of Poland and its neighbors unalterably opposed to the Soviets. Official Polish policy is based on the consolidation of the United Nations alliance, under Anglo-American leadership, without or even against Russia. It expects that Russia will emerge from the war in a seriously weakened condition, and that it will be obliged, in order to obtain foreign help, to make certain political concessions, among them the recognition of the Polish claims. Another hope—which appears rather fantastic at the present moment—is that the Allies will enter Poland before the Russians and restore Poland to its boundaries of 1939 under the direction of the Polish government in London, and that Russia will then have to accept the *fait accompli.*

The Russian issue is considered so all-important by the Foreign Committee of the Polish Socialist Party—and the majority of other Polish political groups in London and the United States agree—that in the above-mentioned resolution of June 30 "all those who on this fundamental question have a different opinion" are declared to have "placed themselves outside the Polish Socialist Party." The declaration applies particularly to a group of Polish democrats and Socialists in the United States whose outstanding representative is Oscar Lange, professor of economics at the University of Chicago. With twenty-nine other well-known Polish democrats Professor Lange signed an "Appeal to Reason" opposing the policy of the Polish government in exile. Among the signers were Julian Tuwim, the modern Polish poet; Arthur Szyk, the cartoonist and painter; Professor Karpinski of the University of Michigan; Dr. Ossowski, president of the

American Slav Congress of Michigan; Jerzy Splawa Neyman of the University of California; S. Z. Stachowicz, former officer of the Polish army; and many Polish-American political and union leaders.

On August 6 the London *Tribune* published a letter from Edward Puhacz, who spoke for a group of Polish émigrés in Great Britain. This group, the letter said, were "greatly perturbed" by the anti-democratic policy of the Polish government in exile, a policy which they believed to be "detrimental to the interests of Poland and the war effort." The writer cited the scarcity of volunteers for the Polish army as indicative of the lack of confidence in the present government. "In 1918, 28,800 Poles from North America volunteered for the Polish army formed on French soil; the corresponding figure for this war is 600. As against this, 17.5 per cent of the volunteers for the United States army are of Polish nationality. In Great Britain, of 1,900 Poles subject to call, only 140 responded to the notice of the Polish consul general; the rest chose the British armed forces."

In the view of these democratic "oppositional" groups, close cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union are prerequisites to the restoration and maintenance of Polish national independence, in fact, to Polish national existence. Situated between Germany and Russia, Poland cannot fight against both. The Polish nation can win freedom from Germany only with the help of the Russian army. There is no basic antagonism between the interests of Russia and Poland, just as there are no irreconcilable differences between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon powers. The reconstruction of Poland is part of the general reconstruction of Europe, which demands the sincere collaboration of all the United Nations. Poland's interest lies in strengthening the cooperation of the United States, Great Britain, and Soviet Russia, not in playing upon their differences, as the Polish government in London does.

Responsibility for the Polish-Russian crisis, according to the "opposition," rests primarily with the Polish government in exile. Under the pressure of reactionary elements in the emigration, it has abandoned the policy of collaboration with Russia inaugurated by the late General Sikorski and adopted an outspoken anti-Russian line. "The activities of the press, of the information services, and of the diplomatic representatives of the government in exile have thwarted General Sikorski's personal efforts," writes Professor Lange. "Having signed an agreement and an alliance with the Soviet government, General Sikorski was unable to deliver the goods."

As for the eastern boundaries of Poland, the democratic opposition believes that the question should be settled amicably with the Soviet Union in a way that would safeguard the interests of the Ukrainians and White Russians as well as those of the Polish and Jewish minorities living in the disputed territories. The essential condition of a settlement is that no populations be kept within the boundaries of a Polish state against their will. Thus the democratic principle of self-determination is opposed to the legalistic formula of the Polish government, which bases its demand on the Riga treaty. Since the Ukrainian and White Russian populations were, in the main, dissatisfied with Polish rule, this position implies the renunciation of territories with a non-Polish majority. Rectifications of frontiers are considered desirable and possible, but they can be accomplished only if the foundation has been laid for harmonious Polish-Russian relations, similar to those between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. The "opposition" favors rapprochement with Czechoslovakia and accuses the Polish government of having aroused antagonism between the two Slav nations.

Besides New York and London the Polish political emigration has a third center in Moscow. The Union of Polish Patriots organized there a few months ago by elements from various political camps—its leaders include a few Polish Communists—takes a position on Poland's foreign policy similar to that of the oppositional democratic groups in this country. Its ideological declaration states that while Poland wishes to unite all Polish territory within the Polish state, it does not want one square inch of Ukrainian or White Russian land.

The factor that must determine Polish-Russian relations and therefore the future of Poland is not the feelings and ideas of Polish refugees in Great Britain, the United States, or Soviet Russia, of Polish-Americans, or even of the Polish government in exile or the leaders of pre-war parties, but the attitude of the Polish people in their own land. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to obtain exact information about this. There is no open political life in occupied Poland, no elections or Gallup polls. The sentiments of the Polish people are actively expressed only in the heroic and unconquerable underground, which has carried on the fight for liberation for more than four years. The Polish government in exile has frequently declared that its policy is supported by the illegal movement in Poland, that there is complete agreement between the political leaders in London and their friends in Poland. But certain underground organizations in Poland reject the policy of the Polish government and hold a position similar to that of the opposition. Like the Polish emigration, the Polish underground is divided, and bitter discussions, even fights, have occurred between the representatives of the various groups. No one can say who represents the majority of the population. Attempts to hide this division by asserting the complete unanimity of the Poles or by maintaining that the opponents of official policy are agents of foreign powers will not change the situation. The Poles of the Kosciuszko Division in the Soviet Union, like others

BURLINGAME

who oppose the foreign policy of the Polish government, are just as genuine Poles as their compatriots in the Polish army in Great Britain and the Middle East, or the elements supporting the Polish government in exile.

Political opinion in Poland is not fixed. It is in process of developing and is slowly moving toward expression. The attitude of the Polish masses is being forged by the struggle for liberation from the German oppressor. At the moment of victory they will perceive the paths open to them and make their choice. This choice will decide the future of Poland.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

SOME time will pass before we know what actually took place on the Russian front in these past weeks. Were the Germans defeated again and again in a gigantic series of battles? Or did they voluntarily carry out a just as gigantic continuous retreat—and if so, why?

Meanwhile one fact is certain: all during this time the situation has been described to the German public in a way that is without precedent. It has never been said that the retreat would soon be stopped; not even the hope that it would be has ever been expressed. It has never been suggested that somewhere the terrain might offer a chance of digging in. In fact, any consideration of whether the troops might soon be able to make a halt has been rigorously excluded. As the front drew nearer to the Dnieper, the newspapers and radios of the whole world discussed whether the Germans would take their stand behind it. Not so the German newspapers and radios. The defensive possibilities of the wide river have not been mentioned. German propaganda has spoken of the awful losses of the Russians, but for weeks it has suppressed every reference to a conceivable end of the retreat. The conclusion is unavoidable that the German leadership during all this time has looked forward to a long unbroken withdrawal as an absolute certainty.

Since July the Free German Committee in Moscow—in conjunction lately with the affiliated Generals' and Officers' Committee—has been addressing Germans in the Reich by radio. What does it say to them? An authoritative analysis of all the material broadcast up to the middle of September was recently undertaken. Its results are interesting.

Thirty-six per cent of the propaganda items can be described as mere generalities: Germans were told that they and the Reich would be saved; that the new Germany would be "free, independent, united, a juster and better place." The rest were only slightly more specific. Items addressed to labor were the most numerous: 11 per cent guaranteed the eight-hour day, adequate social security, and the like; 9 per cent promised the destruction of the big trusts. The next largest number were directed to middle-class listeners: 5 per cent proclaimed that the working class should not impose its special interests on the rest of the population; 6 per cent guaranteed the restoration of legal justice.

Numerous other topics made sporadic appearances. References to each of the following formed about 3 per cent of the material—a democratic government, a true national government, an "honorable ending" of the war, freedom of religion, protection for the "seduced" members of the Nazi Party. Among the items in the 2 per cent group the most important were freedom of press and speech, restoration of property to its rightful owners, equality before the law, a genuine German culture, and retention of their jobs by civil servants. About 1 per cent of the material was devoted to freedom of trade, freedom of assembly, continuation of the German armed forces, punishment of the war criminals and of guilty Nazis.

"Freiburg Youth," cried *Kreisleiter* Fritsch at a meeting on September 11, "you are assembled to pledge loyalty to the Führer. German youth must set a historic example at this time, when treachery is rearing its head. And we do not refer merely to the conduct of Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio but also to that of traitors now appearing in various guises among our own people."

"The saboteurs of morale at home," said the *Gauleiter* of Weser-Ems on September 9, "may in the future meditate behind bars whether it is right to deceive millions of decent, industrious Germans with false reports and unscrupulous gossip."

These remarks strike the tone of a campaign that is being carried on through meetings held all over Germany. And the same emphasis is found in an increasing flood of newspaper articles. But the phrase "meditate behind bars" is an understatement. There is a rising tide of death sentences and executions for "spreading mendacious reports," for "having tried to undermine the confidence of a young woman by malevolent lies and exaggerations," and for similar offenses.

Still worse things, however, must be going on without interference from the law or the courts. For in an arresting article that appeared in the newspapers in mid-September State Secretary Rothenberger of the Ministry of Justice admitted that even the courts and judges were not functioning satisfactorily. "It is no secret," he said, "that the German judiciary has not succeeded in winning the confidence of the Führer and the party." Therefore the judiciary has had to be shoved somewhat into the background. The State Secretary found this justifiable and natural: "The present outcry about lawlessness, arbitrary methods, legal insecurity, etc., is due to a lack of understanding of the political situation."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Reflection

Looking in time's long mirror
What image do you see?
One holding a golden basin
For the hands of authority.
We are haunted by the Roman
Face, ominous and tired,
As by the womanish gesture
Of one who has desired
To be free of choice: a burden
Too heavy for old men.
The image in the mirror
Reveals itself again.
The silent governor washes
One hand with the other hand.
The soldiers wait in silence,
And humble as the sand.
We stare on that repeated
Scene till our eyeballs ache.
Will a sandstorm rise? Will the mirror
Crack? Will the image break?

BABETTE DEUTSCH

On the Creative Imagination

BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

THE common belief is that the artist's imagination is a hectic gift, not a constant presence; that it comes and goes, in unpredictable ways, and that, when it is gone, it leaves its sometime host in a wretched and barren state, with nothing to do but wait, pray, and suffer, until its return. This belief, I think, is false; the truth is that for those blessed, or cursed, with its possession, imagination is *always there, and always working.* It is always working; but it works in two different ways; and in one of these two ways it also works doubly, either forward or backward, outward or inward, directly or in reverse.

To begin with, the imagination can work *passively*—taking in, not giving out; receiving, storing, assimilating, combining, preparing to distribute, sensations and impressions. The period may be likened to that in which a battery is charging. It is not a dead period, though the longer it lasts, the more it may seem so, and to submit to the process requires great understanding and patience. It may be as prolonged as Jacob's bondage for Rachel, and the energy acquired during a long time may be discharged in a very short one, in a brief and almost unbelievable storm of brightness, like that in which Rilke wrote down the Duinese elegies and the Sonnets to Orpheus.

The converse of this state occurs when the stored-up current of energy is actively discharged directly and outward in valid and viable works of art. But the flow of creative imagination can operate, also, in the reverse direction; and its operation, under these circumstances, is much less clearly understood. I am not too sure of the right terminology for the metaphor, but I suggest that *reversed polarity* may describe this discharge of energy in the wrong direction, inward, not outward; toward, rather than away from, the individual: the stream backs up, instead of flowing normally. The creative imagination then becomes subjective rather than objective; egocentric rather than ecstatic (Shelley said that poetry was the opposite of egotism); fantastic rather than real; secretive rather than given to communication. This may, if we are simple-minded enough, if our genius is sufficiently comic, result in a harmless and happy state, as described, for example, by James Thurber in "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty." But for one beatific neurosis, there are a thousand—the figure is inexact—malevolent and destructive ones. More often than not, the artist's tragic sense of life combines with his critical standards to inhibit wishful-thinking fantasies; he is more apt to err in the direction of anxiety, doubt, despair, apprehension, and dread. This tragic sense of life, which might create great characters and heroic action if the current were going the right way, now, with it flowing inward, fails into pathetic fantasies, with their author always in the role and poses of the helpless victim. *Hinc illae lacrimae*—of jealousy, hatred, suspicion, worry, self-pity; we are imposed on, we are persecuted, or we are guilty. And the worst of it is that while the imagination is *always working,* it works, now, with such power, its artistry is so subtle, that the subject, never suspecting its presence, is convinced, first, that his imagination has left him for good—or evil—and, second, that the fantasies he is creating are entirely actual and real. Theologians, describing this state, might say that Satan has taken your soul from God; clearly, you are not in a state of grace, or even in a position to believe that a state of grace is possible.

Now there are men—"autists" would describe them better than "artists"—through whom this current can flow with little resistance; it goes through them, and they deflect it enough to get it flowing circular wise, so that it emerges in an apparently outward direction. They have not, however, produced works of art—though they may think they have—but, in most cases, masterpieces of self-expression, more or less unconscious. (These men are usually great haters of technical excellence; they claim that its study inhibits their "inspiration.") It is extraordinary, the extent to which these masterpieces are mistaken, by critics, for works of art—the confusion would still exist, I think, even if it were not confounded by the commodity value of these performances. (What review of literature, what weekly book supplement, for example, is not really a trade journal?) Some of the admiration for this work is legitimate in that it is directed, not to the product, but to the manifest energy; but this energy is controlling, not controlled by, its host; it is compulsive, not compelled. Still, however little health there is in it, we are impressed, and cry out: *Deus, ecce Deus!* But the god is Dionysus, not Apollo. (And, by the way, how wise were the Greeks in making the latter lord not only of art but also of healing!) Most of the poems of Robinson Jeffers, the plays of Eugene O'Neill, the novels—or is it novel?—of Thomas Wolfe, belong, I think, in this category. And below this level we can proceed all the way down from the third-rate autobiographical novels, the weird and howling music, the fetal and fecal surrealist paintings, to the murder-per-page detective stories, the pornography of the comic strips, and the genteel verses that people are always writing to the Sunday *Times* to inquire about.

As distinguished from these we have the minor artists. Of them the worst that may be said is that they are deficient in energy. I do not think this is true; they possess, rather, to an almost hypersensitive degree, scrupulous and fastidious critical taste. They can make the distinction between fantasy and art; is this what people were trying to say, in their vague, romantic way, a hundred or so years ago, when they condemned fancy and exalted imagination? The minor artists know that stuff that comes too easy is never any good. They are constantly striving for technical improvement, and readily draw down on their heads the ire and ignorance of those who say they are more concerned with form than with content. A lie, of course, for which, if there is any just God, a lot of damned souls will fry in hell forever. These minor artists, also, know better than to repeat themselves. Their production, while scant, is of consistently high quality. Their work is durable. The penalty they must pay is that of enforced silence; and of enduring, in their personal lives, the backing-up, the reversed polarity, of the creative current. The struggles of a Housman or a Hopkins testify to the agony of spirit they must abide. Whether they can learn to control the current, to reverse its direction, is problematical. It might be possible: Rilke hinted at the possession of a secret when he said that the moment of inspiration must not be waited for, but must be summoned and seized; but he was most discreet as to *how* it might be summoned, and that, perhaps, is something everyone has to find out for himself. The beginning of wisdom, for this kind of artist, might be to understand, in these periods of difficulty and trouble, what is happening, and that his sufferings testify not to the absence but to the presence of his genius. The inane never suffer. Your Furies are your well-wishers, if you will face them and hang on to them in all their protean forms, and not let them harry you down the nights and down the years.

It must not be supposed that the great artist suffers less from devious phantoms and horrid apparitions; on the contrary. His sensitivity is so exquisite, his capacity for experience so tremendous, that his sufferings must be almost godlike—*Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of?* But the great artist, though even he may not be able to command the current to flow as he wills, can take it, and he can use it, greatly. The autists, under compulsion, may do more; the minor artists, under restriction, may do as well, if not as much: the great artist combines quality and quantity and transcends both. His tragic sense of life comes out with gaiety transfiguring all that dread; he is profound but never gloomy. From the middle road of our life, from the dark wood, Dante came through the Inferno to the high vision of the love that moves the sun and other stars. *Inferna tetigit possit ut supera assequi.* The personal, with the great artist, becomes the universal.

> Slipping in blood, by his own hand, through pride,
> Hamlet, Othello, Coriolanus, fall:
> Upon his bed, however, Shakespeare died,
> Having endured them all.

Two Revolutions in Plowing

THE AMERICAN LAND: ITS HISTORY AND ITS USES. By William R. Van Dersal. Oxford University Press. $3.75.

PLOWMAN'S FOLLY. By Edward H. Faulkner. The University of Oklahoma Press. $2.

THE first of these books makes record of the fact that the straight furrow is out of date in American agriculture. The second prophesies a complete abolition of the sort of plow which, on the official seal of our Department of Agriculture, has typified the march of white agriculture in this land.

History, Dr. Van Dersal says, may be read on the face of the land in the changing forms of fields and crops. In the recent widespread swing from straight furrows on rectangular fields to "a broad and subtle handling of slope and soil, sweeping curves and winding terraces, and fields fitted at long last to the rounded rolling contours of the land," he sees a revolution in our basic farm practices under way. Thomas Jefferson advocated this method of "horizontal plowing" as a means of making each furrow a small dam or terrace to halt running water and refresh the crop. And the Sage of Monticello, viewing his own acres, long ago, added that "nothing exceeds in beauty" the design of the contoured fields.

Contour tillage did not catch on at the time, but another of Jefferson's agricultural notions—a turning plow, with a twisted mold-board mathematically calculated to turn the furrow completely over with the least draft and strain—did catch on, mightily. Lecturing recently at the Cosmos Club in Washington, M. L. Wilson, national director of agricultural extension, produced the specifications and a model of the Jefferson moldboard to show how nearly exactly it was the plow in front of the shock of corn on the department's seal today.

I thought of this, driving south through Virginia last month. In a summer dry and hot beyond that of any year since 1817, when Jefferson was alive, I could not help noticing, as Faulkner notes, that the untilled roadside plants were flourishing whereas the "cultivated" fields beyond looked baked out, burned out, farmed out; bleak, thin. An engineer named Arthur Mason observed the same difference between the native grass rims of the Illinois Central right of way and plowed corn land beyond, early in this century. It is something every farmer will have noticed, and every agricultural college worker. But it took this maverick ex-county agent, Faulkner, of Ohio, to see what constant turning of the topsoil, and neat burial of all organic residue from six to ten inches down, can do toward thinning the soil and killing its productivity.

It is plainly, as he argues, against nature. You see nothing like it in woodland or in native meadows. There the organic residue is worked in from the top into the topsoil, and the soil tends to be absorptive of rain, mellow and friable. Erosion is not, as Faulkner says it is, completely stopped by native cover, or by imitating native cover with "trashy" surface manipulation of crop residues. There must have been some erosion under undisturbed native cover to make the primitive Missouri River muddy and to mold all the configurations of our land. But under natural conditions, probably, accelerated erosion is so diminished by natural cover that man can adjust himself to the change and never feel the difference in a lifetime. That seldom is true of plowed land.

In presenting his experiments and arguments for disk-harrowing rather than for moldboard preparation of the seedbed Faulkner persuades me, at least, that his method, wherever it can be used, would greatly decrease field erosion and probably build land up in fertility even as it is being cropped. No book I recall in thirty years of agricultural reading has aroused such a furor; and this rejoices me. It happens I knew this Faulkner when he had just begun his war against our sainted moldboard plow, twenty years ago. It seemed to me to stand to reason that the moldboard plow is a blunt instrument of major surgery, turning and rending a living body, soil, once a year, or once every two or three years. It stands to reason that a healthy soil cannot go through that many major operations without becoming devitalized. I do not believe, as Faulkner does, that by doing away with this major operation we can entirely dispense with commercial fertilizers, insecticides, and the plague of weeds. But the methods he indicates will certainly make less inevitable our present practice of thinning soil down to subsoil; grinding, whacking, and washing the humus out of it; then using the thinned and deadened residue as a sort of feeding trough for mineral powders, hauled in and spread on the wasting earth to nourish plants.

Dr. Van Dersal's book is urbanely and pleasantly written. It is as full of astonishing information as an old-time farmers' almanac. Mr. Faulkner's briefer work is contentious, opinionated, mocking, and not a little grim. Small wonder. The orthodox agriculturists who now dismiss or belittle his findings as those of a man who did not have the government and all its vast agricultural experimental funds behind him are at one with those who forced Faulkner out of professional agricultural work, to pay for his own experiments by selling insurance, for a while. Mr. Faulkner is sharp in what he has to say but never pompous or rude.

Those who would follow him have quite a fight ahead. I have just been looking through the latest issue of the *Southern Planter*, published in Richmond. Three of the advertisements show farmers plowing straight furrows right up the hillside in the old calamitous way. And in a clubby war-time morale-builder paid for by the Oliver Chilled Plow Company, behold this bent old farmer practically crying over his faithful steel sodbuster, addressing it as "Ollie," and declaring: "I like and respect you for the kind of plowing you do. When those Raydex bases of yours turn over the soil, there's no big air space underneath and the trash is buried deep underground. They didn't name you Plow Master for nothing."

RUSSELL LORD

War Criminals

THE DAY OF RECKONING. By Max Radin. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.75.

GOVERNMENTS of the United Nations have pledged the prosecution of war criminals; recently the American Bar Association declared that the "trial of war criminals should have as its primary purpose the vindication of the rule of law"; and former President Hoover and Hugh Gibson warn that "a muddled conception of international law must not be used as a shield to protect people from punishment for their crimes."

But international law so far has not settled the problem under what law and in which courts war criminals can be tried. Article 228 of the Versailles treaty authorized the Allies to bring violators of the laws and customs of war before military tribunals. Later the International Law Association elaborated a Statute for an International Court of Criminal Justice, but nothing came of this suggestion. Professor Radin's imagination has created an Extraordinary Tribunal, presided over by an Irish colonel. This tribunal tries Hitler and six of his gang leaders in a courtroom in Luxembourg for the murder of one Frenchman, one Czechoslovak, and one Russian victim. After the proceedings, in which the defendants remain mum and the counsel for the defense talks a lot of nonsense, the prisoners are duly sentenced to death. They are executed by the administration of cyanide gas because hanging would obviously be too good for them. We are told that the tribunal "claims powers that override the textbook doctrines of international law" and is bound only by "reason and justice."

But this is exactly what the Nazis did, except that they called their "reason and justice" *Volksempfinden*, or racial perception. Mr. Radin's tribunal even refuses to recognize the "rule against ex post facto laws" as the Magna Charta of criminals. The author is apparently unaware that it was not "one of their [that is, Nazi] criminologists" who coined this phrase but Professor Franz von Liszt, a great and international-minded scholar who was anxious to stress the importance of law as the safeguard of personal liberty to which even criminals have been entitled since the great legal revolution of the eighteenth century fought by Voltaire, Beccaria, and Montesquieu.

Professor Radin emphasizes the point that the charge against the defendants is not a political crime or a violation of international law but murder pure and simple. If so, since the crimes have been committed in France, Czechoslovakia, and Russia, there is no reason why the Allied military authorities should not hand the defendants over to the competent courts in those countries. In trying Nazi criminals those courts are not likely to be unduly lenient.

Even more unsatisfactory than the solution of the jurisdictional problem is the suggestion that while the criminals should be held responsible symbolically for three token murders, "other agents . . . of an inferior class" shall go free, leaving other crimes unpunished. If law has been, indeed, restored, justice must not pick one or another of the criminals but must prosecute all the principals and accessories. It is true Hitler can be executed only once, but that is exactly why the question arises whether legal proceedings are really an adequate way of dealing with all the monstrous horrors, savageries, and cruelties which the Nazis have perpetrated.

For lack of a more appropriate expression we may metaphorically term these atrocities crimes calling for punishment. But to take this term in its technical sense would result in the misrepresentation of legal principles which are much too important to human society to be discredited by their misuse for the sake of expediency. Any student of the history of laws knows that punishment is sublimated revenge, but retribution is still its essential element, designed to satisfy the more or less subconscious craving of the victim and of the public for revenge. Is it conceivable that after four years of this dreadful nightmare the relatives of the thousands of victims of the Nazi terror would feel their sense of justice satisfied by the reckoning which Professor Radin suggests?

There is no need to brood over this dilemma. The people of Germany and of all the Nazi-ridden countries are likely to find a more practical and more satisfactory solution than those legalistic niceties of which the American journalists who attend the imaginary trial make fun. Addressing the audience, the Minister of Justice of Luxembourg states that "the members of the tribunal are too distinguished to be asked to play a role in a comedy." Yet they do. This tragicomedy will at best gratify those business men who are scared to death by the inevitable revolution in the Axis countries which might defer the return to "normalcy."

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Fiction in Review

IN WRITING last week about Eudora Welty's latest volume of short stories I said that somewhere between Chekhov and Katherine Mansfield the short story had got off its trolley, and I suggested that it was Miss Mansfield who was in large part responsible for the exaggerated subjectivity which has so variously corrupted modern short fiction. The line of descent from Miss Mansfield to Miss Welty may not always be easy to trace: the family resemblance is more a matter of the carriage of the head than of feature for feature. But in a writer like Sylvia Townsend Warner the connection can be seen more readily. Miss Warner is less talented perhaps, and less ambitious, than Miss Welty, but she is an accomplished practitioner of her craft and more typical of her literary generation. Twenty-eight of her stories, many of them familiar from having appeared in the *New Yorker,* have been gathered in "A Garland of Straw" (Viking, $2.50). They are an interesting sampling of the thin brew of sensibility which has been so largely our nourishment in English and American short fiction since Miss Mansfield separated the flesh from the bone of Chekhov.

I use the word sensibility in its frankly pejorative connotation; obviously, sensibility under control is as necessary to a writer as an ear to a musician. But just as, in the case of Miss Welty, a too great subjectivity manifests itself in too great a preoccupation with fine prose, in Miss Warner a too great subjectivity manifests itself in an overdependence upon her private and special awarenesses. This is what I mean by sensibility, the delusion that an author's fugitive insights and sensitivities and symbolical observations will carry, in a piece of fiction, the full weight with which they are charged in the writer's own experience. They never do. Actually, they reduce the stature of a story to the size of the smallest elements that compose it—and this despite the fact that there is always implicit, in over-subjective writing, an author's emotion of superiority to his environment and his fellowman. I seem to recall that too many of Miss Mansfield's stories were stories of pity; although she would always have wished to project her sensibility into a larger realm of meaning, she never succeeded, even in her most objective efforts, in raising her stories out of the diary-like context in which they were conceived. The first modern writer to look for the whole of salvation in her pride of perception, Katherine Mansfield perpetuated a mood for the short story from which we have to turn back to Chekhov to remember that there is nothing in the story form itself which demands the substitution of the fragmentary and the allusive for the broadly conceived and fully stated.

Sylvia Townsend Warner lives in a more politically conscious world than Miss Mansfield. Many of her stories are concerned with politics, war, and "issues"; one has the impression, however, that the bigger the issue the smaller and more personal the symbol by which Miss Warner communicates her indignation, and that the cause itself is actually secondary to the triumphant play of Miss Warner's creativity about it. For instance, a story called Apprentice, in intent one of the serious stories in "A Garland of Straw," deals with the way Nazism can corrupt people. Apprentice is set in occupied Poland and is the story of a little girl who lives under the protection of a German *Gauleiter.* In the midst of starvation Lili has plenty to eat, and she elaborates a wonderful game in which, standing above the public road, she dangles bits of food on a string for the starving passersby to jump for. But one young Polish boy resists her temptations, and Lili becomes maddened with the need to break his independent spirit. On a particularly cold day she dangles a cinnamon bun before the boy; he is so hungry that he jumps for it, and Lili jerks the string out of his reach just as the boy falls dead of cold and hunger. Thinking, "It must be really terrible to die like that," Lili pulls up the bun and eats it.

Well, a story like this, it seems to me, defeats its purpose. Primarily concerned to assert the rightness of her own feelings, Miss Warner luxuriates in her scorn of the child Lili; in consequence, Lili becomes an incredible little monster instead of a credible little human being. And in consequence of Lili's monstrosity, Miss Warner's whole indictment of Nazism exposes itself as a contrivance.

Of course, not all Miss Warner's stories show such a flagrant discrepancy between purpose and method. Some are merely sketches or anecdotes (The Trumpet Shall Sound, To Cool the Air); some are frankly fragmentary (Rainbow Villa, Setteragic On). But the least of them mingles with the most ambitious without the reader being aware of a disturbing difference in kind because, having a common point of departure in sensibility, they all sacrifice permanent meaningfulness to the fleeting triumphs and self-justifications of the creative moment. Although Miss Warner is willing to be far more humanly fallible than Katherine Mansfield would ever have wished to be, and although her prevailing temper is neither ecstatic nor pitying but acidulous, her stories are unmistakably fledglings from "The Dove's Nest."

I have used Miss Warner as an instance of one of the major faults of a whole literary school; in fairness I should also point out that she has a liveliness and flavor which put her in a class quite apart from most of the writers represented in such a collection as Martha Foley's "The Best American Short Stories, 1943" (Houghton Mifflin, $2.75). Miss Foley, still flogging the dead horse of the popular-magazine story over whose grave she should long ago have said her requiescat, illustrates a more "living form of tale-telling" with selections from Vicki Baum, Kay Boyle, Rachel Field, Jesse Stuart, and other such bringers of life to fiction. True, she also includes a typical story by Eudora Welty (Asphodel) and a typical and good story by Delmore Schwartz (An Argument in 1934), which certainly belong in a volume of this kind—even though I very much dislike the Eudora Welty story—and she reprints John Cheever's The Pleasures of Solitude, a very small piece which nevertheless has enough quality and meaning to bear several readings. Perhaps, in other words, no editor could have done better with the available material. But I could wish that Miss Foley were herself less satisfied with it.

"The Night of the Summer Solstice and Other Stories of the Russian War" (Holt, $2.50) is Mark Van Doren's selection of seven contemporary Soviet authors in representative short fiction dealing with war themes. I suppose it would be hard to find a volume of stories farther removed from the subjectivism I have been describing in American and English fiction; in fact, these reports of the fighting in Russia are so unmarked by the personalities of their individual authors that any one of them might have been written by the author of any other. But although there may be a momentary relief in such impersonality, it is only for the moment: then we realize that excess in the direction of self-effacement is just as unfruitful as excess in the direction of self-expression. These stories do record the misery and courage of the Russian struggle, but, at least aesthetically, they belong in the category of Soviet poster art rather than in the great tradition of the Russian short story.

DIANA TRILLING

CONTRIBUTORS

NATHAN ROBERTSON has been a reporter for the Washington *Times* and the Washington bureaus of the United Press, the Associated Press, and *PM*. In 1938 he was counsel for the Coal Commission, and in 1939 assistant information director of the Farm Security Administration.

MARCIN RYLSKI is the pseudonym of a Polish journalist with opportunities to be exceptionally well informed about current Polish politics.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of "Out of the Jewel," a book of poems. He has translated the poems of García Lorca.

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ART

SOMETHING of the harmony of the original white square of canvas should be restored in the finished painting. But harmony a thousand times more intense, because it is the result of the successful resolution of a difficult struggle. The simplest way almost of accounting for a great work of art is to say that it is a thing possessing simultaneously the maximum of diversity and the maximum of unity possible to that diversity. For lack of the first the new painting by Mondrian called "New York Boogie Woogie," now on view at the Museum of Modern Art with several other new acquisitions, is, for all its sudden originality, something a little less than a masterpiece. The checkered lines of orange squares produce a staccato rhythm—signifying jazz—too easily contained by the square pattern and white ground of the picture. At hardly any point does the rhythm threaten to break out of and unbalance this pattern enough to justify the latter's final triumph. There is resolution, but of an easy struggle.

"New York Boogie Woogie" is a radical step forward in Mondrian's evolution, which since his arrival in this country and to this point has been concerned mainly with the widening of his color spectrum. Now not only have new and for the first time slightly impure colors been introduced, but the hitherto immutable elements of Mondrian's space composition have begun to break up: the straight black, almost incised, lines into parti-colored chains of squares, and the great dominating rectangles into smaller rectangles and squares of contrasting colors. The artist has not yet possessed himself fully of these new configurations, not yet rendered them controllable to his total purpose, but the gamble is well worth taking. Unless the artist die to the successes of his old work he cannot live in his new. Repetition is death. One more thing: the picture at hand suffers from the absence of that very neat and precise mechanical execution that used always to characterize a Mondrian painting. It is either a failure of manual dexterity, a deliberate effort to be a little more fluid, or simply the impression left by the weak yellow and the purple that appear in a Mondrian painting for almost the first time. The picture has a floating, wavering, somehow awkward quality; the color wanders off in directions that I am sure belie the artist's intent. Yet "New York Boogie Woogie" is a remarkable accomplishment, a failure worthy only of a great artist, and its acquisition was more than justified; it was mandatory.

Of the other acquisitions the Matta painting is slightly untypical, has an almost valid surface charm, and is certainly better than those iridescent burlesque-house decorations, style of 1930, he usually paints, which are little more, really, than the comic strips of abstract art. Again, the painting by Masson is one of his better recent ones: turgid and dense, the tone hot but subdued. It has, however, an unpleasant pretentiousness about it. I don't think Masson will ever again turn out work comparable to that he did in the twenties.

The presence of the picture by the Mexican Tamayo evidences, along with that of the Matta and Masson, the extreme sensitivity of the museum to trade winds on Fifty-seventh Street. The museum shows taste in that when it buys the work of inferior artists it at least chooses their best work—untrue here only in the case of Tamayo—but this does not atone for its masochistic fondness for the social and other epigones of the School of Paris.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

DANCE

KATHERINE DUNHAM is an anthropologist-dancer who went to Hollywood, but her current program at the Martin Beck Theater suggests the sequence in reverse. Her "tropical revue" is high-toned hot-stuff, and it goes over big with an audience that gets a kick out of sex brought into the parlor by a dancer who is obviously a lady.

For her dances Miss Dunham has used primitive and folk material from the Pacific, the Caribbean, and North and South America. Now there are three ways in which such material can be presented in the theater: one is to recreate it in as authentic and precise a manner as possible; another is to point up its qualities with appropriate garnishings and accents; a third way is to use it creatively so that the essence of the material is revealed in a complex work of art. To use the first method successfully, utmost fidelity to the original is necessary; for the second the same fidelity is required plus good taste and artistic skill; for the third a high degree of creative ability is essential, such as is revealed, for example, in Nijinska's compelling choreography for Strawinsky's "Les Noces," in which Russian folk themes and customs are developed and harmonized into a major work of art. This type of creative utilization of folk material is never achieved in the Dunham "tropical revue," although it is several times attempted. Nor is the first method, that of faithful reproduction of the original, used. The program relies, for the most part, on the second method, folk material garnished, and very much so. Moreover, the garnishings are frequently inappropriate and lack inherent connection with the material.

The most ambitious and least successful number on the program is the "Rites de Passage" based on rituals of fertility, male puberty, and death. Here, according to the program note, the attempt was made to "capture in abstraction the emotional body of any primitive community and to project this intense, even fearful personal experience, under the important change in status and the reaction of the society through this period." Although the tasteful costumes and simple, beautifully posed opening tableau set the stage for a moving performance, the lack of restraint in the movement, the superimposition of banal routines, and the failure to permit the material to determine its own form produce an opposite result. I liked best the "Bahiana" and "Lady with a Cigar," two fresh, unpretentious pieces that have sparkle and pace—perfect revue numbers.

Miss Dunham and her company are all excellent dancers and they are gorgeously costumed. Outstanding in the group are Sylvilla Fort, Laverne French, Roger Chardieno, and Lavinia Williams. The musical accompaniment leaves much to be desired. At times it is just passable and at other times, as in "Rites de Passage," it is very poor indeed.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

RECORDS

ROSE BAMPTON began her career with a rich and powerful contralto voice which she later converted into a soprano—with consequences that are to be heard on Victor's September record (11-8466, $1) of *Or sai chi l'onore* and *Non mi dir* from "Don Giovanni." In the quiet opening section of *Non mi dir* and much of the subsequent fast and florid section, which employ the lower range of her voice, it is agreeable but colorless and breathily unconcentrated; in the climactic high notes of this aria and in the highly placed declamatory phrases of *Or sai chi l'onore* the voice becomes compressed into a thin shriek. In addition, neither in its agreeable low range nor in its shrieky high range is the voice used with the dramatically expressive inflection which this music requires—the inflection which makes the music so powerful and affecting when Souez sings it in the Glyndebourne Festival recording: as Miss Bampton delivers these great pieces of declamation they are merely pieces of vocalization. And the orchestral comment, which adds its power to that of the singing in the Glyndebourne performance, is perfunctory in style and barely audible on the Bampton record.

Victor's September list also includes Telemann's "Don Quixote" Suite for string orchestra, played by the Arthur Fiedler Sinfonietta (Set 945, $2.50). The performance is adequate and is well recorded except for occasional harshness in the sound of the violins. But the music has little illustrative significance and only slight musical interest: the most that can be said of the sections that are not dull is that they are pleasant. The work is one that might rate rehearsal and a performance or two as a brief novelty on a concert program, but—even in normal times—would not rate permanence on records and the expenditure on orchestra, engineers, plant, labor, and materials involved in recording; and in the present period of shortages of materials, plant, and labor the expenditure is even more questionable.

This may be said also of Beethoven's so-called "Jena" Symphony, of which a good performance by Werner Janssen with the Janssen Symphony of Los Angeles is recorded with marvelous beauty, clarity, and spaciousness of sound, though with occasional slight buzzes (Set 946, $3.50). The work was discovered in the form of manuscript parts—two with Beethoven's name—in the archives of an old concert society in Jena; if he wrote it he did so between 1787 and 1790—that is, between the ages of seventeen and twenty; if there is doubt of his authorship it is because the work not only is dull but hasn't the slightest resemblance to even the earliest of Beethoven's published works; and how little he himself thought of it—if he wrote it—can be inferred from the fact that he, who published everything he could, including some pretty feeble stuff, did not publish this symphony. I can, again, conceive of a conductor putting it on a program once as a curiosity, but not of a record company putting it on records. Mr. Charles O'Connell of Victor has stated "five broad basic reasons" that determine the choice of a work for recording: "First, established public demand. Second, musical importance of the work in question, either from a purely artistic point of view or from a historical viewpoint. Third, the particular ability of a given artist to perform the work. Fourth, our belief in the special appeal of the work . . . even though there is no appreciable demand. Finally, the work . . . [may incorporate] special ideas which we ourselves develop." The last reason is concerned with matters like the "Heart of the Symphony" and "Heart of the Concerto" volumes; it is the other reasons that concern us here; and whereas one or another of them might have given us recordings of those great performances of Mozart concertos by Schnabel with the New Friends of Music Orchestra that were not recorded, or of some of the finest of the unfamiliar Haydn symphonies played by the New Friends Orchestra that were left unrecorded, none of the reasons accounts for the recording of the "Jena" Symphony.

Moreover, the waste of scarce materials, plant, and labor on this work or on tripe like Dai-keong Lee's Prelude and Hula, performed by Kindler with the National Symphony (11-8452, $1), is harder to take when one opens the new Victor catalogue and notes some of the things that have been eliminated for the duration because of the wartime shortages—things like the volume of Schubert songs sung by Elisabeth Schumann, Schubert's Trio Opus 100, Mozart's Piano Concertos K. 450, 453, 459, Mozart's Quintets K. 515 and 593, several of his quartets, most of the volumes of Haydn quartets, many of Beethoven's quartets—and this while "The Heart of the Symphony" and "The Heart of the Concerto" are retained. Or when one goes into record stores for the Glyndebourne Festival recording of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro" and other things that are still in the catalogue, and finds that they might just as well be out of it.

It is only fair to add that Columbia too has wasted scarce materials, plant, and labor on things like Cowell's "Tales of Our Countryside," while it has eliminated some important works from its catalogue for the duration and others permanently and cannot keep dealers supplied with the works that the catalogue still lists.

B. H. HAGGIN

Towards a Program for Jews

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Letters to the Editors

Soldiers and the Rights of Negroes

Dear Sirs: In something over a year of service among soldiers of varied background and education, I've observed some prevalent attitudes toward the Negro that surprised me and may be of some interest to others. The most striking thing I have observed is the strange intensity of the average soldier's preoccupation with the condition of the Negro minority. More discussions, heated arguments, and exchanges of experience developed about this topic than any other subject.

I could not avoid the feeling that a strong undercurrent of tension, seldom consciously understood even among the most alert and liberal, constantly brought the issue of this submerged group to the surface. Those raised to accept inequality felt the need to defend a system they couldn't whole-heartedly favor; those politically, morally, or environmentally alive to the contradiction of segregation and discrimination in a democracy, those who realize the dangers we face in seeking international comity with a record of national racism, the advocates, in short, of fuller rights and opportunities for the Negro, are on the offensive. The bigots seek refuge in dogmatism, a rosy version of the status quo, or a cautious gradualism.

It would seem that a crisis is approaching, that a vigilant minority is determined to support the Negro in his struggle for recognition, that a deeply ingrained prejudice supported by the economic, educational, and present social inferiority of the Negro is seeking to find a solution that will not disturb its complacence, though the vocal supporters of that prejudice dwindle in number if not in noise.

If these limited observations can be generally applied, is there not reason to suppose that efforts of the Negro to raise himself economically will receive increased support and tolerance after the war? Few still oppose the extension of equal educational chances for all Americans. Social recognition alone seems without sufficient widespread support and thus makes possible the occurrence of violent and prolonged resistance, likely to be intense if the advance is too rapid.

Service men are thinking of these problems and won't stop thinking of them when they return home. I do not believe they will bring home solutions, but at least they cannot have avoided a realization of the problem. If post-war adjustments in America provide better jobs and schools and homes and real hope for the Negro, our uneasy consciences may find constructive release. The alternative would seem to be paralyzing social conflict and the retarding of the nation's advance to the freedoms we are fighting for.

PRIVATE

Somewhere in Texas, September 21

Note on Cripps

Dear Sirs: You will recall that in your issues of September 19 and September 26, 1942—just a year ago—you printed articles by me on Why Cripps Failed in which I quoted documents and authoritative statements to prove that Cripps's proposals were rejected because he originally offered India a national Cabinet government with the Viceroy serving in a capacity similar to that of the King of England, and then, under pressure, withdrew the offer. Interestingly enough, I have just come across the text of a speech which Sir Stafford Cripps, then not yet an official, delivered in the House of Commons on October 26, 1939, wherein he proposed exactly the same thing. He said, "The majority parties in the legislature should form a government, which the Viceroy would then appoint as his Executive Council. It is true that, technically and in accordance with the constitution, the Executive Council would not be a Cabinet, but there is no reason on earth why the [British] government should not give an understanding that the Viceroy would deal with that Executive Council, so appointed from the members of the majority of the Legislative Assembly, as if it were a Cabinet on all matters: that is to say, he would accept their advice as the Crown here accepts the advice of the Cabinet when duly tendered to it."

In October, 1939, the month when this speech was delivered, Cripps handed to Lord Halifax, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a scheme embodying this idea of an Indian Cabinet government with a Viceroy as non-executive sovereign. I was in London at the time and he showed it to me.

There is no doubt of course that this is exactly what he originally offered the Indian party representatives with whom he negotiated in New Delhi in March-April, 1942. LOUIS FISCHER

New York, September 22

Not a "Steal"

Dear Sirs: Never in the many, many, many years I have been reading *The Nation* have I thought you unfair nor—I hasten to add—do I now. There are two sides to almost any question. There most certainly is another side to our request for an increase in the price of crude oil—other than that reflected in your issue of August 28.

Suppose the Brotherhoods asked for a wage increase and a committee composed of Mr. A, president of Morgan and Company, Mr. B, president of the National City Bank, and Mr. C, president of the First National Bank of Chicago, branded the request a "steal" and pointed out that fifteen of the leading railroads showed profits 20 per cent above those of last year, would *The Nation* say, "The committee is to be commended for its forthright report attacking the increase for the steal that it is"?

There are in the United States thousands upon thousands of independent oil producers. They produce millions of barrels of crude oil every year. The vast majority are very small operators, trying to pay for a home or a farm, raise and educate a family, pay a fair price to their employees, and discharge their obligations. Their only income is derived from the sale of their crude oil to the pipe-line company (no doubt one of the fifteen companies referred to in your editorial). The difference between what it cost the operator to find and produce this oil and what he received for it from the pipe-line company represents his profit or his salary or his wages—call it what you will—but no thinking person should deny that it cost the operator something to locate his oil. It is rare, indeed, for a man to drill one well and find oil. The number of dry holes drilled each year will bear this out. It is just as certain that it costs the operator a certain amount per barrel to produce his oil, and the operator is certainly entitled to a living. He knows, too, that every barrel produced means that much less under ground; so to continue in business he of necessity is trying to find new oil to replenish his reserve. That is all he has to sell—his oil. When his wells are depleted, he is through.

One of the first official acts of Leon Henderson was to freeze the price of crude oil. The net result of this is that the producer receives for his oil the same price he received in 1938. To make this clear, I as a producer of crude oil received for a barrel of oil in August, 1943, exactly what I received in August, 1938—five years ago.

I have never met Julius J. Luhrsen of the Brotherhoods, Boris Shishkin of the A. F. of L., or J. Raymond Walsh of the C. I. O., but I suppose they are men just about like me, with children and homes, and I suppose the wife tells them as she tells me that eggs are costing her 57 cents a dozen (they were 17 cents a dozen in August, 1938), and that potatoes and butter and everything else we eat cost much, much more than in 1938, and the clothes we and the children wear—in a nutshell, our dollar will not start to buy what it did in 1938. And I have an idea if any of the unions these gentlemen represent would ask for a wage increase on the ground they were receiving in 1943 the same scale they had in 1938, the request would receive a most sympathetic hearing, and it certainly should.

So we asked for a raise—under the circumstances a very normal procedure. We did not ask for a 35-cents-a-barrel raise; we asked that the price of crude oil be raised to the level of other basic commodities, whether it was 35 cents, 10 cents, or 75 cents a barrel. We asked for it purely on the basis I am discussing—parity. We attempted to show something so obvious it hardly seemed necessary—that costs of living and costs of doing business had increased greatly in five years, and that the price of our crude oil had not been permitted to rise correspondingly.

The phrase "to encourage more production" was foreign to us. We have no idea where it started or what it means. I squirm when I see it in print.

Our boys are fighting and dying, just like yours. We are doing everything we possibly can do to win this war, just like you, and we are trying to retain our homes and our business for our boys to come back to, just like you. We are just plain hard-working American citizens—thousands of us. Few of us had the benefit of a college education—many did not even go through high school—but we are trying to see that our children do.

We certainly had no intention of being parties to a "steal," and while of course I don't know Mr. Ickes, I can't find it in my heart to believe he would be a party to a "steal" either.

There are but three facts to ascertain: (a) the number of independent oil producers; (b) the portion of crude oil they produce; (c) have costs gone up in the past five years? Mr. Ickes, Petroleum Administrator for War, should certainly supply you with (a) and (b); fact (c) may be more difficult to secure. What the profit statements of fifteen large oil corporations have to do with the condition of thousands and thousands of small crude-oil producers scattered over some twenty states is hard for me to understand. Would it not be just as logical to say the cotton farmer in Louisiana was making lots of money, because the cotton mills in Boston were making huge profits?

As a reader and a subscriber of *The Nation*—not one who accidentally stumbled on the editorial—and in the spirit of fairness and justice, I am asking you to review our request for an increase in the price of crude oil—solely and purely on the basis of parity. You will find, I am sure, that we are asking only to be raised to the economic level of organized labor and organized industry, and you will also find we try to be honest and honorable in our thinking and in our living—just like you.

NEVILLE G. PENROSE

Forth Worth, Tex., September 3

[We are impressed with Mr. Penrose's statement of the case for the independent producer and shall discuss it editorially in the next issue of *The Nation.*]

Problems of Young Children

Dear Sirs: The National Association for Nursery Education is holding its tenth biennial meeting in Boston, Massachusetts, October 22 to 25, with headquarters at the Hotel Statler. This will be a work-study conference on "The Community Serves the Child in War and Peace." Registration opens the morning of October 22, and the first general session will be held that evening on the topic "The World Picture and the Implications for Education." Subsequent sessions will consist of study groups which will discuss child-development problems based on actual case histories of various communities.

The problems of young children, intensified by present war conditions, can only be solved by persons interested in protecting and improving health, welfare, and education. Despite the curtailment of travel, it is hoped that, because of the vital need for coordinated planning and action, as many leaders in the field as possible will make an effort to participate.

MARJORIE L. CRAIG, Chairman,
Public Relations Committee

New York, September 15

Hard Life

Dear Sirs: Article of War 62 suggests that the good soldier not use "contemptuous or disrespectful words against . . . the Congress of the United States." After checking the record of the first session of the 78th, some of us feel that obedience to this order is one of the many aspects of life in war time that Congress has not made easy.

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Somewhere in England, September 6

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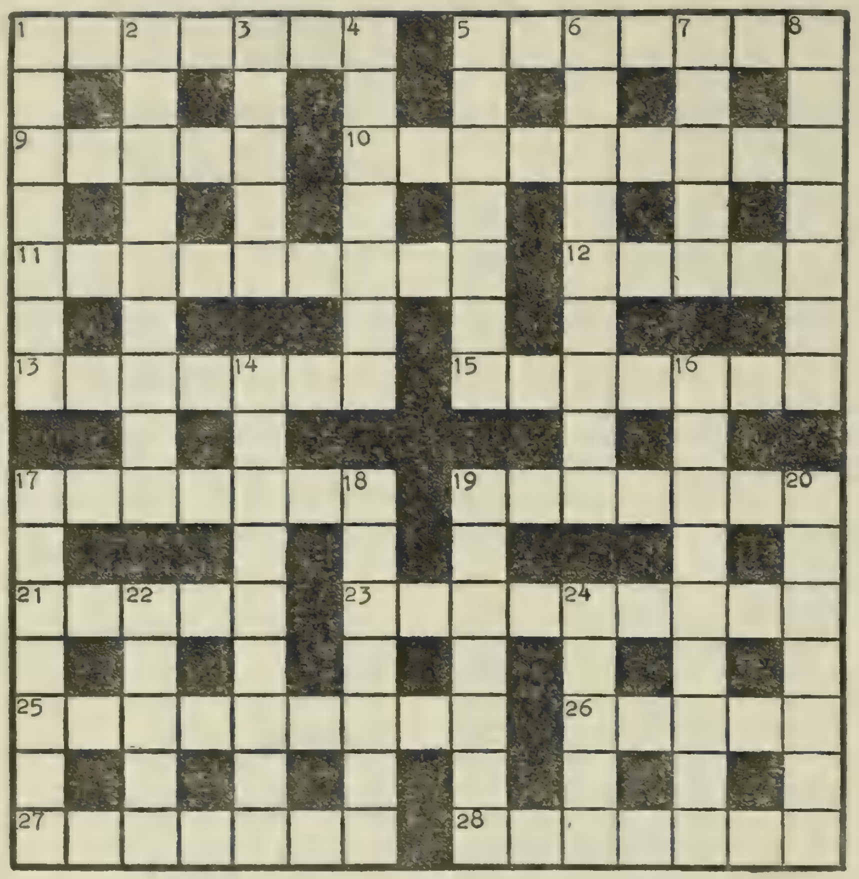
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 33

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Party that starts off with the truth and ends with something done
5 Their chief troubles are little ones
9 A very old form of anchor
10 Possible transformation of a real fish (two words, 5 and 4)
11 It usually raises more hope than hair (two words, 4 and 5)
12 A defeated army may be, in more than one sense (two words, 3 and 2)
13 Midshipmen in their jackets
15 By this the Frenchman does not mean the drawing-room
17 Everyone fit (two words, 3 and 4)
19 Rocket's route
21 Blooming thing that may be all lit up
23 Agreed on a soft drink
25 Thorough (three words, 3, 3 and 3)
26 Home of the condor
27 Transfixed or nearly so
28 He feels sorry for himself

DOWN

1 Reputably able to knock people down but never known to do so
2 Indo-Chinese ale, maybe, is red
3 Putting a backward writer in it is silly
4 Reason the check bounded back? (two words, 2 and 5)
5 What sort of cane has the varnish *inside?*
6 The double-cross would naturally give you a pain around the middle
7 Just so
8 Bad violinist exalted to the sky by New Yorkers
14 A morning drink (hyphen, 3 and 6)
16 Where a cow, according to Dr. Johnson, is not a very good animal (three words, 2, 1 and 6)
17 Words are but the shadows of them, Democritus said
18 Name for an old Pole
19 On a racecourse, man or beast
20 This is where the mugs get hung up
22 Machine made by the French and the English
24 Mental apprehension

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:— 1 NIGHTCAP; [illegible] CANINE; 10 CHALICE; 11 ADULLAM; 12 ACID; 13 IDIOT; 16 BEST; 17 ANEROID; 19 ALICE; 20 LESSEE; 22 TRUNDLE; 23 HAMLET; 25 EDICT; 27 DINNERS; 31 NONE; 32 AEGIS; 33 TRIO; 36 INGRATE; 37 HOISTER; 38 GARAGE; 39 PHILIPPE.

DOWN:—I NECTAR; 2 GLACIAL; [illegible] TRIP; 4 AMENDE; 6 AGUE; 7 ILLNESS; 8 ENMITIES; 9 YAHOO; 13 INERTIA; 14 IRONING; 15 TILLERS; 17 ACTED; 18 DEEDS; 21 THINKING; 24 MANAGER; 26 CORK TIP; 28 NEWER; 29 EIGHTH; 30 SOURCE; 34 GANG; 35 DIAL.

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The Shape of Things

ON HIS RETURN FROM HIS TOUR OF THE battlefronts, Senator Lodge declared "that the whole character of the Pacific war would change if the United States had access to the Pacific coastal area of Russia." He added that for "reasons of security" he would not say what this would mean in terms of American lives spared, but in the secret (sic) session of the Senate he quoted Generals MacArthur and Chennault as asserting that a million American casualties would be prevented by the use of Siberian bases. We do not know whether these officers were correctly reported: Senator Brewster, who was on the same trip, said he had not heard any such figures mentioned. But in any case Mr. Lodge plumbed the depths of irresponsibility when he tossed off this statement. He has been in the Senate long enough to know it would inevitably escape from that notoriously leaky chamber. And now that it has been thrown to the headlines, how many parents and wives will think: but for the Russians my boy, my man, might have been saved? Loose statements of this sort almost always out-distance objective examinations which expose their falsity. It is little use now to ask whether we are in a position to supply and defend these bases. The Japanese are much nearer to Siberia than we are and the brunt of the task of keeping them out would fall on the Red Army. Is Mr. Lodge keeping under his hat information about Soviet strength in the Far East which leads him to suppose that Japan would not dare to move across the Manchurian border? And has he estimated what the use of these bases by us would mean in terms of Russian lives lost?

*

DID YOU KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES government has had "a supreme and firm purpose to have no relations with any government, such as that of Vichy, which would give the slightest encouragement to Hitler, either directly or indirectly"? We would not have suspected the existence of this policy but for the publication by the State Department last week of six diplomatic documents covering the last half of 1940. One of these is a memorandum by Secretary of State Hull in which is recounted the lecture administered by that official to M. Gaston Henry-Haye. The Vichy Ambassador was not only advised of our forthright position as recounted above but was also given to understand that appeasement, like crime, does not pay. "I said that Laval may think that he can appease Mr. Hitler," Hull reports, "just as others heretofore have imagined that they could appease him," but that our government knew better and would "take no chances." M. Henry-Haye may have misunderstood the Secretary, or perhaps the Ambassador's cables to Pétain were garbled in transmission, or maybe the Marshal himself was garbled. In any event it is one of the ironies of history that following Mr. Hull's warning the Vichy government proceeded to throw itself, body and soul, at the feet of the Führer, and that Mr. Hull, appearing to forget all about this government's "supreme and firm purpose," not only maintained relations with the men of Vichy but roundly damned their French opponents. And if all this should be considered water over the dam, might it not be asked whether the present government of Spain, with its Blue Legion running alongside the Reichswehr on the eastern front, is not giving "the slightest encouragement to Hitler, either directly or indirectly"?

*

A PLAN FOR INCREASING THE TEMPO OF Allied offensive action to a point where decisive blows could be struck this year is contained in a brilliant report on war shipping just released by the Kilgore committee. The committee points out that the success of the shipbuilding drive and the cut in submarine sinkings have combined to give the United States 3,000,000 more tons of shipping than entered into our military planning for 1943. This is sufficient shipping to equip and supply an additional million and a half troops in the European theater. Millions of additional tons could be released, the committee found, by a more intelligent and coordinated use of shipping. Great waste was found, for example, in the division of our existing merchant fleet into two sections, one operated directly by the army and navy and the other under the War Shipping Administration. The report urges that the entire merchant fleet be placed under the supervision of the WSA. Because of the understocking of warehouses at the principal ports it was found that many ships could not be loaded to capacity. Considerable inefficiency was noted in the system of competitive hiring at the piers. The committee found no mechanism on the East Coast whereby a surplus of men at one pier could be temporarily or permanently shifted to another pier. Nor is there any central direction or control over the allocation of piers, lighters, tugboats, heavy lifting equipment, or railroad facilities.

*

BY A MAJORITY DECISION THE FEDERAL District Court has enjoined the Associated Press from continuing to enforce "in their present form" its by-laws regulating the admission of new members. Moreover, the judgment enjoins the performance of the agency's exclusive contract with the Canadian Press and the enforcement of its restrictive by-laws forbidding members to communicate "spontaneous" news to non-members until such time as it makes more liberal provision for the admission of new applicants. The way is thus left open for the A. P. to "adopt substitutes which will restrict admission, provided that members in the same 'field' as the applicant shall not have power to impose, or dispense with, any conditions upon his admission, and that the by-laws shall affirmatively declare that the effect of admission upon the ability of an applicant to compete with members in the same 'field' shall not be taken into consideration in passing on his application." Thus the court, in effect, upholds the government's case that the A. P. has contrived to hamper competition in the newspaper business to an extent contrary to the public interest. We expect in the near future to publish a fuller analysis of this important decision. Meanwhile we should like, if we may do so without disrespect, to congratulate the court particularly on that part of its decision which deals with the defendant's charge that the suit imperiled freedom of the press. This very aged red herring is relegated to the garbage pail by the emphatic declaration that "the mere fact that a person is engaged in publishing does not exempt him from ordinary municipal law, so long as he remains unfettered in his own selection of what to publish."

*

"RETREAT WITH ROOSEVELT" IS NOT THE kind of slogan that will rally labor and liberal forces to the budding campaign for a fourth term. This would seem to be self-evident, but it had to be said by Philip Murray at the convention of the United Automobile Workers and it will no doubt have to be said again and again. Because, however much the Administration has cajoled, appeased, and yielded to its right-wing support at the expense of the left, it has always been able to trade on the sad and eloquent fact that the latter had no practical alternative and could therefore be expected to string along and like it. The tories, on the other hand, some from the South and others from the machines of the North, could be counted on to make trouble at the party convention if they were not conciliated. And if they were successful, where would labor find itself? These arguments are cogent enough to have forced some labor groups and leaders into line already, more than a year ahead of the election. But they are not fool-proof. Roosevelt is at least as essential to Cox, Dies, and Hague as he is to the C. I. O. Even Wheeler went along with him in 1940, though it poisoned his system to do it. We see no point in coming out for or against the President at this time. We see plenty of point in discussing issues, putting the spotlight on Congressional records, and laying down the conditions for supporting candidates when the time is ripe. This is exactly what Murray advised the auto workers and they were wise enough to accept his counsel. They have put the Administration on notice that a union with a membership of 1,000,000 will "find it impossible to mobilize" strength for a fourth-term campaign "if the present Democratic policy of appeasement of the foes of progress and labor continues." This is the sort of language that will be understood in Washington.

*

ON THE EVE OF THE DOUBLE-TENTH, CHINA'S Independence Day, the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization took steps to right an ancient wrong by approving and sending to the floor a bill to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act. The bill is expected to pass the House within a fortnight. While the action of the House committee was sudden, it represented the culmination of a drive almost unprecedented in American legislative history. Scores of organizations representing business, labor, and the churches in all parts of the country had adopted resolutions and sent in petitions demanding Congressional action. California and the Far Western states took the lead in urging that the discrimination against our gallant ally be removed at this time as a tribute to China's seven years of resistance to Japanese aggression. On the floor of the House only one man, Representative Rankin of Mississippi, rose to challenge the committee's decision. In reply Majority Leader McCormack ably summed up the case for repeal when he declared that the admission of 105 Chinese a year under the quota would, "in addition to being an act of justice on our part, distinctly be in the best interests of our country."

*

THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER SEEMS to be losing its grip. Up to now the wildest charges put forward by Colonel McCormick in his crusade to keep Uncle Sam from being swallowed by the British lion have sounded as if he himself believed them or at least expected his readers to take them seriously. But his latest campaign, purporting to show that Rhodes Scholars, including the author of the Fulbright resolution, are banded together in a "secret society" which is conspiring to "overthrow the republic" and extend British rule throughout the world, sounds as if the Chicago sage had taken to burlesquing himself. It may be good yellow journalism at that, and no one has ever denied that McCormick as journalist is good and yellow. . . . The spectacle of the week is the sight of Republicans going up in flames because Eleanor Roosevelt told a joke about them in a newsreel. Unlike the endless stories these outraged gentlemen have invented about the President's wife in the past decade her joke was funny, not obscene.

Choices at Moscow

CORRESPONDENTS and news analysts are busy piecing together imaginary agenda for the coming three-power conference in Moscow. And the results of their efforts are appalling. Put together they make up a program that would keep the negotiators around the green-baize table till well past Christmas. Here are just a few of the items: (1) a second front—when? where? (2) the Siberian bases; (3) the political administration of reconquered territories—AMG versus the new Mediterranean commission, military versus civilian control, democratic groups versus subverted fascists; (4) a postwar system of collective security or a new balance of power; (5) the future of Germany—the Free Germany Committee, shall Germany keep its army? (6) Yugoslavia—Partisans or Mihailovich, Peter or the Anti-Fascist Council; (7) France—the role of the Committee of Liberation after France is liberated; (8) political alliances with lesser powers; (9) boundaries—Poland, Bessarabia, the Baltic states; (10) food relief—who shall administer it and for what ends?

Poor Mr. Hull, who can wonder that he has hesitated to plunge into this maelstrom? Even if the conference were to be held in the Wardman Park Hotel instead of the Kremlin, he would have reason enough to wish to dodge the knobby and threatening problems that face the three Foreign Ministers. How wistfully he must look back to the days when reciprocal trade treaties could be his chief preoccupation.

But there is no dodging those problems, and they can't be conjured out of existence. They can be met successfully only by men with a clear purpose, and courage, and some understanding of the human realities that lie just below the level of diplomatic maneuver. Perhaps it will help Mr. Hull if we print two sentences from a speech made by Sir Stafford Cripps the other day at a meeting of women war workers. "Men and women," he said, "forced to live in poverty, insecurity, and squalor can never form the basis of a peace-loving world. . . . No system based on injustice between one section of people in the world and another can possibly be stable." And that of course is the heart of the whole complex of problems that must be dealt with by the representatives of Russia and Britain and the United States.

They may succeed in patching up the holes in their war-time alliances and agree on the outlines of a postwar plan of European security. They may even settle boundaries. But the arrangements will be as evanescent as sky-writing unless they are founded on a system of democratic states in Europe. Russia realizes that and has consistently thrown its support to the active anti-fascist groups in every country. The United States has consistently followed the opposite course, supporting every reactionary element which could possibly be counted on the Allied side, and some—like the Franco regime—which were ostensibly neutral but actually pro-Nazi. The British, as usual, have been consistently inconsistent; placating Russia one day and America the next; keeping Franco on their pay roll but backing De Gaulle against Vichy—and then backing Giraud against De Gaulle; supporting Mihailovich until it became evident that only the Partisans were interested in fighting the Nazis. The Foreign Office has shown no better understanding than the State Department of the necessary basis for a decent order in Europe. But it is much more clever. It has burned no bridges; its roads of diplomatic retreat are all open. Mr. Eden can adopt any line he pleases in Moscow, and a good many things he has said recently indicate that he is prepared to accept as many democratic decisions as Britain's relations with the United States permit.

When Mr. Hull goes to Moscow he will have to choose. He can either throw the mighty material power and the political prestige of the United States behind a democratic Europe or he can stick to the State Department line. It would be harder for him than for Mr. Eden to find the road back to a decent foreign policy. But the Moscow meeting does offer him a chance to repent without too plainly acknowledging past errors. If he fails to do so, then the great decisions for Europe's future will undoubtedly be taken without the help—and against the desires—of America. For while our voice is loud in the councils of the United Nations, it will not hereafter necessarily dominate the room. The Russian armies, pushing toward the old borders of Poland and Rumania in the south and the Baltic states in the north, are achieving more than a victory over their enemy. They are altering the balance of diplomatic power among the Allies. What Russia wants, it is in a position to demand. And Britain, though it is prepared to sacrifice a great deal for American friendship, may conclude that the stability of the Continent necessitates a close and continuing relationship with the Soviet Union.

Whoever represents this country at Moscow must make one of the decisive choices of our history.

Oil: Prices and Profits

THE price of crude oil is the subject of a controversy which has now been raging for many months. The oil industry and Petroleum Administrator Ickes believe that an upward revision is essential in order to stimulate additional exploration and the sinking of new wells. The OPA and representatives of consumers, including the trade unions, disagree, arguing that the increase would add to the cost of living and fatten oil company profits without a guarantee that exploration would be extended.

A few weeks ago, in an editorial paragraph, we supported this second view. Subsequently, our statements were challenged with great courtesy by a Texas reader whose letter we published last week and, in a very different manner, by Secretary Ickes in correspondence with the editors which was not offered for publication.

We must admit that the offending paragraph dealt with a complicated subject in too summary a manner and was unfortunately worded. Citing a report of the Labor Policy Committee of the OPA, we used the expression "steal" in a way which Mr. Ickes construed as a reflection on him. Needless to say, this was far from our intention. We sometimes quarrel with Mr. Ickes's views; we have never doubted his honesty.

Our correspondent, Mr. Neville G. Penrose, objected to the word "steal" for another reason. He put the case for the small independent producer of crude, who, he wrote, is receiving no more for his oil than in 1938. Thus, while the price of almost everything he has to buy has risen steeply, he is getting only the same return as in a pre-war slump year. Mr. Penrose believes that the independent operators base their demand solely on this argument. They disclaim any responsibility for the suggestion that higher prices are required as an incentive to greater production and exploration. This, however, is the main thesis of the Petroleum Administration for War and the spokesmen of the big oil companies, which would be the chief beneficiaries of a price increase.

Whatever hardships are being suffered by the small independents, there can be no claim that the big fellows are being unfairly squeezed at present. With their control of wells, refineries, pipe-lines, and distribution outlets they take a profit at each stage. Moreover, they are now operating more or less at capacity, whereas in 1938 production was being restricted. They are thus in a position to cut overhead costs per unit to an extent which probably compensates for the rise in other costs. In any case, the profits, after taxes, of 15 leading companies are well ahead of last year.

This matter cannot be settled by appeal to hard cases, for the government cannot undertake to remedy all wrongs; it must strike the balance of public advantage. That leaves the question of expediency. It is true that we are at present taking more oil out of the ground than is currently added to proved reserves. Is a special incentive then needed to maintain and extend oil reserves, and if so, is a rise in price the least objectionable and costly stimulus? No doubt, if we were at peace the forces of supply and demand would operate to increase oil prices under similar circumstances. But, in the interests of preventing inflation, we are now thwarting the laws of supply and demand in all directions. Do the oil operators claim that they have an exceptional case? So do the farmers and the coal-miners. If the line is to be held, price increases must be disallowed unless it can be proved that there is no alternative method of maintaining production. In this case the OPA has outlined a plan for subsidizing the sinking of new wells on lines similar to the scheme operating to bring out marginal ores in the copper industry. The oil men, like the farmers, object to subsidies on principle—at least, while they have a sellers' market. They assert that the OPA's plan is costly, inefficient, and unduly complicated. For our part, however, we remain unconvinced that they have made good their claim to half-a-billion dollars—at the lowest estimate—of the consumers' money.

The Tax Crisis

THE revolt of the House Ways and Means Committee against the Treasury's tax program has created what is potentially the most serious home-front crisis since the beginning of the war. For unless Congress adopts a tax program that at least approximates the Treasury's in size and impact, the entire economic-stabilization program must inevitably collapse. It is clear that neither Congress nor the public is awake to the gravity of the situation. The success of the OPA in bringing about a slight decline in the cost of living during the past few months has diverted attention from the threat of inflation. But neither the OPA's efforts nor the WLB's rigid enforcement of the hold-the-line order with respect to wages has completely checked the rise in the total volume of spending power. Employment is still increasing; people are working longer hours; business profits are tremendous. As a result, the surplus of spending power has grown to a point where only drastic taxes can head off catastrophe.

If the Treasury's program is to be criticized, it is on the grounds of inadequacy. In January, it will be recalled, the President asked for $16 billion in additional revenue as a brake on inflation. For political reasons this demand was subsequently scaled down to $12 billion, and the Treasury's program provides for only $10.6 billion. The insufficiency of this sum may be seen in Secretary Morgenthau's own figures. During the current fiscal year the total income of the American people is expected to reach $152 billion. Because of war-time restrictions not more than $89 billion of this vast amount can be used for the purchase of goods and services at present prices. After deduction of taxes and war-bond purchases, a surplus of approximately $25 billion will be left. If this reservoir of excess spending power is not siphoned off into the Treasury by taxes or by some other method, it will either break the existing price ceilings or be diverted into illegal black-market channels.

This situation has not developed suddenly. It has constituted a potential danger for more than a year. The American people already have much more money in their pockets and bank accounts than can be used to buy goods. Yet we have not been inundated by inflation. Since we have escaped thus far, the question may be asked why it is necessary to have an all-out tax bill at this time. The failure of Morgenthau, Vinson, and other Administration spokesmen to answer this question probably accounts in part for the unfavorable reception given to the Treasury's tax proposals. The principal reason why we have been able to hold the line against inflation during recent months is the fact that people have not been spending all of their money. They have not been spending it partly because there are not enough goods to buy but also because all the talk about higher taxes has frightened them into saving their money. It so happens that taxes are peculiarly suited to fighting inflation because they make people feel poor. A man who has invested $1,000 in war bonds justifiably considers himself well off. If he pays the same amount in additional taxes, he will feel poverty-stricken and cut his expenditures to the bone. The present talk of a ten-billion-dollar tax bill for next year is helping to hold back inflation; but if Congress pares down the proposals substantially, the change in psychology will soon be manifest in a splurge of spending in the pre-Christmas season.

Fully as dangerous as the campaign of powerful groups to reduce the size of the tax bill are the efforts to shift its impact from the middle- and upper-income groups to the low-income groups. Mr. Morgenthau's proposals are noteworthy in that they would place little if any additional burden on persons with incomes of $2,000 or less. Since this is the group which has the least margin of safety against higher food costs and other deprivations of war, it is imperative that they be protected, if only for the sake of preserving war-time health and morale. But a concerted and open drive has been launched to scuttle the proposals for higher income-tax rates, based on capacity to pay, in favor of a sales tax or some other levy that would fall chiefly on the lower brackets. To that end numerous newspaper editorials have shown great glee in quoting Secretary Morgenthau to the effect that four-fifths of the national income is received by families with less than $5,000 a year. It is, of course, true that the tax program proposed by the Treasury falls proportionately more heavily upon the upper fifth than upon the lower four-fifths. But what is practically never pointed out is that the small fraction of the population in the over-$5,000 income group probably has more than half of the excess spending power which threatens to bring about inflation, while practically *all* of it is to be found in the pockets of the over-$2,000 group primarily affected by the Treasury's proposals. A tax that fell primarily on the low-income groups would not tap this surplus and thus would be practically valueless as an anti-inflationary measure. Unless Congress takes serious account of these elementary economic facts, it will do irreparable damage to the structure of our war-time economy.

Senators and the Peace

BY BLAIR BOLLES

Washington, October 5

IS THE United States about to acquire a foreign policy? The prospects are now good that the Senate will soon begin to consider, in the slow Senate way, the adoption of a resolution embodying the Senate's views on American participation in world affairs after the war's end. First a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will decide how to frame the question. Then the committee will decide whether to act on it. At last the Senate itself will be permitted to debate about foreign policy and to register its opinion on whether the war that engages us has any purpose beyond the simple one of killing Germans and Japs and erasing Hitler and Tojo.

This halting advance toward one of the great decisions of the twentieth century is not likely to be completed by the time the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union hold their conference, perhaps not even by the time Franklin Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin, and Winston Churchill meet. But the announcement by Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, that a subcommittee will meet and draft a resolution on foreign policy should suggest to our allies that the United States is finally preparing to face the facts of global life. How squarely the Senate will face them will depend on how strongly various Senators with passionate opinons influence the final form of the resolution. If Senator La Follette of Wisconsin and Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, both members of the subcommittee, have their way, it may be as empty as the Fulbright resolution passed by the House. Vandenberg is ready to defend American "sovereignty," and "sovereignty" and "constitutional rights" were the rocks on which the Versailles treaty was wrecked in Washington. If Senator Thomas of Utah, also a member of the subcommittee, outweighs Vandenberg and La Follette, the resolution may be as strong and meaningful as the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill formula proposed last spring.

Eight men sit on the subcommittee. George of Georgia is an unknown factor; he will probably vote for some sort of action without the lethal "sovereignty" proviso. White of Maine is counted on to advocate a firm and extensive internationalism. Gillette of Iowa is a straddler who likes internationalism in theory but apparently suspects it in fact. Barkley of Kentucky will vote for vigorous action. As majority leader of the Senate, he will carry the ball for the Roosevelt Administration in the forthcoming debate as Senator Hitchcock carried it twenty-four years ago for Wilson in the fight on the Versailles treaty—and probably with more success. After a talk with President Roosevelt on September 29 Barkley made it plain that the President wants action. His job is to carry out White House wishes.

Tom Connally, the subcommittee's and the committee's chairman, will be the key figure in the proceedings. A committee chairman has great strength in the Senate, and Connally is an old hand. He has given his friends to understand that he knows he faces an opportunity which can preserve him for history. Until the end of September he seemed afraid to seize the opportunity. Now he is ready to act. Whether he has any convictions on international questions is beside the point. He wants to be the center of the debate. He has pride in his position and pride in the Senate. Out of the first he throttled the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill resolution, because the authors introduced it without consulting him. Out of the second he shelved the Fulbright resolution. Connally and the Senate intend to write their own declaration of foreign policy.

The full committee presents a more difficult hurdle. On it sit the two framers of the 1937 neutrality legislation, Bennett Clark and Gerald Nye, who believe today as they believed six years ago that the United States is part of the moon, not the earth. La Follette and Vandenberg want a weak resolution. Hiram Johnson of California has never renounced the views that put him among the "irreconcilables" in 1919 and 1920. Shipstead of Minnesota is an isolationist. The one Republican thought to favor action among the committee's seven is White of Maine, who could swing the decision of the subcommittee. However, two other Republicans, Capper of Kansas and Davis of Pennsylvania, might think it wise to go along.

Numerically the group for action has the greater strength. Among its members are Wagner of New York, Elbert Thomas, Murray of Montana, Pepper of Florida, and Green of Rhode Island. Even Reynolds of North Carolina has led his colleagues to think he favors a strong resolution. The friends of action count on Connally and hope for George. They are confident of McClellan of Arkansas and Guffey of Pennsylvania and sure of Leader Barkley. They think they may persuade Tunnell of Delaware. One man stands out as the great catch for either side—Carter Glass. This ancient has a prestige which is considered valuable by both the Vandenberg and the Thomas faction. Nobody knows as yet where Carter Glass stands.

After a visit to Senate offices one feels that the subcommittee and the committee will not be permitted to delay too long in bringing a resolution to the floor. Its final form will be determined by the judgment of the whole Senate and the pressure of public opinion rather than by the views of the chosen few who sit on the Foreign Relations Committee. The very fact that the subcommittee is to meet testifies to the strength of outside Senators. Ball of Minnesota dropped a strong hint that unless the committee took up the question he would begin to hammer on the matter from the floor. For all his injured pride, Connally had to admit that the Senate could not be the only American institution to keep silent on foreign policy.

The House had adopted the Fulbright resolution. The Republican Party had registered its views in the Mackinac resolutions. The isolationist New York *Daily News* and the *Saturday Evening Post* had both granted in recent editorials that the trend was toward internationalism and that it must be recognized. It was plain that America's war aims as defined by President Roosevelt could be fulfilled only by a clear-cut policy for American political action in the international field.

Other men not on the Foreign Relations Committee are as impatient as Ball. There are the three coauthors of his resolution—Carl Hatch, Lister Hill, Harold H. Burton. There are Truman of Missouri, Maybank of South Carolina, and Ferguson of Michigan, a Republican but with a different planetary outlook from Vandenberg. These Senators can be counted on not only to prod the Foreign Relations Committee to bring in its resolution but to put up a hard fight on the floor to strengthen that resolution if it turns out to be weak.

Senator Barkley

Senator Connally's announcement that the subcommittee is to get down to business has undoubtedly disquieted Secretary Hull. Hull and Connally were both members of the House and supporters of Wilson in 1919 when the Versailles treaty was before the Senate. They remember that the long debate that preceded the vote on the treaty served to kill it. Since debate was fatal to international action twenty-four years ago, it might be fatal today. Therefore both Connally and Hull have tried to pospone debate on the subject until the last possible moment.

Hull's stand on this point contributed to the ousting of Sumner Welles as Under Secretary of State. Welles, a practical diplomat, concluded a year or so ago that the United States would be handicapped in political discussions with our allies so long as the allies did not know to what degree they could rely on the United States to abide by the Administration's commitments in international matters. The rejection of the Versailles treaty had bred distrust. Welles himself had learned from that event that a President is wise to let the Senate act first and to be guided in his foreign-policy moves by what the Senate has done. In the matter of the treaty Wilson acted on his own initiative and then asked the Senate to uphold him. The question of who moves first is vital. The Senate can be counted on to assert itself, now as in 1919.

Senator Vandenberg

Welles, then, thought it essential for Congress to act so that the Administration could present a clear-cut policy to the country and to the world. Understanding Senate pride, he believed the Senate should act first in Congress. Last winter, while Hull was absent from Washington, Welles conferred with Ball, Burton, Hatch, and Hill, approved their resolution, and advocated its presentation to the Senate. When the incident was reported to Hull he became angry. He had allowed Welles to dominate international political thought in the State Department for seven years, but he would not stand for Welles's taking a hand in Congressional politics.

With some success Hull preached to the White House the wisdom of cautious avoidance of debate. Last winter the President saw the four sponsors of the B2-H2 resolution and told them he would like some sort of guidance from the Senate, but he has steadfastly declined to make any direct suggestions to Congress that it should take the lead in foreign policy. During his first years in the White House Roosevelt was content to let Congress make all the first moves. Congress defined American foreign policy in the pre-war years by its neutrality acts. But in 1939 Roosevelt began to take the initiative—not as Wilson had taken it, by presenting Congress with a fact for approval, but by publicly stating to Congress the foreign-policy needs of the hour.

Thus in May, 1939, President Roosevelt, through letters signed by Hull, requested the late Chairman Pittman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Chairman Bloom of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to introduce legislation modifying the neutrality law. And in 1940 he announced at a press conference that he favored a policy of lend-lease in dealing with Great Britain. Lend-lease marked the final break with the philosophy of the neutrality acts. The bill which became the Lend-Lease Act was written at the Treasury. Lend-lease represents a period of boldness on the part of the President—a wise boldness, because he proposed and let the Senate dispose. The Senate, confident that the founders of the Republic intended it to be the arbiter of foreign policy, will let no President go freely on his way in foreign affairs.

However, the present attitude of the Senate toward the White House on the issue of foreign policy is scarcely comparable to its attitude at the close of the First World War. The key figure in the fight over the Versailles treaty was Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who happened to be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Lodge warned on December 21, 1918, before the Treaty of Versailles was written, that "the Senate has a way of rejecting treaties." As early as January 22, 1917, he had spoken against the idea of a League of Nations. He was predisposed to vote against a treaty containing the League Covenant and against a treaty approved by a President who, in his opinion, had committed the United States to major international obligations without regard to the Senate's wishes.

Today no Senator of Lodge's stature stands in the way of a strong resolution clearing the path toward the goal which Lodge loathed—political participation in international affairs by the United States. The Foreign Relations Committee today is Democratic. Its chairman will support the Administration. Vandenberg, Wheeler, Taft, Nye, and the other oppositionists lack the power and prestige that Lodge commanded. But there is one lesson to be drawn from the debate over the Versailles treaty. Not all who voted against it did so to preserve our isolation. Some honestly thought that the treaty gave undeserved advantages to Britain and France. They feared that the United States would be abandoning isolation simply for the benefit of those European allies. Many Senators who believe in internationalism today dislike the idea of an Anglo-American alliance because they see in such a limited internationalism greater advantage for Britain than for the United States. They want global collective security or nothing.

The statements of three Senators just returned from a trip around the world indicate that in the coming debate the major emphasis may be laid not on the simple proposition whether or not we shall plunge into world politics, but on how far we will go to defend our established position in the world. Senators Mead of New York, Russell of Georgia, and Brewster of Maine, speaking at a Washington press conference, stressed their concern lest the United States fail to obtain post-war rights to air bases outside the Western Hemisphere built by us during the war and its proper share of oil rights in the Middle East. The question, How imperialist shall we be? may overshadow the question, How isolationist shall we be?

President Roosevelt discarded Mr. Hull's timid view about the danger of debate the same day that Senator Connally announced the subcommittee would begin its work. The President told Senator Barkley he wanted something done, although he still is silent in public. Mr. Hull, however, if he is in this country, will surely appear before the committee while it is considering its resolution, and his opinion will have weight, for Congress holds itself apart from the critics of the State Department. The Senate approved without a hearing the appointment of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., as Under Secretary of State, and the House and Senate Appropriations committees ask only routine questions when State Department supply bills are before them. The Capitol regards the State Department as a safe institution. It has not raised the question whether the department as it is at present constituted can successfully administer a firm foreign policy.

Failure by the Senate to act now would have not only long-range effects on the post-war world but immediate repercussions of an unfortunate sort. It would nurture the idea in British and Russian official minds that it is folly to plan a foreign policy based on active cooperation with America. In his last attempt to explain his committee's inaction—only a few days before he announced it would act—Senator Connally made a show of suspicion of Russia's course in foreign affairs. Let's wait until we know what Russia plans before we make any decisions, he said. He failed to see that Moscow would plan one thing if it thought the United States would participate in a system of collective security after the war and another thing if it thought the United States would stay aloof.

The United States has succeeded to Russia's role as a "riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." The New York *Times* recently carried a story from James E. Reston in London describing the bewilderment of British officials about American policy and the sterilizing effect this bewilderment has on British policy. There is danger that Britain and Russia will turn politically from the United States during the war unless the Senate acts, and acts with some speed. If a breach is allowed to occur between this country and its two chief allies, a subsequent Senate resolution will hardly be enough to heal it.

Strategy for Victory

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

A FEW years ago blueprints for winning the European war had an air of unreality, coming as they did at a time when the immediate problem was staving off defeat. Most of them greatly underestimated the difficulty of the task ahead, the length of time required, and the forces needed. With the conceit too common among Americans they also overlooked our allies. Yet had either Russia or England been knocked out, it would have been impossible for us to win the European phase of World War II.

Today the situation is very different. In Europe, after a year of repeated German defeats, we hold the initiative in every sector. The strategy of victory has become an urgent question, and it is likely that since the Quebec conference our planning has been substantially completed. Rehearsals are over, the players have their cues, and the curtain is about to go up on the last act.

That the only problem remaining is "when" is mainly due to our victory in the struggle at sea. When the blitzkrieg failed to achieve a decision in 1939-41, the European war was changed to one of attrition. In such a conflict Germany, even with the resources of most of Europe at its disposal, was far outmatched in potential strength. Barring complete military success in Russia, its only chance was to prevent the full application of American military power. Given a fairly stable Russian front, the crucial struggle of the war has been that between the German subsurface raiders with their airplane auxiliaries and the Allied surface navies and merchant fleets. Had Germany won this battle, it would very probably have also won the war. Even a partial victory would have assured it nothing worse than a negotiated peace.

A few figures speak very clearly of Germany's failure to win this crucial struggle. In the period between January 1 and the end of August, the Germans, according to their own figures, sank a total of 3,770,000 tons of shipping, or an average of 470,000 tons a month. These figures are excessive by probably 40 per cent—in July our figures for the ships lost in the invasion of Sicily were around 80,000 tons as compared to German claims of 500,000. In the North Atlantic, as Churchill recently pointed out, the defeat of the U-boat has been almost complete.

Yet even if the German figures were to be accepted, it would still be clear that we had won the shipping battle. For during the same eight months American shipyards turned out approximately 12,500,000 tons of merchantmen. And the reopening of the Mediterranean in the latter part of that period was expected to work an economy in the use of shipping equivalent to 4,000,000 tons. Meanwhile British and Canadian yards have also been turning out ships, probably in the amount of at least 2,000,000 tons, though official figures have not been released. The gross gain of Allied shipping up to the end of August has therefore been in the neighborhood of 18,000,000 tons; the net gain at least 14,000,000. Not all this tonnage, of course, is immediately available for an attack on Europe, since the strengthening of India, increased supplies to Russia, and the support of somewhat larger Mediterranean armies have added to the demands on it. These, however, are not major diversions. If the opening of a full-scale land front in Western Europe requires a shipping pool of from 10,000,000 to 17,000,000 tons, as has been estimated, it is obvious that the most difficult problem of invasion, that of supply, is almost if not entirely solved. With a huge shipping pool already on hand and growing at the rate of over a million tons a month, "second-front" talk has at last reached a thoroughly practical stage.

A change in the picture is, to be sure, possible. The immunity of merchant ships in the North Atlantic has been due solely to the superiority of today's anti-submarine weapons. For three months the Germans have been groping for a tactical answer and are now once more challenging Allied sea control. But it is an eleventh-hour challenge. Our backlog of shipping has become so great that the Germans would need the help of a miracle to overcome it.

To meet the new situation German strategy has been completely altered. The Nazi retreat in Russia has not been entirely forced by the strength of the Russian attack and the fear of heavy losses. The Germans have sustained a clear defeat but by no means as great a one as their geographical withdrawal would indicate. They have, in fact, conducted an essential and extremely difficult operation with considerable success. Strong points have been held up to the last moment necessary to cover retreats, and there have been no losses of man-power comparable to those of last winter.

The original purpose was to buy time with distance, to organize defenses along shorter and more easily held lines, and by thus saving man-power and compelling the Russians to construct new transport lines and detach more men for line-of-supply duties, to bring the numerical strength of the opposing armies more nearly to equality. Whether the advantages thus gained can be held or not is very questionable. Russian pursuit has been extremely persistent, and the Red Army has gained an offensive momentum which even natural barriers, longer transport lines, and muddy terrain may not easily stop. Moreover, the maneuver area through which the Germans can retreat before reaching the homeland, though still vast, has been materially reduced.

The Italian invasion, meanwhile, is proceeding as rapidly as can be expected. Neither side succeeded in fully exploiting the opportunities presented by the American landing at Salerno. However, the occupation of Sardinia and Corsica is of tremendous importance. From these islands fighter coverage can be provided for a landing at almost any point on the western Italian and southern French coasts. The German retreat can thus be continually threatened. With strong flanking bases, secure lines of supply, high-quality troops and able leaders, and the invaluable support of naval and air power, the United Nations in Italy clearly hold a winning hand. At the same time by sending in Rommel and several divisions of new troops the Germans have shown that they intend to delay our progress as long as they can.

The simultaneous strengthening of their garrisons in the Balkans has caused a further strain on German manpower. Some of these new troops were detached from the Russian front, where the German strength is reported to have been reduced to between 180 and 195 divisions. Others come from Northern and Western Europe. The transfer of these troops, said to number 25 divisions, greatly increases the risks in Russia and other areas.

The relative inactivity of Allied air power during late September and early October may be partly due to weather conditions, but it is probable that planes and crews are being conserved for a major blow. This could be either an intensified bombardment program or, what is more likely, the long-desired attack across the English Channel. In any event German targets will be hit far more heavily than ever before. It is now clear, however, that the "air-power-alone" school has lost out.

This brief review makes it plain that the sound though cautious strategy of the United Nations has carried us to the point where the final all-out assault upon Germany can be expected in the near future—by spring at the very latest, possibly this year. Shipping is nearly if not entirely adequate. The bases to the south, needed for a closer assault, are being acquired by conquest, and renewed Russian attack from the east is sure to follow the reconstruction of transportation lines. Germany's hold on the Balkans is at best shaky. Production is being badly affected by the bombardments. Superior sea and air strength is ours at every point on the map. Yet strong German armies remain, and their will to fight has not been noticeably diminished.

The war has at last progressed to the point where speculations regarding its length are not entirely guesswork. Barring an unlikely collapse of enemy morale, the "peace-by-Christmas" prophets will prove as wrong as have the Maginot Line, blockade, psychological-warfare, and air-power-only optimists in the past. On the other hand, the predictions of some of our army officers that the European land struggle will be not only hard but long seem to this writer to be unduly pessimistic. Any nation as badly strained as is Germany is in no position to bear the weight of a second major land front. If our invasion comes soon, the period between summer and late fall of 1944 should see the end of the European phase of the present war.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IN THE FOOTHILL DISTRICTS of Bavaria and Württemberg we saw boys—none of them more than fifteen years old—parading in review with wooden spears on their shoulders, and children of six practicing the throwing of hand grenades, crawling on their stomachs as to a trench attack. Despite the contention of Walter Lippmann or any other erudite authority that Hitler's May peace address was sincere and "the authentic voice of a great people," no one who looks beyond the barrier of censorship and deceit in Germany can doubt that one of the major premises of the Nazi movement is intense preparation for a war of aggression.—RICHARD NEUBERGER, *October 4, 1933.*

THE ADMINISTRATION'S public-works program is under fire, and the barrage is descending chiefly on the head of Administrator Harold L. Ickes.—*October 4, 1933.*

THE PRESIDENT of the Pennsylvania Railroad has "reduced" his salary to $60,000 a year. If now the NRA would issue a decree "reducing" the pay of everyone else in the country to the same amount, prosperity would emerge from around the corner at a gallop.—*October 11, 1933.*

IT WOULD BE an act of poetic justice if the severest members of the critical tribe could be herded into a common hall and there, without having their knives taken away from them, ordered to agree on a program of national recovery. What a group that would be! Among others it would include the Mellons, the Communists, Henry Ford, some of the editors of *The Nation* and the *New Republic,* the Chicago *Tribune*, the *Daily Worker*, the New York *Herald Tribune,* Norman Thomas, the Alabama soft-coal operators, and the directors of the American Iron and Steel Institute. I hazard the guess that no program would ever emerge and that the survivors would be few in number.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, *October 11, 1933.*

THAT MUCH of Chancellor Hitler's speech explaining why Germany was withdrawing from the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference can be granted him: a bad war was ended by a bad peace, and Europe learned nothing from either. . . . But to dissociate Germany summarily from the only existing attempt to improve matters is the work of an insane and dangerous egotist.—*October 25, 1933.*

Britain Between the Acts

II. WALES AT WAR

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I SPENT a day and two nights in and around Cardiff and a day in the Rhondda Valley and Swansea. To stay so short a time was an injustice to South Wales, and I left planning to go back. I never did; nobody on a trip like mine goes back to any place, for the time he has in the next place is also too short. And so it goes until he leaves the country altogether, grumbling about the things he didn't have a chance to see and do.

Perhaps I would have planned to stay longer in South Wales if I'd known what it was like. I had never visited Wales before. It may sound incredible to traveled and intelligent *Nation* readers, but I didn't realize that Welsh people commonly and without affectation speak Welsh to one another. It is as strange a language on the ear as it is to look at in print. Behind it are customs and habits and a manner of looking at things that are no more English than are the local characteristics of Normandy or Denmark. And always with these Welsh ways are English ways and the English speech, and you could spend a lifetime, not two days, sorting them out and trying to understand the unity and the separateness of these British peoples.

Just before I left London for Cardiff I saw Jim Griffiths, Labor M. P. for Llanelly and former head of the South Wales Miners' Federation. He said, "I'm going to the States soon and when I get there I'm going to walk right up to John L. Lewis and tell him exactly what I think of him—in Welsh."

"He won't understand a word of it," I said. "You'd better say it in plain English."

"He'll understand," said Griffiths, "or if not, his old mother will. She'll not have forgotten her native tongue."

Griffiths is in the United States now. Perhaps he's had that talk with Lewis—or his mother. If so, I'd love to have heard it.

THE WELSH NATION

Jim Griffiths obviously believed his strong feelings could be better and more strongly put in Welsh. But for all that, he's not Welsh enough to suit some of his countrymen. One man I talked to in Cardiff shook his head over Griffiths. "He's an able fellow but he's losing support down here," he said.

"Why? Isn't he as good an M. P. as he was a union leader?"

"I suppose he's good at both jobs," said the Welshman a little grudgingly. "His trouble is that he's more Labor than he is Welsh. He doesn't represent the national feeling, and that feeling's growing every day. No member from South Wales who ignores it can long hold his influence with his constituents."

Several Welshmen talked to me about nationalism in Wales and assured me it was "important." The war had increased it. Welsh nationalists don't want a separate state like Eire, but they do want more local autonomy. They want a Secretary of State for Wales. They want recognition of Wales as a national entity. It sounds a little fantastic in these days when small states are coming to look more and more like common nuisances and nationalism is the chief world menace. But Welsh national feeling is probably a harmless derivative of the old poison. Certainly the loyalty of these people and their contribution to the total effort of the country are conspicuous elements in their local pride: indeed, their whole attitude is just another illustration of the diversity in unity that strikes you at every crossroads in the island.

The boy who ran the lift in my hotel in Cardiff asked me where I was going. "Over into the Rhondda Valley," I told him.

"That's wonderful," he said. "I'd give a lot to see those valleys."

"Why don't you go? It's not more than an hour away."

"I'd never dare. I'm English. Those people wouldn't want me there. I don't know their language. I'd be a foreigner to them."

Though he seemed a dull boy, and a solemn one, I could scarcely believe he wasn't joking. "That's surely silly," I said. "They're British, like you. I'm going and I'm a foreigner—a real foreigner; I'm American."

"Oh, that's different. They'll welcome an American visitor. But not me. They would wonder what I was doing there. I think they'd make trouble for me."

It was all very vague, the ancient uneasiness of the stranger in a strange land. "Those valleys"—not five hours by decent train from London!

In spite of this sense of national difference, I don't expect Jim Griffiths to lose his job. His devotion to labor may hurt the feelings of my nationalist friend, but it won't alienate the workers who are his chief constituents. Blood isn't thicker than class feeling in the factories and pits of South Wales, of that I'm sure. Besides, Griffiths evidently speaks Welsh by choice—even to John L. Lewis.

BURLINGAME

WOMEN AT WORK

I talked to some of those workers and to a few of their leaders and friends. Labor in South Wales is supposed to be very left, but today, with every available man and woman at work, you find a political mixture as varied as anywhere else. The war plants have even sucked in the women from the distant mining valleys—women who never worked outside their homes before. They are carrying the bulk of the work in the factories and are getting good wages. Some say their new earning power will go to the heads of the women workers, that they'll refuse to quit when the men come back from the front. Others believe the women will go back home filled with new and dangerous desires: they have learned the satisfaction of feeling money of their own in their overall pockets; they know that earning a wage is not an art reserved for men. "After this they won't take kindly to the role of household drudge with no right to more than board and keep," said one man, and I wasn't sure whether he said it with alarm or approval. "Many of these women workers, even unskilled girls, can make more money than a miner makes after a lifetime in the pits. People don't realize what this means. It's a social revolution, nothing less, especially in a region like this where women never worked before. Yes, and a domestic revolution, too, in many cases."

But I think the speaker exaggerated. I can't see either sex war or social revolution coming out of the drafting of women into industry. The factory workers of South Wales work terribly hard for long hours; the average in the factories I visited varied from fifty-three and one-half to fifty-eight and one-half a week. Thousands of women spend two or three hours getting from their homes in the valleys to the plants. They come on foot, by bus, and by train. When they reach home at night, you can imagine how much time and energy are left for housework or family life. These women take comparatively little interest in their unions or in the plant production committees; how could they? They often become highly skilled in one process but don't bother to learn anything more. Their psychology is that of temporary workers. So the managers and shop stewards told me.

To a somewhat less degree this is the situation and the attitude of the women war workers all over Great Britain. I talked to a woman trade-union official in Manchester. She was deeply involved in a dispute over equal pay, and she brought along an intelligent young woman shop steward who was helping conduct the negotiations in her plant. Both said that the majority of the women, particularly the older ones and the married women, will be glad to get out of industry after the war. They like the pay, and many of them enjoy—and have learned for the first time to enjoy—the sociability of factory work: gossip with their fellow-workers in the canteen, trips to and from work in buses or trains, even the sense of doing a job in common with other people. But most of them look upon themselves not primarily as factory workers but as women who have been called out of their homes to do a job in an emergency. And they want to go back when the war is over. The younger, unmarried ones will probably stick—or try to. Whether they succeed or not will depend on the capacity of industry to hold production to a level that will provide work not only for the women but for the men they have replaced. Not a very likely prospect. The most the women union officials I talked with hope for is a keener interest in working conditions and labor politics among women as a whole, based on their war-time experience.

GRIEVANCES, WAR, AND JOHN L. LEWIS

Several of the plants I visited in the neighborhood of Cardiff had been completely converted for war production. They were small plants set up in the thirties to absorb labor in that deeply depressed area. Because of their newness and recent retooling, they were all neat, bright, mechanized to the last jig. Women workers outnumbered the men in every factory but one, and that was being enlarged to take in more workers, who would, of course, be women. The managements seemed progressive, proud of their plants, and on good terms with the workers. They encouraged the joint production committees and treated their suggestions with respect.

I talked to a member of one of the production committees. He was a middle-aged worker, responsible, a solid union man. He assured me that the spirit in the plant was good and everybody was "satisfied." He had survived the blitz in a district very hard hit, and he kept referring to that experience to explain the attitude of the workers. He insisted that they all felt their share in the war. One of the machines they were making was used in bombers and absolutely essential. "Those planes couldn't fly without it," he said. Like almost every worker I talked to in South Wales, he asked me to explain John L. Lewis, of whom he deeply disapproved. But he told me with equal earnestness that he and all his fellows sympathize with the American miners. They believe—this was repeated by the labor people in other parts of the country—that Lewis is using the genuine grievances of the miners to forward his own ambitions, while the Administration is taking out on the miners its resentment at Lewis's tactics. They know well enough that more coal must be mined; the effort to draft 40,000 men and boys for work in the pits in Britain provides dramatic proof that a shortage exists. But they can't see why the American miners shouldn't get more pay, or at least a guaranteed work week, and if the government refuses, they consider a strike the only way out. Through a curious bit of reasoning, they justify such action by pointing to America's physical remoteness from the struggle. "We are an island," remarked my friend of the production committee, "and we are one kind of people, not like you Americans." (This was a Welshman speaking, by the way.) "We faced destruction after France fell; we all know that if we'd been conquered, the workers' movement would have been the first thing wiped out. But you can't expect Americans to feel the same way." This not very original argument was repeated to me so often, in words so nearly identical, that I decided it must have a solid basis in working-class psychology. The American miners, I think, have become a symbol in Britain, not of irresponsibility or indifference to duty, but of aggressive, independent labor action; they are keeping alive the militant spirit which British labor, willingly or reluctantly, has largely repressed for the duration; they represent the worker's desires rather than his war-time conscience.

Since I left, strikes have been boiling up in some of the British coal fields, too. There are plenty of excellent grievances there as here. The men are "frozen" in their jobs; wages, as I have said above, are fixed at less than the going rate in other war industries; while some of the mines have been mechanized, the majority are old and poorly equipped. The proposal to draft sixteen-year-old boys into the pits had to be abandoned. It aroused bitter protest among miners and horrified the general public, especially the upper classes. The present scheme provides that eighteen-year-olds called up for service may choose either the army or the pits. Few people believe that the requisite man-power can be recruited in this way. But the shortage of workers increases the demand for better conditions in the mines, and it will be astonishing if trouble does not develop.

Arthur Horner, the able president of the South Wales Miners' Federation, is a Communist. With great frankness he described the trials of a left labor leader forced by his conscience and the party line to hold the miners to their jobs despite bad conditions in the pits and better chances in the war plants nearby. The more militant the leader the harder for him to maintain his prestige and influence by preaching a policy of self-denial. Instead of conducting a fight for decent conditions, he must convince the workers that they should not fight at all—until Hitler is disposed of. Horner says it can be done. He says that careful explanations, repeated every day, together with efforts to win legitimate gains for the union through negotiation and public pressure, have succeeded in both holding the confidence of the workers and preventing strikes.

But it is a job that will grow harder with every month that passes. And after a day in the Rhondda Valley I wondered how long the arguments of Arthur Horner and even the bitter logic of the war itself would satisfy the desires of the miners for a life less dangerous and grim, with better pay and more time to climb out of the scarred and dreary valleys to the green hills above them.

[*The third article of this series—on Glasgow—will appear next week.*]

In the Wind

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS' worth of enemy-owned property will soon be offered for sale to American industry by the Alien Property Custodian. Business circles expect bargain-basement prices.

A CHAIN of eight small hotels in Detroit has agreed to refund several thousand dollars in overcharges under OPA rent regulations. It has also agreed to discontinue a special extra charge of 75 cents on guests who have visitors after midnight.

MAN-POWER NOTE: The Washington Review of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States says, "There is a belief in some government quarters that unnecessary hoarding of labor by war manufacturers should be stopped."

WITH A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION coming up, the army is wondering how to present political news to the soldiers. The generals fear that politicians on each side will say that the other side is being favored. To divert such criticism, they have asked the three major news services to provide a daily round-up of unbiased political news for army papers. The Associated Press has declined the invitation, on the ground that it doesn't want to take the responsibility; the decisions of the United Press and the International News Service cannot be ascertained.

HOW TO STOP WARS: From the Madison, Wisconsin, *Capital Times*: "Speaking on 'Interior Decoration as Home Morale,' Miss Colnik said that it was women's job to make themselves and their homes so interesting and so attractive that the men of the world, including those of other countries, would be completely satisfied and happy at home. 'Women can stop wars as simply as that,' she maintained."

CHOW: A New York department store advertises this ready-made Christmas package for the boys overseas: "Crêpes suzettes, glacé fruit, turkey pâté, anchovies, caviar, hentails (cocktail crackers). $10.75."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A French underground paper says a number of trade unionists who won personal concessions from the Nazis by denouncing labor leaders to the Gestapo are now trying to bring about the release of those who are still alive. . . . The People's Museum at Bygdöy, near Oslo, has been turned into a warehouse for ammunition. . . . A Danish newspaper commented thus on fires at a restaurant frequented by Nazis and a shoe factory that had accepted German orders: "Fires at both Wivex and Hector were caused by discarded cigarette ends. Where on earth do people get all that tobacco?"

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The Colonels Rule in Argentina

BY MANUEL SEOANE

Santiago, Chile, October 4

THE Argentine situation, although certain diplomatic agencies and press correspondents would like us to believe otherwise, grows more serious day by day. The coup d'état which elevated Ramirez to the Presidency was only the culmination of persistent reactionary efforts. The leaders had nothing new to offer. Most of them had supported the military revolt of General Justo, which ten years before had interrupted the constitutional evolution of the country. The colonels behind Ramirez were known as reactionaries and Germanophiles. But when they discovered, to their consternation, that Hitler was losing the war, they began to think of the predicament in which the country would find itself with respect to Brazil when the war was over. No help could be expected from a defeated Germany. Arms and supplies could be obtained only from the United States.

The program of the colonels was a curious mixture of fascist ideals and promised reforms, bedecked with protestations of the most ardent Catholicism. Its aims were, first, "to establish order in the country," and, second, to break with the Axis—if Hitler continued to lose, and if there was no other way to secure the military means to match Brazil.

The first purpose has been carried out with undeniable zeal, but the break with the Axis is still remote. The colonels needed time for such a heroic decision; one does not lightly go against one's own feelings. Then, before they were ready, the diplomatic correspondence between Secretary Hull and Admiral Storni made any action the colonels intended to take look ridiculous. After that their one concern was to appear "firm." Counsels of moderation from conservative leaders were rejected. An editorial in *La Prensa* urging Argentina to join the democracies against Germany and Japan provoked the Nazi paper *Pampero* to demand that the editors of *La Prensa* be shot as traitors. Those who oppose breaking with the Axis now have the upper hand again. They count on Ramirez's reluctance to align himself with the Soviet Union as one of the United Nations and on his personal vanity, which would suffer sorely were anyone to think he had capitulated to North American pressure.

In the domestic sphere, however, Ramirez feels free to carry out his plans. Colonel Anaya, Minister of Education, Colonel Gilbert, Minister of the Interior, who is acting as Foreign Secretary in Storni's place, and Colonel Ramirez, head of the police, transformed into white knights, have inaugurated a crusade to purify the country. They are of that genus which believes that all national evils stem from the political activity of parties and the press, and that once such pernicious activity is suppressed happiness will reign.

The colonels dissolved Congress and suspended the political parties. Some day, they promise, the people will be allowed to express their will through elections. But they reserve the right to decide how the people shall vote. If the result is unsatisfactory, it will be nullified. "Never will I pass on power to bad people," said Ramirez recently. And he, of course, is the man to decide who is good and who is bad.

Nobody can deny that Ramirez was received joyfully. The abuses of the Castillo government had prepared the people to welcome anyone who would rid them of it. In some ways Ramirez got off to a good start. He forced landlords to reduce rents. He punished food racketeers. He decreed a general lowering of prices. He cleansed the civil service. After two years of ministerial corruption, any country enjoys a public purge.

But soon his true reactionary character asserted itself. No group with even a vaguely liberal program escaped "punishment": not the Unión Cívica Radical, which had a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and which only fraudulent elections could have prevented from coming to power; nor the Partido Socialista, respected even by its enemies, which held a majority in the city of Buenos Aires; nor the Partido Democrático Progresista, which was particularly strong in the province of Santa Fé. These three parties had favored the cause of the United Nations from the beginning of the war.

The hardest treatment, of course, was reserved for the Communists, whose strength lay chiefly in the minds of the colonels. In the last elections they had received only 40,000 out of 800,000 votes and had not elected a single member to the House or Senate. Their sole prop was the newspaper *La Hora* in Buenos Aires. But Ramirez leaped upon them like a wildcat. He stopped their paper, suppressed all their units, and sent their leaders to his most unhealthy concentration camps, in Rio Gallegos and Neuquén.

The colonels also dissolved all organizations which had been collecting funds for the United Nations, beginning with the Committee for Aid to the Soviet Union. They suppressed the most powerful labor organization in the country, the Confederación General del Trabajo, and arrested its leaders. They imitated Nazi practice by burning the books of "Communist" authors, including Upton Sinclair and John Dos Passos.

One after another the provincial governments were taken over by the central power, and governors elected by the people were replaced by followers of Ramirez. The press was subjected to systematic persecution.

Supported by the high clergy, especially by the Spanish clergy who are linked with the Phalanx, Ramirez almost immediately entered the lists for morality. He introduced drastic measures to discipline the beautiful ladies of Argentina. He himself prepared a decree establishing the length of skirts and prohibiting the use of lipstick. Any book which might offend disappears from circulation.

The regime is strong. It has the support of the army. The inevitable defeat of the Axis has scarcely weakened Ramirez's determination to extend his influence outside the country. He seeks a kind of South American Holy Alliance of military dictatorships that would include Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, and Chile, dedicated to the fight against communism and against the influence of the United States. The colonels know that the Good Neighbor policy has sometimes lapsed and that the peoples of Latin America feel a certain pessimism about the democratic purpose of the United Nations. They know how to exploit the contradiction between the solemn pledges of the democracies and their flirtations with Ubico, Vargas, and company.

Yet there is only one ally for the democracies in Argentina—the Argentine people. And the democracies can rescue Argentina for the cause of inter-continental collaboration only by supporting the people. No policy designed to isolate Argentina, no threat of the increasing power of other South American states, will avail.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

GERMANY, like this country, was recently flooded with rumors about a separate peace between the Reich and Russia. It was not the first time such reports had circulated, but it was the first time they had spread to the troops on the eastern front. The effect they produced there is understandable. Many soldiers decided it was no longer worth while to put up a fight "when there would be peace in a few days." Things went so far, according to the Stockholm *Aftontidningen* of September 26, that the German army command was obliged to issue an order of the day denying the peace rumors. The *Aftontidningen* was even able to publish the text of the order, which was signed jointly by Field Marshals von Mannstein and von Kluge. It ran: "All rumors about a separate peace are untrue. The Führer will never make peace with the Soviets. It is pure madness to affirm that Himmler said that Germany was ready to negotiate with Russia. We appeal to the soldiers not to give up a single foot of ground without a fight. The soil we abandon now will be reconquered next spring."

It is worth mentioning here that for the German public Marshal von Mannstein—at present undoubtedly the outstanding German general—figures as the future Badoglio.

Up to the middle of September six million persons in Germany had been bombed out of their homes and obliged to find refuge in some kind of emergency dwelling. The Nazi newspaper *Volkswohlfahrt* revealed the figure in a consideration of the number of stoves that would be required to provide the necessary minimum of heat for the homeless. At least a million stoves, the paper reckoned, were needed, and so far there had been no indication of where they were to come from.

These figures enable us to understand what all foreign observers have affirmed—that in the minds of Germans the air war overshadows all other military and political events and perspectives. The destruction of morale caused by it is tremendous and progressive. Gunnar T. Pihl, who was the best of the Swedish correspondents and for that reason was expelled from Germany at the end of last August, is now able to relate some incidents he could not write about from Berlin. He was present, for example, when Goebbels inspected a block of houses in Berlin that had been destroyed by the March 1 raid. The crowd on the street "watched him sourly"; then suddenly someone broke out with the old slogan, *Wir danken unsrem Führer* (We thank our Führer). "Soon all the spectators were shouting the words in chorus, and Goebbels was literally put to flight." From many sources comes word of a pointed witticism that the Berliners are repeating: the ruins of the bombed buildings, they say, are "the foundations of the Fourth Reich."

An epidemic of suicides, the *Aftonbladet* of September 23 reports, has broken out among the troops and officials of the German occupation in Norway. One of the most dramatic was that of a soldier who shot himself on the street in front of a restaurant in Oslo. In all cases the reason has turned out to be the news that the man's wife and child had been killed in an air raid back home.

A popular French expression has found its way to Germany, *Débrouillez-vous*—literally, Extricate yourself, but in the sense of extricate yourself by any trick that will work, without considering anybody but yourself. The German troops in France have learned the word and, shortening it to *DB*, use it constantly. Through them it has reached the Reich, where it expresses perfectly the attitude of the people. "We are *DB*" means, "We are interested only in our own affairs." After four years of war the German state of mind is categorically *DB*.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

MR. ELIOT'S KIPLING

BY LIONEL TRILLING

KIPLING, I suppose, belongs irrevocably to our past, and Edmund Wilson's essay of two years ago calling attention to the "Kipling that nobody read" and T. S. Eliot's present apologia for Kipling's verse* are less likely to make readers revise their opinions than to revive their memories. But these memories, when revived, will be strong, for if Kipling belongs to our past he belongs there very firmly, fixed deep in childhood feeling. And especially for liberals of a certain age he must always be an interesting figure, for he had an effect upon us in that obscure and important part of our minds where literary feeling and political attitude meet, an effect so much the greater because it was so early experienced; and then for many of us our rejection of him was our first literary-political decision.

My own relation to Kipling was intense and, I think, typical. I began, properly enough, with "The Jungle Book." It was my first independently and avidly read book, my first literary discovery, all the more wonderful because I had come upon it in an adult "set," one of the ten green volumes of the Century edition that used to be found in many homes. I had been caught by the pictures of the children and the animals. Illustrations have become unfashionable and so has the "set," and that is a blow to the literary education of the young, who are reassured by pictures and who, once they have been lured to an author, remain loyal to him until they have read him by the yard.

The satisfactions of "The Jungle Book" and its sequel were immense and innumerable. I suppose a boy's vestigial animal-totemism was pleased; there were the marvelous but credible abilities of Mowgli, the lesser but still enviable ones of Toomai; there were the deadly enmities and the grandiose revenges, strangely and tragically real; and it was a world peopled by wonderful parents, not only Mother Wolf and Father Wolf but Bagheera, Baloo, Hathi, and the dreadful but decent Kaa, a whole council of benign and dangerous strength and wisdom. And then there was the fascination of the Pack and its Law—it is not too much to say that a boy had thus his first introduction to a generalized notion of society. It was a notion charged with feeling. The Law was mysterious, firm, certain, noble, in every way admirable beyond any rule of home or school.

Mixed up with this feeling about the Pack and the Law and perfectly expressing it was Kipling's gnomic language both in prose and in verse—for you could not entirely skip the verse that interlarded the prose, and so you were led to trust yourself to "The Barrack Room Ballads" at a time when you would trust no other poetry. That gnomic quality of Kipling's, that knowing allusiveness which later was to seem fake and vulgar, was, when first experienced, a delightful thing. It made one an initiate of literature, a Past Master; by understanding Kipling's ellipses and allusions you partook of what was Kipling's own special delight, the joy of being "in." Max Beerbohm has satirized Kipling's fawning admiration for the man in uniform, for the man with the know-how and the technical slang, his yearning to be admitted to any professional arcanum. It is a boy's emotion—he lusts for the exclusive circle, the sect with the password; and he profoundly admires the secret-laden people who run the world, the uniformed and overalled people, majestic in their occupation, superb in their preoccupation, the dour motorman and the thoughtful plumber. To this emotion, developed not much beyond a boy's, Kipling was addicted all his life, and eventually it made him silly and a bore. But a boy reading Kipling could turn this feeling to literary account, for Kipling's manner was an invitation to him to be "in" on literature: it made him a snob of the esoteric Mystery of the Word.

"Craft" and "craftily" were words that Kipling loved (no doubt they were connected with his deep Masonic attachment), and when he used them he intended all their several meanings at once—shrewdness, a special technique, a special *secret* technique communicated by some master of it, and the bond that one user of the technique would feel with another. This feeling about the Craft, the Mystery, grew on Kipling and colored his politics and even his cosmological feelings quite for the worse. But to a boy it suggested a boy's notion of adult responsibility, and by bringing a glamor to all the professions it suggested the virtue of disinterestedness. If one ever fell in love with the cult of art, it was not because one had been proselytized by some adult Frenchman but because one had absorbed Kipling's creedal utterances about art and had read "The Light That Failed" literally to pieces.

These things we must be sure to put into the balance when we make up our account with Kipling—these and a few more. To a middle-class boy he gave a literary sanction for the admiration of the illiterate parts of humanity. He was the first to suggest what may be called the anthropological view—the perception that another man's idea of virtue and honor may be different from one's own but quite to be respected: we must remember this when we condemn his mindless imperialism. In "Kim" (Mr. Eliot is right in calling it his best book) he established the value of things a boy was not likely to find approved anywhere else—the rank, greasy, over-rich things, the life that was valuable outside the middle-class notions of success and gentility, the virtues of peace and contemplation; for Kipling's unconscious, artistic Indian

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* "A Choice of Kipling's Verse." Made by T. S. Eliot, with an Essay on Rudyard Kipling. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

Houghton Mifflin Company have just published:— **FROM RIO GRANDE TO CAPE HORN** by Carleton Beals. Reviewers are calling it 'a pattern for the Western Hemisphere which can set the whole world an example. **JOURNEY INTO AMERICA** by Donald Culross Peattie, who has made out of a shrewd selection of high — and low — points from American history an inspiring self-portrait of America. **MEIN KAMPF** by Adolf Hitler, complete in new and less formidable format, a new and easily-read translation by Ralph Manheim of a book which has divided the world in bloody struggle. **BEST AMERICAN SHORT STORIES, 1943** edited by Martha Foley, a brilliant selection of the up-to-the-minute best in writing and thinking in the field of American fiction. **LOVE AT FIRST FLIGHT** by Charles Spalding and Otis Carney, a book of high (alt. 40,000 ft.) comedy about flying for the Navy, with a refreshing sting beneath its froth. Already in its 26th thousand. And finally **NEW WORLD A-COMING** by Roi Ottley, a best seller by a Negro about Negroes, that every American, white or black, should read.

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knowledge was always better—as many have said—than his conscious, political, English ideas. And then a boy in a large New York high school could find a blessed release from the school's offensive pieties about "service" in the scornful individualism of "Stalky & Co."

But it was with "Stalky & Co." that the spell was broken and, significantly enough, by H. G. Wells. In his "Outline of History" Wells connected the doings of Stalky, McTurk, and Beetle with British imperialism, and he characterized both in a way that made one see how much callousness, arrogance, and brutality one had been willing to accept. From then on the disenchantment grew. The Wellsian liberalism took hold, and Shaw offered a new romance of wit and intellect. Kipling ceased to be the hero of life and literature, became the villain, and then nothing more than a dim symbol, though a natural gratitude kept green the memory of the pleasure he had given.

If this is indeed typical of the experience of many, an understanding of the reciprocal influence of Kipling and the Shaw-Wells liberalism is essential to the understanding of both Kipling and liberalism. And it is essential to the understanding of Mr. Eliot's essay on Kipling, which is not so much an essay in literature as in politics—in politics where it is involved with sentiment, assumptions, and sensibilities. Mr. Eliot does not admit this, and his obscuring of his intention perhaps explains why his essay is simply tiresome. This is not a thing I should ever have thought I would say about an essay of Mr. Eliot's, however wrong-headed, but then Mr. Eliot has never before been verbose in evasion.

The literary point that Mr. Eliot makes is that Kipling must be judged not as a writer of poetry but as a writer of verse, and that as a writer of verse he is admirable. There follow definitions of a certain ingenuity, but the distinction is nothing more than the old inadequate one—I believe that Mr. Eliot himself has specifically refused it—which Matthew Arnold advanced in writing about Dryden and Pope. I fail to see the usefulness of the distinction, I can even see critical danger in it; and when Mr. Eliot says that Kipling's verse sometimes becomes poetry it seems to me that poetry is merely an honorific word used to denote verse of a particular intensity. Nowadays, it is true, we are not enough aware of the pleasures of verse of a low intensity; Crabbe, Cowper, and Scott are rejected because they are not Donne or Hopkins or Mr. Eliot himself; and I should have welcomed Mr. Eliot's speaking out in a general way in support of this admirable and, as I think, necessary tradition. Had he done so, Kipling would not have appeared preeminent above certain other poets, but much would have had to be said in praise of Kipling. In two evenings or even in a single very long one you can read through the bulky Inclusive Edition of his verse on which Mr. Eliot's selection is based and be neither wearied—because you will not have been involved—nor uninterested—because Kipling was a man of great gifts. You will have moments of admiration and even wish that Mr. Eliot had included certain poems he has left out. You will be frequently angry at the truculence and sometimes amused (who but Kipling would have written a brag about English understatement? Carlyle on Silence is nothing to this), but when you have done you will be more inclined to pity than condemn: the constant iteration of the bravado will have been illuminated by a few poems which touch on the fear and horror which Mr. Wilson deals with at length and which Mr. Eliot refers to: you feel that the ramparts of empire are being built against the mind's threat to itself.

Mr. Eliot's literary point about Kipling is too small for the éclat with which he brings it forward. We look for proportion to be restored by his handling of Kipling's politics, but we are disappointed. Mr. Eliot's inadequacy with Kipling's politics is a literary fault, for Kipling's politics are not a matter of formulations but of tone, overtone, emphasis, and color, none of which Mr. Eliot notices. He is at pains, for example, to deny that Kipling was a fascist: a tory, he says, is a very different thing, a tory considers fascism the last debasement of democracy. This is either disingenuous or obtuse. A tory, to be sure, is not a fascist, and speaking for myself, some of my best friends are tories—but it is just because Dr. Johnson, Burke, and Walter Scott are different from Kipling that they are admirable and instructive. Their monarchical and feudal ideals led them to large and often noble perceptions. Kipling is not like them, he is not generous and manly; he has none of their *mind*. His ideals left him mean; his toryism had often—though not always—a lower-middle-class snarl of defeated gentility in it, and it is this rather than his love of authority that might suggest an affinity with fascism. His ideal of loyalty depends upon the admission of inferiority: one suspects that his notion of the perfect relationship is that of man and dog. His imperialism is reprehensible not because it *is* imperialism—which in the abstract may be a defensible system—but because he was too small of mind to conceive anything but a puny and mindless imperialism. In short, Kipling is unloved and unlovable, not by reason of his beliefs, but by reason of the temperament that gave them literary expression. Of this temperament Mr. Eliot seems quite unaware.

It is not extravagant to say that Kipling's aberrations have been one of liberalism's major misfortunes. John Stuart Mill urged all liberals to study the conservative Coleridge, remarking that we should pray to have enemies who make us worthy of ourselves. Kipling was an enemy who had the opposite effect. For example, it seems to me that the strength of toryism at its best lies in its descent from an administrative tradition, while the weakness of liberalism is likely to be a fogginess about administration: Kipling's sympathy was always with the administrator, never with the legislator; this is foolish but it is not the most reprehensible error in the world, and it is a prejudice that in the hands of an intelligent man might serve to make clear to the man of principle, to the liberal, what the difficulties of governing really are. And this is what Kipling set out to do, but he so charged his demonstration with hatred and contempt, with rancor and caste feeling, that he could not be believed. His extravagance sprang from his opinion of the liberal intellectual; the liberal intellectual responded by hating everything that Kipling loved

We must make no mistake about it—Kipling was an honest man and he loved the national virtues. But I suppose no man ever did more harm to the national virtues than Kipling did. He mixed them up with swagger and swank, with bullying, ruthlessness, and self-righteousness, and he set them against intellect. He made them stink in the nostrils of youth. I re-

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member that in my own undergraduate days we used specifically to exclude physical courage from among the virtues—we were exaggerating the point of a joke of Shaw's—and up to the war I had a yearly struggle with undergraduates over Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" (which, incidentally, is the respectable father of the profligate "If"): it seemed too moral and "manly," they said, and once when I remarked that John Wordsworth had apparently been just such a man as his brother had described and told them about his courageous and dutiful death at sea, they said flatly that they were not impressed. This was not what they really thought, but the ideas of courage and duty had been steeped for them in the Kipling vat and they rejected the ideas with the color. And in England this response seems to have gone even farther. The interesting and touching phenomenon of the cult of Richard Hillary (see Arthur Koestler's article, The Birth of a Myth, in *Horizon* for April, 1943) is the effort of the English young men to find the national virtues without the Kipling touch, to be soldiers without being idiots, to have emotions about their nation without music-hall facility, to know and resist their enemies without self-glorification.

If proof were ever needed of the practical importance of literature, it is here in this spectacle of a poet making impossible the virtues he prized, and rightly prized. And of this Mr. Eliot remains curiously unaware, giving us a Kipling of unexceptionable temperament, defending his toryism and imperialism as if he were discussing Burke or Fitzjames Stephen.

Mr. Eliot speaks of "the fascination of exploring a mind so different from my own," and certainly the difference between the two minds is the quietly dramatic point of his elaborate public appearance with Kipling. But we are tempted—and perhaps Mr. Eliot wishes us to be tempted—to question the difference and look for the similarity. And poetically the affinity is not so impossible as it seems. Mr. Eliot speaks of the public intention and the music-hall tradition of Kipling's verse, and whoever has heard a record of Mr. Eliot reading "The Waste Land" will have been struck by how much that poem is publicly intended, shaped not so much for the study as for the theater—or at least the pulpit and the altar—by how much, in the full dialect rendition of the cockney passages, it is even shaped for the music hall, by how open the poet's voice makes the music we are inclined to think secretive. Then it is significant that among the dominant themes of both Kipling and Mr. Eliot is the fear of a nameless psychological horror and despair. Politically they share the headlong and angry reliance on administration and authority. They have the same sense of being beset and betrayed by the ignoble mob: Kipling invented and elaborated the figure of the "Pict," the dark, little, hating man who in other guises plays so important a part in Mr. Eliot's poetry, who stimulates in them both the same pathos of xenophobia, one manifestation of which is an open and reasoned anti-Semitism. (Mr. Eliot, it is true, would not descend to the snippy, *persecuted* anti-Semitism of ironic good manners which, in The Waster, leads Kipling to write "etc." when the rhyme requires "Jew"; but Mr. Eliot must have been at some trouble to procure this poem for his selection, for it is not included in the Inclusive Edition.)

It has sometimes seemed to me that one of the serious weaknesses of liberalism is its obtuse literary sensibility—its doctrinaire suspicion of literature's variety and subtlety, its inability to accept perceptions apart from rejected formulations, its dislike of the strange and unexpected, its sneaking admiration of the solidly dull, and perhaps above all its inability to be aware of the meaning of style, of the implications of the tone of an utterance. A critic like Mr. Eliot has always seemed useful exactly because, being free from the liberal prepossessions—though certainly not free from other political conditions of taste—he could challenge the liberal sensibility. His Kipling venture suggests that we may not be able to rely on him farther for this challenge, not because he has found merit in Kipling—it is there—but because his judgment is so without illumination, leaving us with nothing more than the possibility of reflecting on how deep, how obscure, and how bitterly combative are the motives of literary judgment.

A Novelist's Faith

A CERTAIN MEASURE. By Ellen Glasgow. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

THE United States, like all other civilized countries, has produced an enormous number of novelists—that is to say, persons who have written and published not one novel or two but many. The most obvious way to classify them is to make a division into the good and the bad; but this is not the only way, and it is not always or for all purposes the most significant way. Another very useful classification which may cut across the obvious one is made if we separate those who have from those who have not practiced their craft under the control of the assumption that novel writing is a unique art, with aims as well as methods peculiar to it. The latter may write for money, fun, or fame. They may also write to attack or defend some moral or political or social cause. But novel writing is for them one of the ways of achieving ends which may be also achieved in other ways. The former write novels to accomplish something which they feel would not be accomplished at all if novels were not written. It is not a question of art for art's sake—whatever that may mean. The novels may be written not for art's sake but in order, to take a phrase from the book at present under review, "to increase our understanding of life and heighten our consciousness." But the novelist, on this assumption, has a unique way of doing both these things.

Obviously one of Ellen Glasgow's claims to distinction is that she belongs to the rather small company of Americans who have persistently written novels on this assumption. The subtitle of the present volume—"An Interpretation of Prose Fiction"—is somewhat misleading. Actually it is not a treatise on the art of prose fiction but a collection of individual prefaces for an edition of her own novels. But because she has consistently been a certain kind of novelist these prefaces almost inevitably do become a defense of that general conception of the novelist's art to which she has been steadfastly loyal. For that reason also they give a meaning to her career.

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is a woman who began as a rebel against the genteel tradition and who ends, as rebels so often do, protesting against the rebelliousness of a new generation. As a young beginner she was convinced that Southern novelists did not tell the truth about Southern society. As the result of her early efforts one old lady told her sadly that if *she* had Miss Glasgow's talents she would devote them to proving that the South had been right; an elderly relative declared, "It is incredible that a well-brought-up Southern girl should even know what a bastard is"; a publisher suggested that she should try her hand at an "optimistic" novel. A little less than half a century later she is complaining that realism has often "degenerated into literary ruffianism" and that "nowadays, American novels are filled with illegitimate offspring, and New York is overcrowded with vociferous young radicals, just escaped from the South."

Now if she were actually saying no more than that while one bastard is necessary, too many of them—literal or figurative—are shocking, she would merely be furnishing an example to support the often-advanced proposition that all generations are alike in that each is convinced its elders did not go far enough and its younger contemporaries are going too far. But Miss Glasgow is interesting because she makes a good case for her contention that the essential difference is not merely a matter of far enough and too far. Though she can refer humorously to those present-day "Southern realists who are enjoying the more profitable disfavor of the present," and can protest that "the multitude of half-wits, and whole idiots, and nymphomaniacs, and paranoiacs, and rakehells in general that populate the modern literary South could flourish nowhere but in the weird pages of melodrama," what she is most importantly contending is that "the republic of letters" has "surrendered unconditionally to the amateur"—and by the amateur she means the novelist who may seek sensation on the one hand or earnestly propagate some moral or political doctrine on the other, who may even empty, with what he hopes is scientific objectivity, his notebooks into his novels, but who is not, in her sense, a novelist at all because he is not a writer who feels that novel writing is the result of a unique activity in the course of which reality as the individual sees it is recreated in a form from which his own deepest feeling toward it and judgment of it will emerge.

A review offers no opportunity to debate the validity of judgments implied or of aesthetic principles laid down. It does, however, permit the statement that Miss Glasgow's pages afford admirable occasion for such debate, as well as an admirable account of her own attitudes toward life and art. A large part of her work has been concerned with people living with a dying tradition, one which, in the novelist's opinion, both should and inevitably must die. Yet there is nothing in which she has believed more firmly than in the necessity of a tradition to a good life. Speaking of one of her novels she says: "My major theme is the conflict of human beings with human nature, of civilization with biology. In this constant warfare tragedy lies not in defeat but in surrender." Perhaps the fact that it was her fate to develop in a society where the only definable tradition was one already doomed to death is in part responsible for the evolution of her own dominant mood, which she describes thus: "Although a kind of cheerful pessimism, lightly turning into ironic amusement, has hardened to fortitude, both my sympathy and my resentment are still as easily aroused as they ever were in the past. I have never lost the old irrational sense that, by some sinister fate, I had become in part responsible for the evils of a world which, like the Shropshire Lad, I had never made."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Yankee Dick Whittington

CONNECTICUT YANKEE: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Wilbur L. Cross. Yale University Press. $5.

THE subject and author of this book is peculiarly a Connecticut institution, in some degree a product of nature but mainly a work of art. During his own lifetime, partly with the help of communal composition but certainly not without his own complicity, Wilbur Cross has become a legend in which Connecticut people of all classes and political parties feel a sense of proprietorship. He is not, therefore, entirely his own man, nor is the story of his life exclusively a private concern. Now that he comes to write that story, completing it on his eighty-first birthday, he is free to show of what materials the institution was built, he can discriminate between the *Wahrheit* and the *Dichtung* of the legend, but any effort on his part to destroy the legend or weaken the institution would certainly be resented and would probably fail.

One of the first things to be said in praise of this autobiography is, therefore, that it is written with a feeling of responsibility in the execution of the public trust. To the thousands who know Governor Cross in person and to the many thousands more who think they know a good deal about him, "Connecticut Yankee" will bring few surprises. During the many months in which the book has been awaited they have expected from him a shrewd, canny, humorous tale, packed with exact information and kindly innuendo, fighting with a sword of wit behind a shield of assumed simplicity. They have expected the story of an extraordinarily full and various life told by a mind still young, unwearied by faithful attendance upon thousands of committees, unsoured by thousands of campaign speeches. Just that is what is now laid before them. The legend is authenticated and the institution is secure.

The title "Connecticut Yankee," or rather the clear sharp idea those words convey, suffuses the book as a drop of ink does a gallon of water. One guesses that when once he had found this almost perfect title the author resolved to write up to it, to exemplify it fully, and to include as little as possible that did not come under that rubric. Now shrewdness comes under it, but not the deeper kinds of wisdom. Eager activity of many sorts is included, but not reflection. From a Connecticut Yankee, as commonly understood, we expect the fruits of an outward and worldly success. They are here. What we do not expect from him, or get from this book, is the depth, the quiet, the peace that come, perhaps, only from the experience of failure. In the career of this Yankee Dick Whittington, which began in an obscure village and culminated in four terms as Governor of Connecticut, failure seems to have been left out.

On an early page of his book Governor Cross wonders,

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somewhat vaguely, which one of his ancestors reaching back into earliest Puritan times has contributed most to his own characteristics. Judging from his account of these people, one would select his great-grandfather Peter Cross, a small farmer and peddler of earthenware, "a convivial companion who loved a jest and a good story whether he told it himself or heard it told by another." With those words for guide one can paint an imaginary portrait not unlike the one that Connecticut has now in mind of "Uncle Toby" himself. It is the picture of a man who easily turned his hands and wits to various tasks, saw his fellow clearly through laughing eyes, took nothing—even himself—too seriously, and by dint of having a thoroughly good time in life helped many others to a better time than they could have had without him. Peter Cross's "bump of veneration," to use a phrase of his times, was probably not prominent. Religion meant less to him than to his forbears. One guesses that he watched his fellow-men narrowly on the road, in church, and at the counter of the general store, thus accumulating a considerable knowledge of human nature. He too might have said: "There is very little difference between tricks of horses and tricks of men."

As though recognizing some of these likenesses, Governor Cross regrets that he was not named after this great-grandfather instead of the Methodist leader Wilbur Fiske. "What a wonderful name that would have been for me," he exclaims, "on entering a public career! 'Peter Cross the Governor of Connecticut!' It would have been good for thousands of votes."

A remark such as this, quoted out of context, may suggest to uninformed persons a doubt whether the man who made it, or the book in which it appears, can have any serious importance. Similar doubts have occurred even in Connecticut. They were expressed, chiefly by Republicans, when Wilbur Cross devoted most of his speech at a dinner celebrating his first victory at the polls to a jocose diatribe against the custom of taking baths. His campaign speeches contained a good many references to his rural boyhood, to the "little old red schoolhouse" where he began his literary career, and to the country store in which as a child he took his first lessons in politics and human nature. His Republican critics disliked all this not for its apparent frivolity but because it was rosy, delightful, and wonderfully successful in getting votes.

During his first campaign Wilbur Cross had to face the sneers that commonly greet the new-come "scholar in politics." But "the dear old gentleman down at Yale," as the late J. Henry Roraback rather insolently called him, turned out to be so different from the harmless dry-as-dust which "the boys" had expected that they soon promoted him to the exalted rank of "that old son-of-a-bitch"—a sobriquet which may well have pleased him more than any of his academic titles. When spoken with a smile it can of course convey the fondest masculine affection, and even when ground out between gritted teeth it suggests a respect seldom paid by "the boys" to college professors.

No one will complain that there is anything frivolous in the handling of former political opponents to be found in "Connecticut Yankee." They are not denounced, to be sure, or vilified. Far worse than that, they are quoted—usually without comment. The things they did in the effort to thwart and hamstring one whom they regarded as an intruder upon a Republican domain are simply set down, for the record. It seems probable, therefore, that certain names which posterity would never otherwise have heard will be preserved like flies in amber.

Governor Cross devotes one quarter of his book to the years of his youth, another quarter to his long service as teacher, author, editor, and administrative officer at Yale, and all the second half to the political career which he began at an age, to use his own words, at "which most men are dead." The permanent value of "Connecticut Yankee" lies, no doubt, in its close and fairly minute record of his four terms in office as Governor of Connecticut. Herein it has no rival, if only for the reason that no other such expert man of letters in America has ever had his chance to observe and record the political scene from just such a point of vantage. The combination of opportunity and ability is unique.

"Connecticut Yankee" is a book to be remembered, also, for the example it gives of a purpose tenaciously held and finally accomplished after a long series of disappointments. For six years Governor Cross planned and worked for certain quite necessary reforms in the administrative structure of the state government, but was balked of his hopes at every turn. During his last two years in office, however, he finally secured more than he had hoped for; so that he left the governorship far stronger and more respected than it had been at any time in a hundred years. A fact which he does not record in his book is that he left it with honor, with the praise even of those who had once thought themselves his enemies, and with the affection of all who know him.

ODELL SHEPARD

The Caged Sybil

NEW POEMS, 1943: AN ANTHOLOGY OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN VERSE. Edited by Oscar Williams. Howell, Soskin, and Company. $2.75.

OSCAR WILLIAMS, in compiling his book of "New Poems, 1943," has been extraordinarily successful in achieving what he set out to do, if that was, as I take it, to present the most interesting poems written within the year in the English language. Occasionally he has gone beyond this limit of time: Allen Tate's "More Sonnets at Christmas," which celebrate the last occurrence of that holiday, are preceded by the earlier and now well-known "Sonnets at Christmas," written ten years ago. Though I recognize several other poems from having seen them before, there are, so far as I am able to discern, none, with the exception I have noted, which has not been done in an awareness of a world at war. A considerable number of the poems are here published for the first time. The volume is made up in large part from the work of established poets whose worth has been approved by their contemporaries, but there is also a generous selection from young poets whose talents as yet exceed their reputations. The range, among Americans, is from Robert Frost, who was born in 1875, to Dunstan Thompson, who did not see the light of day until 1918; among the British, from Edith Sitwell and Herbert Read, who have long been known in this country, to Alex Comfort, who at twenty-three years of age makes here his first appearance in an American volume.

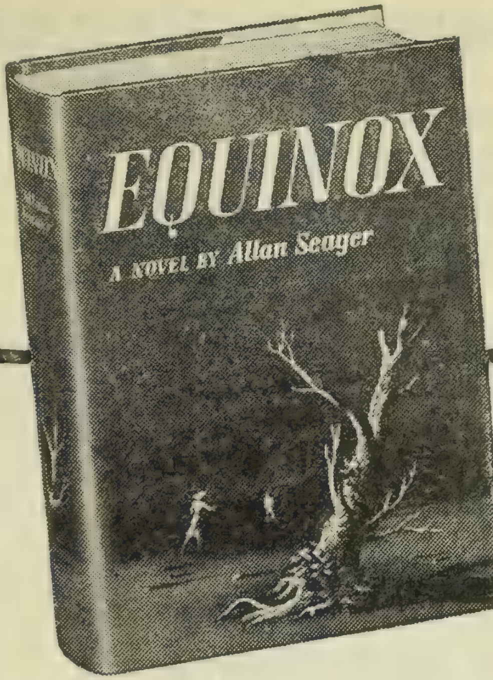
The choice, then, is wide; and Mr. Williams's taste seems to me sufficiently sound to allow the volume to be taken as indicative of the present state of the poetic mind. Statements on dust-covers are notoriously untrustworthy, since they are designed, not to describe a book, but to sell it. In this instance, however, I may be permitted to start with the publisher's blurb, which declares that the poems included in the anthology have been chosen because they deal with realities and then goes on to say that the book is essentially one of war poetry. The editor is then quoted: "It is the work of poets who have intensely felt the fact of war."

The standard of the book is high, because most of the poets represented do deal with their own realities. And that they have intensely felt the fact of war may be assumed, since no one could well live in the world today and avoid either fact or feeling. But it is remarkable, considering the wide range of the anthologist's choice, how little war poetry he has managed to get between his covers. The blurb at least makes it clear that whatever he found is here. But it is quite as clear from the pages that, however intensely his contributors may have felt as men and women, as poets they have for the most part neither cared nor dared to write as if the war were their main concern. They are like Dante's angel, who, opening the gate on that portion of hell where the violent are, looked as though he were moved by quite other cares than those around him.

Very early in the book—the poets are arranged alphabetically by name—amid the scattered brilliance of George Barker's phrases, there is a reference to the Austrian corporal "At whose word once, from Europe to the sky, Suddenly everyone everywhere began to die." But it is a phrase among a hundred others. William Empson asks to be told again "about Europe and her pains." But we have gone one-third of the way through the three hundred pages before, in David Gascoyne's A Wartime Dawn, there is a clear mention of a specific event, the invasion of Norway, and even here futile battles off a bitter coast are merely numbered among the circumstances of a return from the blankness of sleep to the consciousness of one more day of a world at war. The first poems by an Englishman unmistakably devoted to the war are C. Day Lewis's Word Over All and Reconciliation; the first by an American is Marianne Moore's In Distrust of Merits, which seems to me much the best poem about the war yet written in this country. And yet, when I expressed this opinion to Miss Moore recently, her response was that she had been relieved, at the outbreak of hostilities, to know that she would not be required to write a war poem.

At this point we are halfway through the anthology, and what I have said about the first half is not invalidated by the second, in which there are only two outstanding poems which I am quite sure have the present war for their central theme: Allen Tate's Ode to Our Young Proconsuls of the Air and Jubilo. And even then I am uncertain about the second. The war certainly provided the occasion for the poem, but the center of interest is perhaps rather in the disarray of a world which has been able to find no release save in the outrage and carnage of overwhelming war.

How are we to explain this reluctance of poets who are



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among the most serious of our time to bring the war into the foreground of their thought? The more serious they are the more they would seem to be determined to use the gifts with which they have been endowed, the talents they have trained, to discover some other issue from the disorder of the times than the destructive one which the world of action, willingly or not, has desperately accepted. Of course, when a man's country is in danger, he will do what he can to defend it. But he will do this as a man, because it is the part of a man. As a poet, he has other responsibilities and other compulsions. He wants a principle of coherence and asks of his thought, which provides none, only that he might address it as Donne once did his God, "Thou hast contracted thine immensity, and shut thyselfe within Syllables and accepted a Name from us."

Then, too, being under the compulsion to tell the truth, the poet is bound to be wary of any knowledge he has not won in his own right. Most of the poets here represented have been, for one reason or another, excluded from combat, and those who are of an age and condition to do the fighting are still too taken up with their own brief youth, whose brevity now becomes especially poignant, to have assimilated their military experience. Miss Moore's poem succeeds because, while by no means unaware of those who are "fighting in deserts and caves, one by one, in battalions and squadrons," she finds the heart of her matter in her own responsibility for their having to fight. "There never was a war that was not inward." And it is because she has essentially restricted herself to this inward war, which she knows as no one else does, that she has written a poem profoundly personal and at every point precise.

It may be, too, that the poets neglect war because the theme is to them outworn. When peace was proclaimed after the last war, the poets had no ease, and between the laying down and the taking up of arms, they took it as their responsibility to tell of a world which was like Trimalchio's Sybil, who, when the little boys questioned her in her cage, wanted only to die. It was twenty-one years ago that T. S. Eliot, with that curious genius of his for taking over passages from other writers and resetting them so that they acquire quite another meaning than the author intended and take on in the reader's eye a new glint and brilliance, seized on those lines from the "Satyricon" and placing them before "The Waste Land" gave them a tragic import. In Petronius the passage has a comic intent, for the Sybil is brought in to point up Trimalchio's ignorance and boastfulness. Yet the meaning which Mr. Eliot found there must always have been in the words. What was, by the time he used them, a learned reference became, beyond any other one phrase, an expression of his own and a generation's disease. Mr. Eliot's desperation, he has been careful to tell us, was his own affair. Nevertheless, what he said about the world was recognized by anyone who could read poetry as true. One might escape his conclusions, which were singularly inconclusive, and reject his solutions, which solved none but his personal problems; but one could escape his premises only at the risk of rejecting the truth. The poetic situation is still very much what he found it; at bottom, it has not greatly changed since Baudelaire. To write now of war, when for so long nothing has promised peace, would be to write of events which, though the accompanying heroism and devastation exceed anything that could have been imagined, have already occurred in the imagination. Their moral import has already been set down. JOHN PEALE BISHOP

Mr. Crawford Explains

REPORT ON NORTH AFRICA. By Kenneth G. Crawford. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.

UNTIL November of 1942 the author of this little volume was among the most vigorous critics of the conduct of our foreign affairs to be found in the Washington press corps. In that month Allied troops landed in North Africa, and Mr. Crawford decided instantly and with complete finality that this heartening event proved he had been wrong and the Administration right. He wrote in *PM* that the entire Vichy policy was to be judged by the extent to which North African politicians fell in with the Allied plans. It was with this orientation that he set sail the following March—four months after the event and more than two months after the assassination of Darlan—for a ninety-day visit to the scene of the first great political controversy of this war.

Crawford's journey has left him convinced of the correctness of American policy in North Africa, but I think his report would prove an exceedingly frail reed should the Administration choose to lean upon it. Of its 206 short pages, something like two-thirds are given over to incidents of the journey, descriptions of the country, and snatches of local history—all colorful, incidentally, and pleasantly written. The political analysis is confined to something like 70 pages, and it is anything but substantial.

Crawford soon found that "opinion about the morality and effectiveness of the American diplomacy that made way for our November 8 landings was as sharply divided and not much better informed on the terrace of the Aletti [his hotel in Algiers] than in the Senate dining-room at the Capitol in Washington." Accordingly he tried "to reconstruct by talking with principals still on the scene." Since his informants, apart from a few prisoners in the Sahara labor camps, were either the executors of American policy or the Frenchmen with whom they collaborated, the report emerges as a painfully uncritical acceptance of the official case.

Out of personal regard for the author, whose record as a liberal and as a journalist entitles him to a respectful hearing, I wish I could report that he has at least argued a good case. But he hasn't. He is obviously not at home in the web of foreign politics, and this part of his book is filled with contradictions, inaccuracies, and one-sided testimony. He makes the point that De Gaulle's London Committee could not have been used in connection with the invasion because it had compromised itself in the eyes of the French people by collaborating with Communists. ("The people of France have not forgotten that the Communists played the role of traitor before and during the German invasion.") But if the French of North Africa could not endure the Communists for having sabotaged the war effort up to the moment Russia was invaded, how can it be argued that North African sentiment compelled us to deal with Darlan, Peyrouton, Boisson, and

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others who, going far beyond sabotage, had completely identified themselves with the interests of the enemy?

Crawford a little later admits the existence of the widespread De Gaullist sentiment which subsequently showed itself in North Africa, but he explains it hostilely as "French nationalism . . . reasserting itself," with De Gaulle "as an opponent of American and British interference in matters of French political concern." We favor French nationalism, it appears, when it is exemplified by such ultra-national factionalists as Darlan and Weygand, but fight it when its leading exponent commands popular support ranging from Royalist to Communist. Of the Anglo-American interference which De Gaulle is accused of opposing, Crawford unwittingly cites repeated instances: "It required threats of public denunciation to persuade De Gaulle to put his signature to an innocuous statement . . ." (Crawford doesn't tell us that De Gaulle wanted to make the statement meaningful instead of innocuous); "it was decided [by Churchill and Roosevelt] that De Gaulle should not be permitted to push Giraud aside . . ."; "The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the French army . . . should not be turned over to De Gaulle," etc.

There is not a good word in the book for the Frenchman who did after all rally his countrymen to the side of the British in the days when England itself seemed doomed, but there are tolerance, understanding, and the benefit of every doubt for men who in those same days busied themselves fitting France into the New Order. "Pétain approved of the American invasion but couldn't say so publicly." "Noguès is a more complicated human than his American publicity has made him out." Lemaigre-Dubreuil, "one of the most useful" of a group of "bankers and industrialists whom the Nazis thought they had taken into camp," was so harshly treated by the pro-De Gaulle press of America that he "joined the Gaullists because he considered such affiliation the best way of expressing his anti-American sentiments." Make what you can of that! Spanish Loyalist prisoners were in fact compelled to do forced labor on the trans-Sahara railway, but conditions were not so bad as they had been painted, the liberals back home were in too much of a hurry for the liquidation of the camps, and the directors of the Compagnie Méditerranée-Niger, in charge of the project, had "an almost fanatical faith in their enterprise," which, Crawford explains, "mitigated any self-reproach for their employment practices." Crawford admits, incidentally, that our army would have been glad to use some of the Spanish prisoners "but had been prevented from enlisting them by diplomatic considerations" when General Franco protested.

General Giraud, despite his complete failure in the role for which he was cast by the Allied leaders, emerges from this report without a flaw. Crawford accepts in every detail the official story of his escape and adds that he was recommended to President Roosevelt, via Robert Murphy, by "certain Frenchmen," unnamed. There is no word here about the famous letter which Giraud addressed from his Königstein prison to Pétain, in which salient features of the Nazi system were highly recommended for France. Crawford feels that "slander against Giraud went to fantastic lengths in some liberal publications," and he cites as an example the confusing of Giraud with General Gouraud, who was reported to have plotted with the Nazis. Crawford surely knows that this error appeared not in one of the "liberal publications," but in the *Saturday Evening Post,* though it was later picked up by Edgar Mowrer of the New York *Post,* who made it the basis for an inquiry. The mistake, incidentally, was made by the same Demaree Bess whom Crawford singles out as a journalist who "did much to clear up confusion" about political events in North Africa.

More serious than such inaccuracies, and the book's undeniably partial approach, is its bewildering lack of focus. In a Foreword designed to "orient" the report Crawford writes that "the African campaign changed the political character of the war." The President then and there "abandoned any pretense of leading a world revolution," and "our basic war policy, it became apparent, was one of military expedience and power politics rather than reform and welfare politics." This sounds at first like the words of those liberal critics whom Crawford now acidly berates. But whereas Crawford himself would once have considered them a serious indictment, he now regards them as an indorsement. "Success," he writes, "won us more admirers in North Africa than food or kindness. It will be the same elsewhere." And if we have confused the European underground by our deal with Darlan, what of it?—"it was not the first element of confusion injected into this war." If this shallow cynicism is really Crawford's position—and I find that hard to believe—he is entitled to it. But then why write a book to defend our policy? Our troops landed in Africa; so the policy was obviously right. By the same token Hirohito's troops landed in the Philippines, thereby proving that the code of the Samurai has much to recommend it. ROBERT BENDINER

The Jewish Dickens

THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM. By Maurice Samuel. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

THE Russo-Polish Pale, the last or latest metropolis of the Diaspora, accounts more than anything else for what the West now knows as the Jew. Its liveliest memorial was created by one of the few great folk writers whose names and personalities are a matter of historical record. Sholom Aleichem (né Rabinovitch) was an "emancipated" Jew, acquainted with Western culture and with one foot already outside the ghetto. This distance, perhaps, was a necessity to his writing.

The intrinsic interest of its subject sustains Mr. Samuel's book, which deals with what Sholom Aleichem wrote about rather than with the writing itself. But Mr. Samuel himself writes with a too evenly diffused warmth and blurs everything. In any case it is hard to talk in English about the virtues of Sholom Aleichem's work. The verbal wit, liveliness, and Elizabethan fluidity of Yiddish do not survive translation, nor does the shop talk of Talmudic scholarship—something a Jew got in his bones without ever having read the Talmud. The contexts are difficult to render unto Gentiles, and unless it is understood how the contexts are being wrenched, much of the humor fails to come through.

Inevitably, Sholom Aleichem is called the Jewish Dickens. Such parallels are objectionable on principle, but this one does provide some illumination. Like Dickens's humor, that of Sholom Aleichem is comic and verbal and depends less on situation than on character, local color, and dialect. Personages are comic because they do not take a sufficiently pessimistic or resigned view of themselves and of their condition, or because they handle too colloquially the big, pompous truths of life. This is of the essence of most humor about the poor. Sholom Aleichem's humor sometimes comes close to farce but never actually reaches it, for the absurd is too near at hand in the reality that is imitated. I think that Sholom Aleichem goes deeper than Dickens. His humor can take control of and intensify a tragic situation; it deals really with what is a tragic situation in the main. But to show the disparity between the Jew's visions of heaven, space, security, and wealth on the one hand and his cramped and precarious confinement on the other was no job for the tragic muse unmasked. And then the ghetto was not quite what it seems. The Jew there was not nearly so middle-class as he has since become in Brooklyn and as he became in Germany. He managed to produce a real folk life in the tenements and back alleys and even the suburbs. Many of Sholom Aleichem's characters take the fact that they are Jews for granted, and this great favor was allowed them nowhere else on earth than in certain communities of the Pale, where Jews performed all the functions of society and were not penned within an economic caste.

The ghetto taught the Jew to keep his eye on the main thing, the main thing in any interest, not only his own. Therefore his impatience with etiquette. The poor everywhere are impatient with etiquette, if not decorum, but none so much as the Jews. For them the only etiquette impervious to ridicule is that of ideas. Why deny that man lives by cruel competition in this particular world? Nor is there any valid reason to curb the extravagances of one's temperament. It is no wonder that the best literature the ghetto has produced in recent times is humorous and that its *folk* life can be defined as peculiar to a people who live in the constant presence or under the perpetual threat of the joke. The ghetto Jew may have been retarded in many respects, but in this he was the most advanced of all human beings—"Oriental" perhaps in his poverty and in the denseness of the atmosphere in which he lived but not in his realism and in his abhorrence of hypocrisy. (The last thing the Jew is, is tricky, and the last thing he thinks of is his front to the world. The ostentatious Jew—that great myth of the Anglo-Saxon world—is ostentatious only about his wealth, and unlike maharajahs and Vanderbilts, makes no other claim by his ostentation than that of wealth. And when he loses it he does not bother to keep the lace curtains hanging in the front parlor.)

There is another reason why the Jews live on such close terms with humor. In the last two thousand years they have been unable to play any striking role as a whole people, with the result that history has not presented them with fresh infusions of glory and dignity from above to act as sedatives upon their critical sense. The persecutions they endure, because these involve fundamentally meaningless suffering, relevant only to the persecutors themselves, neither sharpen their sense of tragedy nor dry up their wit. The effect is the opposite. True, the Jews have acquired a phenomenal capacity for suffering, but pure, irrelevant suffering in itself—no less

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than the competitive life of the ghetto—has made them only the more impatient with all the devices by which the necessary cruelties of existence are dignified and sublimated. They have learned that the best or at least the safest way to protect oneself against what for Jews would be insupportable otherwise is humor.

The Jew's almost quixotic insistence upon directness in relations and his unwillingness to allow himself or anyone else to be identified by or with his function or position in society is succinctly illustrated by Sholom Aleichem's story of the old Jewess who refuses to pay her fare to the conductor of a trolley car because he happens also to be the young son of a neighbor, whom she has known since he was a baby. It strikes her as ridiculous beyond words to enter into such a formal relationship with him as would be denoted by paying him fare. Aside from the fact that it is to her own interest not to pay the fare, she doesn't—for his own sake—want him to make a fool of himself.

Sholom Aleichem's characters are unsatisfied by their emotions; they insist on worrying them into ideas and on posing them so that they best catch the gleam of logic's rhetoric. "I will extol Thee, my God, O King (what good would it do me if I didn't?)" Tevyeh, the wagon-driver, prays. He is full of pleading and submission, there is no question about his piety, and he has at that moment permitted himself a glance at the wretched panorama of his life; but he cannot defend his feelings from the examining and comparing intellect. It is this that the Nazis profess to complain of most in the Jews.

Capitalism, in the sense that capital is the most valuable form of wealth, was nothing new to the ghetto, as we all know. The Jew has been a capitalist more or less ever since the beginning of the Diaspora or whenever it was he rid himself of the instinctive reliance upon ponderous or immobile possessions. It has always been the speculative, commercial, pre-industrial aspect of capitalism, not the exploitation of other people's labor through the possession of their tools, that has attracted the Jews. Nevertheless, though speculation may have built the ghetto, it was the first—in its more modern forms—to violate its privacy and breach it to the outside world. It is responsible for that most typical phenomenon of recent Jewish life, the *Luftmensch,* the man who lives in, by, and on air, the fixer, the promoter, the go-between, the man who always has a deal on hand and never a vocation, the visionary whose dreams are full of calculation and the grossest actualities, the practical man who suffers from pathological optimism—a malady without which many Jews would be unable to go on being Jews. Sholom Aleichem hints, I believe, at the Jew's weariness of this sort of thing. He is tired whether he knows it or not of the adventures of capitalism, bored by them; he understands capitalism too well and has begun to have a sense of guilt about it—not that the Jews in particular are the ones responsible or that all Jews are capitalists, but that most Jews grow up to be entrepreneurs by culture and psychological habit. Now one part of them yearns for a new order, while another turns backward to Zionism and a pastoral life that is nothing but a literary reminiscence. In the wretchedness and beyond the humor of Sholom Aleichem's world both hopes begin to stir. The Jews like cities, gregarious life, and the fluidities of commerce; they still like them but at the same time they yearn to stop liking them. Security lies in another direction.

Yet the Jews in a way relish their fate, as in a way everyone does. For they still are chosen, chosen at least to be always confronted by or to confront the alternate finalities of the human lot. Think: they have been and still are the most particularist people on earth; yet they have been accused of making it their particular mission to destroy particularity, to internationalize, to create the brotherhood of man. They are accused of self-seeking; yet they produced the supreme example of the gratuitous and disinterested man who is not an ascetic. They are supposed to be materialists; yet none have been so foolhardy in exposing themselves for an idea. And at the same time they are stubborn, they go on manifesting vitality, swarm, pullulate, enjoy, and multiply; yet they were the first to distinguish between the wholesome and the unwholesome and to find fertility rites an abomination—perhaps because they have always been more convinced than anybody else of the essential dignity of man. This may explain why they are so ready, as in Sholom Aleichem's case, to submit themselves to the attrition of humor. CLEMENT GREENBERG

Fiction in Review

OF THE new fall novels I have so far read, the most impressive is Paul Hughes's "Retreat from Rostov" (Random House, $2.75). It is a first novel and falls short of being the major work it could have been, but it is remarkable if only because its author, a radio and newspaperman of twenty-seven who has never been outside his native state of Oklahoma, instead of crawling into his own shell and snuggling the world in after him, set himself the imposing task of recreating in fiction one of the crucial engagements of the Russian war. In addition to news reports, Mr. Hughes had only ambition to work with, but he remembered there had been novelists before him, and he frankly went to school to the author of that other Russian war story "War and Peace." From Tolstoy he learned not only a possible Russian background but what a novel should be and a method of narrative—how to handle time and space, how to use people over a large canvas, the virtues of an efficient unstylish prose; he also learned the uses of an in- and yet above-the-battle point of vantage. This is not to say that "Retreat from Rostov" is a second-hand version of "War and Peace," any more than Tolstoy's Austerlitz, say, is a second-hand version of Stendhal's Waterloo. Nor do I mean to indicate that Mr. Hughes is even remotely in a class with his master: unhappily, in fact, his apprenticeship to Tolstoy proves, once again, that it takes more than a great teacher to make a great pupil. But it also proves that the pupil with the grace and wisdom to seek instruction in the proper places is at least that far in advance of the pupil too arrogant to be taught. In the welter of current fiction whose chief boast seems to be that art needs no masters, "Retreat from Rostov" is a rare phenomenon, a novel that consciously sets out to learn from the past and take its stand in the best literary tradition.

In a way the hero of "Retreat from Rostov" is Rostov itself. Mr. Hughes's novel is an account of the thirty-four-day battle to capture, and hold, this key city on the Don. His sympathies are overwhelmingly pro-Russian of course, but he knows the value of telling both sides of a story, even in fiction, and moves his narrative back and forth between the Russian and German armies, from colonels to privates and cooks, from the women's corps which follows the Nazi army to the guerrillas who make the occupation of Rostov, once captured, impossible: he would wish to throw the full weight of his creative powers into the characters he despises as well as into the characters he loves. But unfortunately the creation of character, as opposed to the attitude toward character, is something no writer can learn from the greatest teacher; here he must fall back on his own resources, and Mr. Hughes's are weak. Whether because of immaturity or inexperience, he is unable to give people their final living quality; as types (though they are not types), the characters in "Retreat from Rostov" have a sort of basic validity, but they lack emotional dimension, and we are never very much concerned for their fate.

Obviously once we know the facts of an author's life it becomes all too easy to find evidences of them in his work. For instance, I have the strong impression that Mr. Hughes needs a wider experience of people than the circumstances of his life have afforded him. This is not to imply that only a cosmopolitan can write a good novel, but simply that Mr. Hughes needs to know more of human possibility than he has yet learned. All the memorable characters in fiction, lovable or not lovable, veer toward caricature in the perhaps paradoxical sense that they have been recognized by their authors to be as extravagantly strange and wonderful as human beings really are—the characters in "War and Peace" are an example—but I would guess that Mr. Hughes hesitates to "exaggerate" people because he doesn't trust himself to make the generalizations implicit in this kind of caricature. The exception in his book is the pair of Nazi friends, Baum and Schroeder, who, precisely because they are extravagantly conceived, are the most completely created and convincing of all his characters. Much more typical is his pair of foreign correspondents who are so excruciatingly "normal," even fashionable, that for purposes of evoking emotion they might just as well not exist. Of course, if you will, Mr. Hughes should be able to substitute imagination for experience; perhaps the born writer of fiction should be able to create a whole gallery of living portraits with no more than his own self to draw on. But the modern novel being what it is—such a poor little affair at best—for the moment it is enough that a writer have the taste and vision to know what a work of fiction *can* be, something bigger than his own small individuality, to greet him, if not as a born writer, then as a really promising talent.

Never having read "How Green Was My Valley," I am unable to compare Richard Llewellyn's new novel, "None but the Lonely Heart" (Macmillan Company, $2.75), to its very successful predecessor. By its author's reputation, however, and quite on its own, I found it a disappointing book, full of genuine pathos and technical virtuosity but at the same time forced in its sentiment and over-elaborate in its writing. It is the story of Ernie Mott, a pimply cockney youth who, having lost his none too satisfying job as artist's apprentice, drifts rather unnaturally into gangsterism; I say unnaturally because Ernie's domestic timidity and his artist's brand of

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sensitiveness no more seem to jibe with his recklessness as a gangster than his Ma's brand of earthy morality jibes with her secret thievery. Mr. Llewellyn is at great pains to imply society's responsibility for Ernie's loneliness and degeneration, and the nice element in his study is his true respect for the boy's feelings, though I find it a bit excessive that the pronominal Ernie is capitalized throughout the book, as if He were God. The worst part of "None but the Lonely Heart" is the section, suggestive of Robert Nathan in a macabre mood, which describes the haunt of a certain lunatic character named Henry; and the whole gangster setup is pretty much Hollywood.

A much more direct and bare indictment of society than Mr. Llewellyn's cockney novel is Bucklin Moon's novel, "The Darker Brother" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50). Mr. Moon's biography of a charming little colored boy, born in Florida, whose mother brings him North to taste the joys of equality is not in any sense a great novel about Negroes—that is yet to be written; but it is a decent and effective one, and at least in its opening chapters a gifted one; the early scene at the railroad tracks is excellent. It is even a courageous book in its frank statement of the Negro's relation to the army and the war, and I regret that Mr. Moon took the sting out of his frightening truth by his last few pages of flag-waving. But the trouble with a novel like "The Darker Brother," as with even the best propaganda novels, is that it is read and taken to heart only by people who already know and have taken to heart; for its limited audience, it can only be an exacerbation of uneasiness and guilt, issuing in little of practical good.

Despite its praiseworthy plea for visas for refugees, which comes a bit late after all, Laura Z. Hobson's "The Trespassers" (Simon and Schuster, $2.75) is an inept and rather tasteless book. Miss Hobson's novel is woven of two threads with hardly a tangling acquaintance with each other—the story of a New York career woman and her sterile-today, downcast-father-tomorrow lover, and the story of a Viennese psychoanalyst who is trying to get his family out of Nazi Europe. The relation between these two stories is hinted at in Miss Hobson's title, "The Trespassers" being presumably her ironic name for the baby who is not allowed to be born and the Austrian exiles who are not allowed to find refuge, but novelistically speaking, their chief connection is in the amount of time the heroine spends filling out applications for visas and in the fact that the analyst is there waiting, his wife conveniently dead, when Miss Hobson's career woman is ready for a better man than her selfish lover.

DIANA TRILLING

Twelve Poets of Latin America

TWELVE SPANISH AMERICAN POETS. An Anthology
Edited by H. R. Hays. Yale University Press. $3.50.

THE publication of this new anthology should bring cheer to the hearts of those who love Latin American poetry and want it to reach a wider audience on this side of the Rio Grande. Not that the book itself is of such supernal quality, but because it bears evidence of having learned from its predecessor's mistakes. Last year Dudley Fitts's omnibus volume, like a traveler doing the grand tour of South America by air in two weeks, covered much and discovered little. Now H. R. Hays, contributor of notes and a few translations to that earlier volume, takes a second trip. This time he covers less ground, looks more closely at what is in front of him, and lays a basis for the beginning of understanding on the part of his reader.

If some of the outstanding values in this new volume are prosaic, they are no less important. First of all, the book deals with a reasonable number of poets—not ninety-six, as in Mr. Fitts's volume, but a mere twelve—enough to give variety, and not too many to grasp at once. Second, it chooses its twelve for understandable reasons, and arranges their work (original and in translation) according to a plan—the "dozen leading poets have been selected in order to give the reader a bird's-eye view of contemporary Spanish American poetry." There are, the editor declares, many other poets as good, or nearly so, but these twelve "represent the most important contemporary trends." "A fair sampling of each poet's work" is included, and the poems "have been chosen to give an idea of the writers' development."

Add to these excellences a preface which sets poetry in its proper place in the panorama of South American culture and an account of the various influences, native and foreign, which make that poetry what it is today, and you have a competent guide to further exploration.

Like most guides, this one walks a steady pace with but little soaring. Its twelve starred contemporary poets are by and large those one would expect to find—Pablo Neruda and Vicente Huidobro of Chile, Nicolás Guillen and Eugenio Florit of Peru, José Gorostiza of Mexico, Jorge Luis Borges of Argentina, Jorge Carrera Andrade of Ecuador, Cesar Vallejo of Peru. These are "musts" in any anthology of poetry to the south. To find them here represented with six or eight poems apiece—all newly translated since the Fitts volume appeared—is to meet new evidence of their many-sided skills.

Of the other four, Ramón López Velarde of Mexico, who died in 1921, is a somewhat neglected genius whom the editor admires more than did his contemporaries. Pablo de Rokha of Chile is an intemperate experimentalist. Luis Carlos López of Colombia is a satirist. Jacinto Fombona Chocano is one of two poets in this book—Cesar Vallejo, who immortalized Spain's agony, is the other—whose poems as chosen show an awareness of the effect of war.

As for the translations, it cannot be said too many times that poetry is the major literary form in Latin America, and a minor one here. If it were otherwise, we might ask for better translations. As it is, those Mr. Hays has made are simple, in the main accurate, sometimes beautiful. Perhaps it is better for the cause of mutual appreciation that they should leave the average reader wishing he knew Spanish better so that he might read the poems in the original. Men have learned a language for lesser reasons. MILDRED ADAMS

Next Week in *The Nation*

"The Republic." By Charles A. Beard
Reviewed by Sidney Hook

"The Desire to Please." By Harold Nicolson
Reviewed by James Stern

MUSIC

AT ONE time it is "La Mer," at another "Ibéria" that seems to me Debussy's finest orchestral work; the truth is that of the works of his that are played these two are the greatest in amplitude and complexity of form and substance, in range and power and richness of musico-pictorial suggestion, and are the high points to which Debussy carries the individual processes of his style—his impressionistic *pointillisme* of thematic substance and instrumental color, and his orchestral polyphony. In "La Mer" it is the *pointillisme* that I find so exciting; in "Ibéria" it is the polyphony—the polyphony which is to be heard at an early stage in the closing pages of "L'Après-midi d'un faune" producing a new breath-taking harmonic subtlety with each forward step of the voices, and which in "Ibéria" attains its greatest density and produces its greatest richness of harmonic complexity and subtlety. I would say, moreover, that they are the most difficult works for an orchestra to play and for a conductor to make sense of: only Toscanini, in my experience, has succeeded in integrating all the bits of figuration and color and all the nuances of pace in "La Mer" into a coherent and magnificent form in sound; but on the other hand I do not feel that even he achieves this final integration of the complex detail of "Ibéria," marvelous as his performance is in other ways.

"Ibéria," you may be surprised to learn, is one of the set of three "Images" —the other two being "Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps," which are never performed. You are not to infer that they are—like "Sirènes," the third of Debussy's "Nocturnes"—not worth performing: conductors, even the ones who have reputations for being adventurous, follow beaten paths and leave a great deal of the finest music by Haydn, Mozart, Berlioz, and other composers unplayed. Constant Lambert, in his book "Music Ho!", speaks of the orchestral "Images" as the "culmination of Debussy's style," the final "synthesis of the various elements in music that Debussy had, in his earlier days, examined and developed separately" in the process of "complete self-realization." And so the announcement that Howard Barlow was going to play all three with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony at a recent Sunday afternoon broadcast induced me to give up a marvelously beautiful day in the country in order that I might hear the performance from a first-rate radio. As it turned out I made the sacrifice for nothing, since it was impossible to get any dependable idea of the unfamiliar works from the blurred outlines and textures that reached my ears. From previous experience of Barlow's work I am sure that the blurring was initially in performances themselves; but I suspect that it was made worse by inefficiency in the broadcasting.

I suspect this because of what happened in the middle movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 467—that movement after which one always hears the audience take a deep breath. Its impact is produced by the long cantilena of the piano moving calmly over agitated triplets and powerful plucked bass-notes from the orchestra; the effect depends on the piano's calm cantilena being kept clear above all the orchestral agitation down below; and in this broadcast performance the effect was destroyed by microphone placement or whatever else it was that caused the orchestra to blanket the piano, which at times could barely be heard and at times could not be heard at all. The little that I did hear of Casadesus's playing in this movement had none of the inflection with which Schnabel makes the cantilena itself breath-taking in the Victor set; and in the other movements, where it could be heard clearly, Casadesus's playing had the Czerny-exercise quality of French pianists' performance of Mozart.

One other point about the broadcast: The announcer informed the radio audience that it was about to hear Debussy's "Images" for orchestra, comprising "Gigues," "Ibéria," and "Rondes de printemps"; but he did not inform the audience that "Ibéria" itself comprised three movements, of which the second led directly into the third. The result was that most listeners, who must have been sufficiently baffled by the sounds that reached their ears, were further bewildered when they heard the second and third movements of "Ibéria" under the impression that they were "Rondes de printemps" and then heard another unidentified piece of music—the real "Rondes de printemps."

When, a few weeks ago, I finished describing how badly Serkin's performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 27 No. 2 was recorded, I did not add: "Needless to say, the *Times* reviewer pronounced the recording excellent," because when I looked in the *Times* the review had not yet appeared. It was a good thing that I waited, for it prevented a serious injustice to the *Times* reviewer: when the review did appear it pronounced the recording not "excellent" but merely "admirable." After this I don't dare to anticipate the cheery word which the recording will get from the *New Yorker* reviewer, who has a kindly pat on the head impartially for the best and for the worst.

B. H. HAGGIN

Art Note

MY MEMORY played tricks when I discussed last week the new Mondrian at the Museum of Modern Art. The painting has no orange, purple, or impure colors. Seeing it again, I discovered that it was the gray which Mondrian uses here in a new way for him that made me remember his scarlet and two shades of blue as purple and impure, and the yellow as orange. But I have the feeling that this after-effect legitimately belongs to one's first sight of the painting The picture improves tremendously on a second view, and perhaps after an aging of six months or so it will seem completely successful.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

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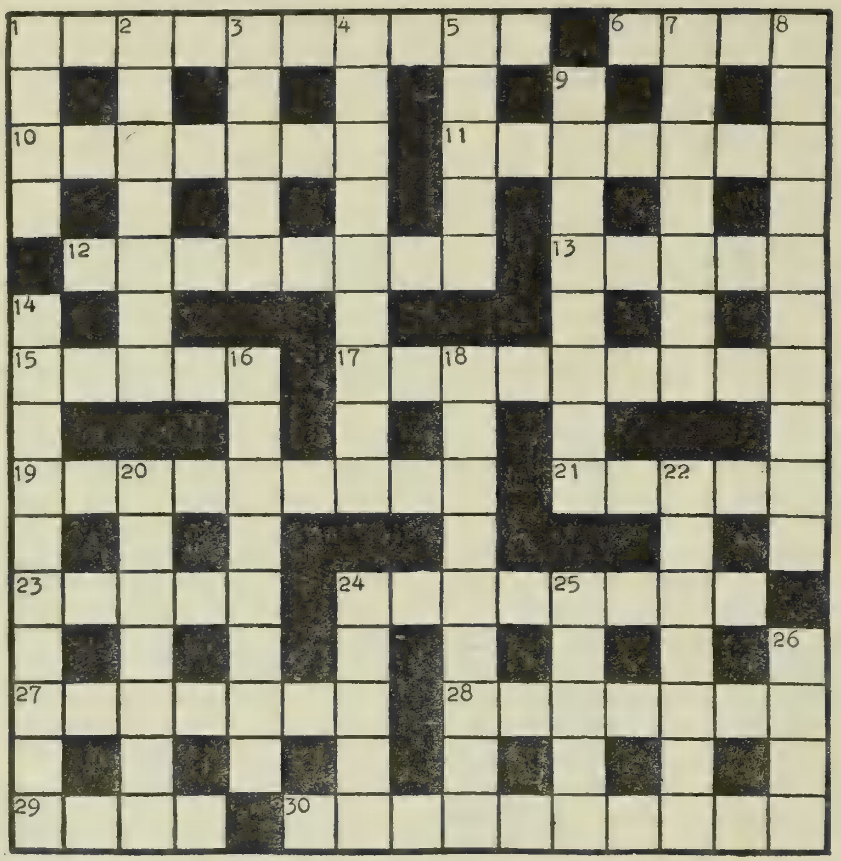
JOHN PEALE BISHOP is the author of "Now with His Love," "Minute Particulars," and "Many Thousands Gone."

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 34

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 This insect might well contain poison
6 Hidden in A Midsummer Night's Dream
10 We are seven
11 Dresses
12 Surprising (if vulgar) occurrence with drink to begin with (two words, 3 and 5)
13 Outstanding
15 A minor prophet
17 Archelaus' answer when a conversational barber asked how he would be trimmed (two words, 2 and 7)
19 I'm on a diet (anag.)
21 After the same girl perhaps
23 Legal
24 G. B. S.'s retort to the importunate stranger who asked: "Are you Shaw?"
27 Dun mare (anag.)
28 The logic of Aristotle seems to open with an alternative and close with a negative
29 This is where the congregation comes in
30 Form of punishment the boxing profession put an end to

DOWN

1 The world's plaything
2 Part of the Old Testament puts an end to this tarradiddle
3 "As he -----, so shall he drink" (Ben Jonson)
4 It is natural that this famous conductor should start with a Puccini opera
5 The smallest bit stale
7 I'm Roman in origin? Great Scott, no!
8 According to plan
9 May be a vagrant, but he's got a roll
14 Tiny creatures
16 If you are a good trencherman you will look forward to this (two words, 4 and 4)
18 Desert phenomenon (hyphen, 4 and 5)
20 Well, I this, conveys no surprise on the captain's part
22 Modus -------, and it would seem to be a must in post-war planning
24 Army chaplain
25 You may know it as a mackinaw or great lake-trout
26 As a bug in a rug

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 FACTION; 5 MOTHERS; 9 ANCRE; 10 FALSE HAIR; 11 HAIR TONIC; 12 CUT UP; 13 REEFERS; 15 ATELIER; 17 ALL WELL; 19 SKYWARD; 21 TULIP; 23 ORANGEADE; 25 OUT AND OUT; 26 ANDES; 27 SPEARED; 28 REPINER.

DOWN:—1 FEATHER; 2 COCHINEAL; 3 INEPT; 4 NO FUNDS; 5 MALACCA; 6 TREACHERY; 7 EXACT; 8 SCRAPER; 14 EYE-OPENER; 16 IN A GARDEN; 17 ACTIONS; 18 LEOPOLD; 19 STARTER; 20 DRESSER; 22 LATHE; 24 GRASP.

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

SUCH ARE THE VAGARIES OF AMERICAN party politics that the Republicans are now in process of deciding whether to offer themselves in 1944 as a conservative check on the Administration or as the liberal opposition. From their conduct in Congress and in most of the Republican press it is reasonable to say that up to now they have grudgingly gone along with the President on foreign policy—and even admired his State Department—but found his domestic policies a plague imported straight from Moscow. Wendell Willkie thinks this approach to 1944 will prove fatal, and in his St. Louis speech, generally regarded as the opening gun of the campaign, he has taken exactly the opposite tack. He endorses a good many of the domestic social changes instituted under Roosevelt and in some respects he would carry them even farther. But the foreign policies of the Administration he condemns as "a black record" of failure. Its penchant for secrecy, he points out, its lack of confidence in the people, left the country ignorant of the need for both a bold policy of international cooperation and "a great armed force which would have stopped those marauders in their tracks." There can be no doubt that on this score at least Mr. Willkie has caught the Administration neatly on the flank, and if its elevation of "expediency" to the level of national policy can be set down as a political handicap, the country and the world will be the healthier for it. But if President Roosevelt feels obliged to kick his many liberal supporters at frequent intervals in order to keep the reactionary Democrats in line, what would Mr. Willkie have to do to his handful of liberals for the sake of appeasing a party machine long dedicated to toryism?

*

IN THE VIEW OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT as reflected in *Pravda,* official organ of the Russian Communist Party, joint military action must be given top priority on the agenda of the Moscow three-power conference. There is nothing surprising or alarming about this demand; nor is it inconsistent with the primarily political nature of the conference. Political and military strategy cannot be kept in separate compartments and there is no gainsaying *Pravda's* contention that "joint action to accelerate Hitler's defeat is an indispensable condition for the solution of all problems of post-war collaboration between the U. S. S. R., Britain, and the United States for the establishment of a firm peace." It is indispensable because the mutual confidence which must precede cooperation cannot be established while Russia harbors a suspicion that the invasion of Western Europe is being delayed by political considerations. It will be the first task of Mr. Hull and Mr. Eden to try to eradicate this suspicion. At the same time the Soviet government can also contribute to the creation of confidence, and it must be admitted that *Pravda's* dictum that "the Soviet borders cannot be a subject of discussion any more than the borders of the United States" is not helpful. After all, the enlargement of Soviet territory to include the Baltic states and eastern Poland is a direct consequence of the present war. If the Soviets insist that this is a matter of security and solely their own affair, the United States and Britain will be encouraged to provide for their security in a similar manner.

* * *

OBVIOUSLY RUSSIA'S BOUNDARIES WOULD BE no proper subject of discussion if the United States were planning to play a lone hand after the war. The resolution reported by the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee is probably timed to convince Premier Stalin that we harbor no such fantastic thought. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why after seven months of thought eight Senatorial experts should emerge at this moment with a formula so obviously underdone. Expected to be thinner than the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill proposal, the subcommittee's resolution is even weaker than the unexciting Fulbright measure. It would favor this country's joining with other "sovereign" states in establishing and maintaining an "international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world." "Sovereign" in isolationist jargon is a word which may be used almost interchangeably with "irresponsible," and we wish there were just a hint as to the nature of the "power" to be invoked by the international authority. But Senator Connally solemnly assures us that this "is the best possible action that could be secured," since "unity and harmony are vital if the Senate is to pass a resolution by a substantial majority." The plain truth is that neither the Senate leadership nor the Administration has been eager to get down to cases. Intimidated by a handful of Senators, they have preferred to tiptoe around the crucial issue of the century lest the Nyes and the Wheelers exercise their privilege of insulting our allies in the course of debate. But the Nyes cannot be placated. Better to challenge them now and beat them than to have them permanently lying in ambush.

* * *

THE SMASHING RAID ON RABAUL, THE MAIN Japanese base in the southwest Pacific, is one of the fruits of the painfully won jungle victories of General MacArthur's forces. The capture of Lae and Salamaua in New Guinea, the consolidation of the allied positions in the central Solomons, and the occupation of the Woodlark and Trobriand islands exposed Rabaul to attacks from three directions. General MacArthur was thus able to concentrate his full air strength on this major objective, as he had previously done at Wewak, and to achieve a victory which, it is claimed, establishes definite allied mastery in the air over the Solomons Sea and adjacent islands. It does not follow, however, as a UP correspondent at MacArthur's headquarters has suggested, that this success is "calculated to make sponsors of alternative strategies reconsider the claims of the southwest Pacific for a prominent role in the offensive against Japan." It is difficult to see how an offensive in this area, even with much bigger forces than are now available, can pursue any other tactics than the "island-hopping" which General MacArthur has himself condemned. True, he is credited with a plan for moving an invasion force by sea and air direct to the southern Philippines—a distance of 1,650 miles from New Guinea. This would involve sending a huge armada through a maze of narrow waters and past numerous islands in enemy occupation. Such a strategic conception fails to recognize, it seems to us, that the key to the defeat of Japan is not the capture of outposts or the reconquest of lost territories; it is the severance of its jugular vein, the destruction of its fleet. Our naval strength in the central Pacific is probably now equal to this task and recent moves in that arena suggest that Admiral Nimitz is maneuvering to force the Japanese to give battle.

* * *

THE *SATURDAY EVENING POST* WANTS TO know whether "some of our anti-fascists" would "rather lick Hull than the Axis." For our part, the answer is as simple as the question is dishonest, to wit, No. What follows? That we should keep quiet and have absolute faith in our policy-makers. But where does this leave the editors of the *Post,* who have been known to say some sweepingly unlovely things about the President of the United States, in war as well as in peace? Does it mean that they would rather lick Roosevelt than win the war? We hardly think so. In any event we won't raise the issue if in return the *Post's* editors will spend a week in sackcloth for the most distorted piece of copy to appear outside the paranoiac press in many a month. Here is a brace of samples: "The State Department is supposed to be up to some underhanded business, but when it turns out that the business is the unconditional surrender of Italy there are no apologies from the left wing"; and "had the United States been invaded instead of France, the statesmen of our Allies would be 'appeasers' and 'cynical conspirators' [in the eyes of the liberals] unless they plumped for Earl Browder." Once and for all, we do not oppose taking a surrender from the devil himself, or even from Hitler. What we do oppose is the theory at a criminal who turns state's evidence is entitled to ount the bench. The reference to Browder implies a elief that the rescuers of a defeated America would ther have to collaborate with fascist turncoats or work ith Communists. We can't speak for the editors of the *aturday Evening Post,* but wouldn't there be millions of ther Americans who could be dealt with just as demo-ats? That's all we ask in the case of Europe.

Global Gossip

WE ARE not among those who deplore any criticism between allies. Disagreements are inevitable the course of any great joint undertaking, and frank peaking is far preferable to the accumulation of sup-ressed grievances, leading to eventual eruptions of bad emper. But if criticisms of one ally by another are to be ealthy they ought to be factual and without malice.

Of the five Senators whose variegated reports of their ourney round the world in sixty days have started so uch controversy, we think we can acquit three as free rom malice. Senators Mead and Russell have been stalwart supporters of the Administration, and Senator Brewter of Maine has fought the isolationists in his own arty. Senators Lodge and Chandler are horses of another olor. About the former we had something to say last veek, and we need only add that the New York *Daily News* in a laudatory editorial credits him with the ambiion to repeat his grandfather's "triumph" in 1919. Mr. Chandler made himself into a military expert a few months ago and set out to revise our global strategy. He as now elected to grind the McCormick-Patterson-Hearst xis, and his rhetoric is wholly unrelated to facts.

It is disappointing, however, to find that his three more responsible colleagues should not have been more careful both in checking their data and in their manner of presenting it. Take the question of air bases, for instance. Senator Brewster, after complaining that the British and other allies had given us no permanent rights in the airfields we have built abroad for war purposes, said: "There isn't a spot outside this hemisphere where we can land after this war." This suggests that the British have rejected some proposal we had made, though, in fact, this question is involved in negotiations now in progress concerning the basis on which international civil aviation shall be controlled after the war. There is no reason to suppose that the British would reject the general principle of reciprocity permitting American planes to use bases in their territory to the extent we permit British planes to use bases under our control. The traveling Senators, however, do not appear to have considered an arrangement of this nature. The implication of their statements is rather that these bases should be at our disposal unconditionally. That this suggestion might appear to the British and other of our allies as an effort to use lend-lease to secure a post-war air monopoly does not seem to have occurred to them.

Another statement by the Senators was that "the U. S. A., which possesses only 2 per cent of the world's petroleum reserves, is supplying 65 per cent of the oil used for the war." This implies again a British hold-out, but relevant facts which the Senators did not trouble to acquire or report tell a different story. Before the war the United States supplied 60 per cent of the world's oil consumption, and since then important foreign fields have fallen into enemy hands. Oil reserves are not much use for war purposes unless the necessary equipment can be made available. The capacity of refineries in the Near East and India combined is less than 7 per cent of those in the Western Hemisphere. Are we willing to knock down some of our newly constructed high-octane gasoline plants for shipment to British-controlled fields? We doubt that such a proposal would be popular with the oil corporations.

If as a consequence of the debate on the Senators' report a wider real knowledge of the situations on which they commented can be made known, it may be, as Mr. Roosevelt suggested, that more good than harm will result. The difficulty is that corrections and amplifications seldom catch up with an original misleading statement. The global gossip which the Senators brought home has received the publicity and has sunk into the public consciousness, where it serves as a culture in which the bacterial poisons distributed by the America Firsters thrive. The danger now is not isolationism as such, for only a dwindling minority believe that America can withdraw from the world again. But a growing inclination toward internationalism could be perverted into a nationalist imperialism. That is the objective toward which the men of malice are steering. The men of good-will should not play into their hands.

Absolution for Franco

IT WOULD be nice to think that Archbishop Spellman's contribution to last week's *Collier's* was nothing more than a personal report from a traveling son to his father. If it were that and only that, its blatant inaccuracies and its open support of Franco's regime would be unimportant. But at a moment like this, their political nature is evident. Such letters would not appear at all if they did not seem useful to the makers of policy. The Archbishop undertook his trip "to see the war-zone chaplains" with the blessing and consent of the President. His report is published just at the time when Salazar has opened Portugal's island bases to Britain and at the start of an intensive allied propaganda offensive in Spain. Under such circumstances the Archbishop's letters and his visits to Franco and the Vatican become political acts of first-rate significance.

His comments must be examined and answered. And we hope that *Collier's*, which has printed much able and honest reporting from every fighting front, will at least publish a correction of a story it should never have accepted in the first place. If it fails to do so, its reputation will be seriously damaged among informed Americans.

The easiest way to answer Spellman is to cite errors rather than marshal arguments. We shall do so in order of their appearance, not of their importance.

> The Ambassador [Mr. Hayes] and I drove to the "University City" and saw the tremendous damage caused by the civil war. . . . It is amazing and depressing to see the damage wrought by the violence of battle in which fifty thousand people perished in the city of Madrid.

In his amazement and depression the Archbishop ignores the fact—as he does throughout the article—that the damage and death were the result of a struggle launched by fascist rebels attempting to overthrow the legitimate, elected government of Spain.

> Generalissimo Franco is in the middle of all. Some are favorable to him, some opposed; some partly favorable, some partly opposed. Most of the people whom I met in Madrid are supporters of Franco.

Of the last item we can be quite sure. But if he had escaped from his clerical or fascist hosts, the Archbishop could also have met in Madrid many Catholics who were not and are not supporters of Franco; he might even have met some of the relatives of the Catholic priests, mostly Basques, who were killed by Franco's police and soldiers. During the war and even after it, the influential French Catholic newspaper, *L'Aube*, regularly published lists giving the full names of all the Catholic priests who had been executed or imprisoned by Franco, so Archbishop Spellman could easily check the reports of interested persons in Spain.

> A word equivocally used in Spain and America is "Loyalist." The term is very impressive. Anyone would instinctively give sympathy and support to a group claiming to be "Loyalists." However, other Spaniards do not call them "Loyalists." They call them "Communists." It was this group of Loyalists or Communists that assumed power in Spain at the time when King Alfonso XIII fled.

This is one of the most blatant pieces of misinformation in the whole article. The Loyalists were called Loyalists because they were loyal to the elected government of Spain. They were called Communists by Franco's rebels and by reactionaries and fascists in other countries. But quite aside from labels, it was not "this group of Communists or Loyalists" that "assumed" power when Alfonso abdicated. The Monarchy was overthrown and the Republic proclaimed as the result of democratic elections on April 12, 1931. The provisional government was headed by the conservative Republican, Senor Niceto Alcala Zamora, who had served as minister in various cabinets under King Alfonso.

The president of the Republic following Zamora was Manuel Azaña—hardly a Communist.

> General Franco's supporters maintain that the general would have assumed control over Spain if international legionnaires had not come to the aid of the Loyalists. Then Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy sent help to Franco.

Franco *did* assume control over Spain. But sequence of events has been exactly reversed in the two sentences above. Germany and Italy sent help to Franco at the very start of the rebellion, long before the appearance of the International Brigade or any other material aid on the Loyalist side.

> In Madrid alone, they (the Republican-Loyalist-Communist coalition) killed seven hundred priests; eleven Spanish bishops throughout the country perished.

For centuries the church in Spain has been one of the most powerful political and economic forces on the side of reaction. Popular resentment against the clergy resulted in many acts of lawlessness at the start of the civil war; and while the Archbishop's figures may be questioned, many priests were undoubtedly killed, in Madrid and elsewhere. It is true, too, that in the days following Franco's violent attack on the government innocent people were shot. That is one of the most horrible aspects of civil war. Franco might have thought about it before he started the rebellion. But if this story is to be told again, should not a strictly accurate reporter even mention the thousands of civilians slaughtered in the Rebel zone by Franco's troops and Franco's police and by the Moors? Should he not recall Badajoz? Spellman comments on the "thousands of Spaniards" cast into prison when Franco finally took power in 1939. But this casual reference throws an even more glaring light on his omission of the horrors perpetrated by Franco during the war itself, and the execution of thousands of prisoners since the war ended.

> My impressions of him [Franco] are in accordance with his reputation as a very sincere, serious, and intelligent man. . . . Whatever criticism had been made of General Franco . . . I cannot doubt that he is a man loyal to his God, devoted to his country's welfare, and definitely willing to sacrifice himself in any capacity and to any extent for Spain.

Presumably willingness to sacrifice himself accounts for Franco's ready acceptance of the role of Axis stooge which he filled without flinching as long as Hitler's enterprises were relatively solvent. As for the Archbishop's conviction of his sincerity, loyalty to God, and so forth, it should be laid side by side with Franco's record, first as a fascist rebel and second as a fascist terrorist.

Archbishop Spellman admits that he has not written all his thoughts or described all he saw. For example he mentions the fact that he and Franco chatted about a great variety of political subjects and "even ventured a few thoughts about the future." He excuses his reticence by quoting Cardinal Gaspari's remark, when he declined to write his memoirs: "The interesting things I cannot tell, and the things which I can tell are not interesting." The things the Archbishop willingly tells are interesting enough to make one wonder about the things he has deliberately suppressed.

But today, when fascists are being rapidly renovated and turned into Allies, the job the American cleric has done on Franco is not to be despised. He has given him public absolution for his sins. He has drawn a veil of vague and unctuous piety over the ugly truth of the regime in Spain. Is this what the President wanted?

F. K.

Traitors Cannot Lead

BY RANDOLFO PACCIARDI

IN HIS speech to the House of Commons, Prime Minister Churchill, after defending the King of Italy and his Minister Badoglio, exhorted Italian anti-fascists to gather round this government and to postpone the resolution of political questions until the end of the war. Mr. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State, has made the same recommendation in the name of the President.

Meanwhile the United Nations have accepted the King of Italy and his government as co-belligerents. In declaring war on Germany Badoglio assumed responsibility for submitting his government to the judgment of the Italian people after the Nazis had been expelled from Italy. And America, England, and the Soviet Union, in their official pronouncement, took their share of responsibility. "The three governments," they stated, "acknowledge the Italian government's pledge to submit to the will of the Italian people after the Germans have been driven from Italy, and it is understood that nothing can detract from the absolute and untrammeled right of the people of Italy by constitutional means to decide on the democratic form of government they will eventually have."

The English government has already publicly affirmed that the colonial empire of Italy is lost, but as far as the national territory of Italy is concerned, the Allies have refused any responsibility whatsoever. In other words, "co-belligerency" does not imply that Italy can escape the consequences of the war and of the surrender. There was merely a vague hint that these consequences might be softened in the measure that the Allies are aided by Italian arms.

The Allies recognize a legal government in Italy, that of Marshal Badoglio, who derives his authority from the King. We still do not know whether AMG will be abolished in every part of Italy as a result of the recognition of the Italian government.

The Italians have been called upon to fight as if their help was to be regarded as atonement for their sins rather than cooperation. Any hopes for the future are based on uncertainty. Their only certainty is that of fighting on the orders of a despised and corrupt regime, the first cause of all their misfortunes.

In comparison to King Victor and Badoglio, Pétain and Darlan were angels. They were allies that surrendered to the enemy. It was weak and wrong. But they warned the English before they laid down their arms. They signed an armistice saving all that could be saved. They ordered the fleet scuttled rather than have it fall into the hands of the Germans. Darlan then turned to the Allies when he saw a hope of victory on that side.

The King of Italy first betrayed the Italian people, violating his oath, then called Mussolini into power. After the assassination of Matteoti, he repulsed all demands to get rid of the dictator. In his name, thousands were imprisoned and exiled. He declared war on Abyssinia, putting himself on the pinnacle of emperorship. He signed the alliance with Germany. He sent his son Umberto to command the troops that gave France "the stab in the back." Only when the fortunes of war took a turn for the worst did he betray Hitler and rally to the side of the winners.

Badoglio accepted the title of Duke of Addis Ababa. He was the head of the general staff in Mussolini's government. He signed all military agreements with Hitler's generals. He led Italy's army to its surrender and dishonor. Now he changes colors not for the nation's interest but for the sake of a dynasty of which he is a slave and an instrument.

Is it possible that these people, these institutions, these flags represent the symbols and ideals of a nation that wants to rise again from the abyss of misery and martyrdom? Is it possible that these are the most useful and most trustworthy in the great fight for national liberation?

They tell us that the Italian people will have the "untrammeled right" to choose their own form of government. By constitutional means! What constitution? Evidently the Italian constitution of 1848, already betrayed by the King. But the Italian constitution is a monarchial constitution. To instal a democratic republic in Italy after the war it will be necessary either to elect a constitutional assembly or have a revolution. But to elect a constitutional assembly it is first necessary to suspend the King's functions, as AMG did in Sicily.

Morally and politically the new regime offers to the future liberty of the Italian people fewer guaranties and poorer hopes than the AMG does.

We anti-fascist Italians want to fight the Germans. If we are given no other choice than to fight the Nazis and fascists under the flag of Savoy, it means that the democratic powers have deliberately renounced Italian anti-fascists as their allies. Yet they are the only ones who can arouse the whole of Italy against the Germans.

For two years now I have been trying to enter the "war against fascism" with several thousand volunteers. All my attempts have so far been repulsed.

Britain Between the Acts

III. WORKERS ON THE CLYDE

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

HUNTING shop stewards in Glasgow is a sport calling for patience and a good guide. It doesn't require any particular skill, for shop stewards are not shy creatures; but they seem to have no fixed habitat. Willie is a wonderful guide; no one knows better the ways of shop stewards or where to locate them. But even Willie couldn't produce one on order. It took a whole afternoon, cruising about the streets along the Clydebank, to flush two suitable specimens.

Nowhere else on earth, I suppose, is so much industrial activity packed into so small a space of river and shore. On one side of the river is the city; the hills are on the other; between is a forest of cranes, masts, gun turrets, funnels, scaffolding, and tall factory chimneys. That forest is the Clydebank. The narrow river is a highway jammed with traffic. Patrols guard the gate to every dock and shipyard.

The concentration of human effort is as great as that of material. The shipyards and factories—with very few exceptions—work all day and all night. The length of shifts varies with the kind of work done. But the pressure on labor is terrific, and I heard no complaints. Nor did I hear the least grumble over the weary hours spent, after work and before, standing in queues waiting for buses or trains to and from the plants and in other queues outside the shops waiting to buy the daily ration of greens and groceries. It's a tough life in Glasgow as in every industrial town. But the only complaints made in my presence were occasioned not by too much work but by a sudden reduction of hours in one of the big munition plants.

I wanted to get as close as I could to the feeling of the Clydeside workers. They suffered more than most during the depression, when the plants and yards were as silent and dead as they are now roaring with activity. Today the men are drawing good pay and working overtime, but they haven't forgotten the years of idleness. ("Idleset," they call it in Glasgow, and, strangely, I found no Englishman who had even heard the word.) Like the rest of British labor they are wholly committed to the war; but the conflicts of interest and emotion that assail them in these days of change are very acute.

One of the best quick ways to find out what workers anywhere are thinking is to talk to the shop stewards. For these men—or occasionally women—directly represent the workers inside the plants. They handle grievances and deal with the management; far more than any union officials they know the minds of their fellow-workers. Many of them, by reason of their ability and standing, are also elected to the joint production committees. A shop steward who happens also to serve on a production committee is a man who knows his plant through and through.

WILLIE'S BROTHER

I drove down to the Clydebank with Sheila Mackay, local officer of the Ministry of Information. She had been in New York last year and lunched with *The Nation* staff. And she knew what I wanted. We were to meet her friend Willie and a shop-steward friend of his at a certain street corner near a certain bridge. Willie was there with another young man, but it wasn't the shop steward. "Heaven knows where he's strayed," said Willie. "He'd on his best Sunday clothes for a visit with Miss Kirchwey. But I fear he's mistaken the place and gone on into Glasgow." "Shall we drive back to town and look for him?" asked Miss Mackay. "No use," said Willie. "More likely he'll show up here later on. What you'd better do is drive around a bit and see things and then come back. I'll stay and keep an eye out for him. This young fellow is my brother; he'll go along with you and you can ask him questions. He works in the —— shipyard."

I wouldn't have missed Willie's brother. He is amiable and attractive, with bright red hair and a bright pink face. And he served as a useful reminder that even on the banks of the Clyde—as in Kansas City or Detroit—young workers may be more concerned with the sporting page and girls than with the deeper problems of the working class. He stoutly disavowed any political opinions or any interest in politics; but he told us how easy and pleasant it is, on Sunday, to get out of Glasgow into the beautiful Lowland hills. He said he had recently been laid off by one of the big munitions plants "for good and sufficient reasons" and had been shifted to unskilled work in a shipyard building invasion barges. It was a job that anybody could do, even a woman, and his skill, he assured us, was being definitely wasted. He didn't care particularly, but he thought the government, if it knew its business, would end his deferment and put him in the army.

His friends, said Willie's brother, were not much concerned with politics either. They want to win the war, and after the war they want their jobs to keep on. Any government that sees to that will look all right to them. But they don't think "old Winston" can keep the plants running. Who can? I asked. A Labor government? He shrugged his shoulders. He seemed a little bored with all this talk; and anyhow it was time now to go back and see whether that shop steward had turned up. He looked rather anxiously at his watch.

"Shall we drive you back with us?" asked Miss Mackay. Willie's brother grinned. "I'd prefer it if you'd set me down at my club. It's not a step out of your way." Following his directions, we drove up to the closed door of a nearby pub. "It'll be opening in another two minutes," he said happily. One could understand his sudden interest in getting us back to Willie on time.

We drove to the appointed meeting place by the "canawl bridge," and there stood Willie with a man at his side. "He's not the one," said Willie, "but he's another one. Happen I'll find the original candidate later on."

"VERRA LEFT"

The shop steward in hand was a good substitute. He worked in a gun factory, but he'd been a shipyard worker and many other things in the course of his life. He was lean and hard-bitten; his eyes were cynical. He'd been in the labor movement all his working years—an active fighter and, I'm sure, a tough one. "What's the mood of the workers?" I asked him. I was still under the spell of the beer-and-skittles philosophy of Willie's brother. "Well, we're known as reds," he said. "And everybody who's *anything* around here is left—verra left. That's a fact. But at the same time there's a lot of fellows—and a lot of the new women workers in the factories—that take no interest in politics or the labor movement. You have to remember one thing—and it's a thing people are apt to overlook. The workers here, and all about Glasgow, have jobs for the first time in years. The depression never lifted on the Clydebank—not until the war came. Many of the younger fellows *had never worked in their lives.*" He underlined the words with his voice. "This time is the best time they've known. We have to have a world war, it seems, to make life worth living in these parts. You can see what this does to the men. They'll be satisfied with what they have as long as they have it. But wait," he said, "wait till the jobs begin to slip out from under."

I asked him about the political position of the workers who were active in the movement. He said that while few of them, relatively, were Communist Party members, they saw little hope in the old parties and leaders. "This is a time of waiting," he said. "The party truce and the war itself have put a damper on politics. But don't imagine it will last. The workers here and all over Britain pin great hopes on Russia. Even the least political among them. If the government turned against Russia, then these men would wake up. It was the Clydebank that stopped the shipments of arms to Kolchak in 1920. They'd do that again if there was need after this war. They'd do the same if the government tried to prevent revolution in Spain. They've seen what came of letting the fascists take power there, and they won't stand for another piece of 'non-intervention' of the same sort."

I felt somewhat dubious of this line of prophecy, but later, when I'd talked to other labor men in other parts of the country, my doubts largely disappeared. There wasn't a single one who failed to discuss foreign developments, either criticizing the government's policy directly or criticizing the Prime Minister for following the lead of the United States. It is hard for an American, accustomed to the detached attitude of labor in this country, to realize how close the workers of Britain feel to the fate of their brothers on the Continent.

The shop steward answered a question that revealed my doubt. "You have to remember that this is not the time for action. We're still fighting the bloody war. But that doesn't stop men talking about how things are going. And I tell you the active unionists, the workers who know what this war is about, they follow what's happening in Europe. They're suspecting a big sell-out of the common people all over Europe. And the countries they are watching are Russia and Spain. They have a special strong feeling about those two countries; they've come to be a kind of test. I hope you won't run away with the idea that it's only Communists that feel like this, for that's not the case. It's the general attitude. And you can look for trouble if the government tries to sell out Spain or Russia again."

"But if the workers don't trust any of the parties or their own leaders, who's to organize the feeling you speak of—how will it be put to work?"

"Don't worry about that. Trouble breeds its own

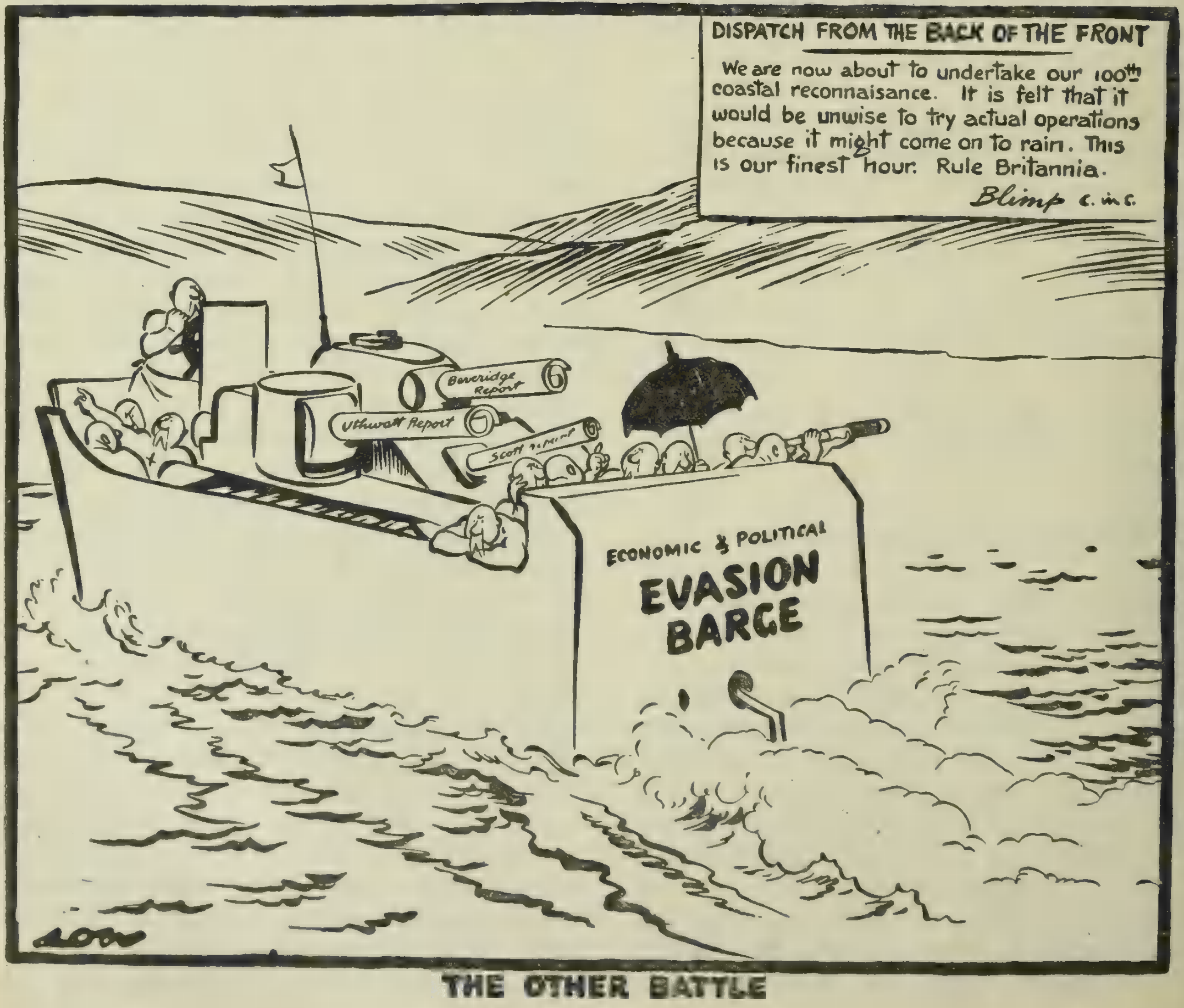
BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY

leaders. After the last war the same thing happened. It was the shop stewards that provided leadership when the trades unions and the Labor Party failed the men. They'll do it again if necessary. They or others.

"And it's not only an emotional issue like Russia or revolution in Europe that could rouse the workers. There are plenty of likely chances of trouble right here—issues that touch their daily lives very close. If they're idle after the war orders stop, then they'll begin to think about who's running the country. Already we're getting hints of what's to come."

The shop steward pulled out of his pocket the report of a production-committee meeting at his plant. He was a member of the committee. The plant was changing from two twelve-hour shifts to two eight-hour shifts, and several hundred workers had been laid off. There had been overproduction of certain kinds of guns; so the management claimed at the meeting. He was dubious; you never knew if they were giving the real reasons. It might be that or it might be a shortage of shipping or a lack of raw materials. Anyhow, if the reason was actually overproduction, the workers' representatives on the committee argued that they should be making other things—other arms, or if arms were not needed, they should begin to shift over to peace-time production. "God knows, we need everything in this battered, worn-down country," said the shop steward.

But what really disturbed him was the light this incident threw on the role of the joint production committee in his plant. During most of the period of rising production, when the problem was to get more guns out of every hour, every machine, and every worker, the committee seemed to play a real part. The management took it seriously. It discussed labor and time-saving techniques; it considered ideas contributed by the employees. And it helped to make the workers understand the war itself and their part in it. Certainly the existence of the committee had made for better relations between the management and labor; and he himself had felt at one stage that it might, as Sir Stafford Cripps always said, become a step in the direction of plant democracy, a way of drawing labor into the actual process of management. But gradually he'd come to doubt the value of the production committees, except as a war-time measure, to be scrapped when the need for war goods ended. And now he was profoundly disillusioned with them, and so, he


DISPATCH FROM THE BACK OF THE FRONT

We are now about to undertake our 100th coastal reconnaisance. It is felt that it would be unwise to try actual operations because it might come on to rain. This is our finest hour. Rule Britannia.

Blimp C. in C.

THE OTHER BATTLE

said, were the other labor members of the committee in his plant. "They're a speed-up device; that's all they are," he said. "When it comes to other problems, we have no power. No power whatsoever. They don't even bother to tell us what's going on."

We left the shop steward on the corner where we found him. And then, driving through a certain street, Willie caught sight of his friend, the "original candidate." He was coming out of a meeting-hall near a church. We picked him up and then set Willie down at *his* favorite pub. He had done his duty by us, and now he too was ready to knock off.

THE WORKERS AND "WINSTON"

Shop steward number 2 was less cynical than the first one but very cool and realistic. I won't repeat all he said, for most of it was the same as what the other man had told me. He too said the workers supported the government as a war government. "But we all know Winston is a reactionary and an imperialist. You have to back him now but you'll have to sack him after." The Labor ministers have done a good enough job, but it remains to be seen whether they'll remember they're Labor men when the war ends. He thought they'd "never give up their jobs."

He liked to argue with Willie and the other fellows about communism and the war and what would come after it. Many of them expected a collapse, but he was inclined to think that business would try to keep production going and prevent the blow-up that's sure to come if millions are thrown out of work. They'll have to pay high to do it, but "they may figure if they can spend £13,000,000 a day for the war and still make money, they can pay a fraction of that to hold power after the war." But on the other hand they might boggle at continued high taxes and government controls and huge expenditures on public works and social insurance. If that happens, there will be trouble. "The one thing the workers in this country will not stand for again is another spell of idleness and the dole." Willie's friend, like the first shop steward, said that the war, with all its hardships and losses, had been the best period hundreds of thousands of workers had ever known. Both predicted "trouble" if mass unemployment returned. Neither knew what form the trouble would take or what parties or men would assume direction. Both expressed distrust of the present leaders of the Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress.

I talked to many other men and women in and around Glasgow, and even those whose views differed most strongly from those of the two men quoted in this article agreed that in the main their report of the attitude of the average worker on the Clyde was accurate.

[*In a fourth article, to appear next week, Miss Kirchwey will describe her visit to one of the great airplane-engine plants.*]

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE SIGNS OF WAR in Europe continue to increase in number and magnitude. The impression that there is some secret arrangement between France and Russia continues to gain ground. The Prussians are constructing tremendous ironclad forts or gunboats for the protection of the Rhine.—*October 1, 1868.*

OF PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANCE than the political news from abroad is the news from Scotland in regard to the new "road-steamers." . . . Why should not men keep their own locomotive and engineer, as men now keep horses and coachmen? We may soon be able to laugh at the railroad corporations and the expected velocipedestrians, especially if Ericsson succeeds in his scheme for turning the sun into fuel for steam engines, and we are made independent of coal.—*October 1, 1868.*

THERE IS AN INSTITUTION widely spread throughout Russia, and of a distant, unknown antiquity, which is in a certain sense the prototype of all the cooperative associations which have of late years sprung up in Western Europe. This is the *artel*, . . . a society of artisans, porters, drivers, clerks, village workmen, etc., formed for the purpose of maintaining a common treasury, and generally of keeping a common table and lodging, very often for common work, or at least to receive work, through the common guaranty of the whole society for the honesty of each individual member. That such an institution should have immemorially existed in Russia shows, on one hand, the simple conditions of life in that country and the comparatively limited wants of its people, and, on the other, the practical mind of that people, which in the very earliest times succeeded in finding the true remedy, which the workmen of the West have been so many years vainly seeking, against accidents of trade, and the true method of developing the working class.—*October 8, 1868.*

ON TODAY WEEK, at Pine Bluff, in Arkansas, the deputy sheriff of Drew County, a Republican, was tied to a Negro and both were killed at one shot. "A carpetbag deputy slain in Arkansas," the *World* says. . . . In the Carolinas there are two partisan murders reported as having occurred within the week. On the afternoon of Friday, in broad daylight, a colored Senator standing on the platform of a railroad car, in Abbeville district, was killed by three men who coolly rode up to the train and shot him. "The murderers were not recognized." In the same district a white member of the House of Representatives was killed by a disguised party. . . . He was what is called a "scallawag"—being a native Southerner, and not Democratic in his political opinions.—*October 22, 1868.*

"LITTLE WOMEN; or, Meg, Jo, Beth, and Amy." By Louisa M. Alcott. Illustrated by May Alcott. . . . Miss Alcott's new juvenile is an agreeable little story which is not only very well adapted to the readers for whom it is especially intended but may also be read with pleasure by older people.—*October 22, 1868.*

Financing America's Future

III. "NOTHING TO FEAR BUT FEAR"*

BY STUART CHASE

THE SEVEN FEARS

AMONG the forces which have hitherto prevented an economy of plenty from steadily delivering the goods in peace time are seven great fears. Few of us are free from them, though old people suffer more than young people, well-to-do people more than poor people. These fears are mostly in abeyance now, but they may come back to haunt us after Demobilization Day.

Each of the fears is, or has been, legitimate. But when they fill our minds, they paralyze any positive action. If they were filling our minds now, we could not fight the war. If they fill our minds after the war, we cannot win the peace. We shall be too frightened to act decisively. We shall shut our eyes and hope for normalcy to save us, though normalcy is as dead as Warren Gamaliel Harding.

Here is a list of the seven fears, together with some answers to them. They have been in the back of my mind all the time I have been writing these articles.

1. *The Fear of Inflation.* Many citizens, especially those on fixed salaries and incomes, are afraid that government underwriting of employment in peace time will result in runaway prices that will reduce their scale of living, wipe out their insurance policies, render their savings valueless. They are haunted by the picture of the terrible German inflation of 1923.

If the government recklessly printed money to put the unemployed to work at tasks which created no new wealth, and kept on doing it, this fear would be realized. Kings and rulers have caused inflation thus in the past. But our knowledge of the dollar circuit now makes it clear that there can be no general inflation until full employment is reached. Meanwhile the war is teaching governments how to control inflation at the level of full employment. Shall we discard this knowledge and permit inflation to have its head—if indeed inflation rather than deflation is the immediate post-war danger? I cannot believe we are going to be as unrealistic as that. I doubt that those citizens who would like to scrap all war controls on D-Day are going to press their demands very hard when they realize what a resulting inflation might do to their own pocket-books.

2. *The Fear of a Crushing National Debt.* People know that when their personal debts grow large enough they are forced into bankruptcy. They identify the public debt with their own, and lie awake nights worrying about national bankruptcy. Right now they are too busy worrying about ration books and boys abroad to give much attention to the public debt, but many of them look forward to worrying about it when they have the time.

This fear is largely groundless. Great nations do not go bankrupt in the way a person or business does, for the debt they owe is to themselves. The chief dangers in a mounting debt are two: it may pump too many dollars into the system and thus stimulate inflation; it may cause trouble in the internal distribution of income by favoring the upper brackets against the lower. It is possible to control both dangers by a vigorous and well-planned use of taxes. If the price level is kept under control, the public debt can be a great reservoir for public investment.

3. *The Fear of Bureaucracy.* If the government becomes responsible for full employment and social security, many citizens are afraid that a huge permanent staff of office holders will come to regiment us day and night, and gradually destroy our liberties. They fear the thin entering wedge which will bring complete government ownership. Once we start on this road, they are afraid that the end is Moscow.

This fear is perfectly legitimate. But people tend to make an absolute of it, as if they lived in a timeless world, not the actual world of 1943 to 1950. It is up to us to evolve a compensatory economy which will *reduce* the bureaucracy, regimentation, and restraints on liberties from which we are already suffering in the war—a post-war economy with controls at the minimum consistent with full employment. The alternatives, I suspect, are those "rigid state controls at every point" which Sir George Schuster warned against.

If you fear Bureaucracy in the abstract, with a capital B, do not forget that the Telephone Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, have problems in bureaucracy very similar to those of the Post Office Department. It is impossible to operate any large modern organization without bureaus, clerks, and officials.

4. *The Fear of Paternalism.* If government embarks on a welfare economy, it is feared that citizens will be so coddled and spoon-fed that they will lose their character and initiative. They will become soft and lazy, easy prey to tougher nations.

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* Based on a chapter from the author's forthcoming report to the Twentieth Century Fund, to be published this fall under the title, "Where's the Money Coming From? Problems of Post-War Finance."

The Germans have a comprehensive system of social security which goes back to Bismarck. Yet German soldiers are said to be tough. New Zealanders also have had a welfare economy for many years. They were found to be even tougher than the Nazis when they helped to rush Rommel out of Egypt. I have never seen convincing evidence that putting an economic base under the community weakens moral fiber, and I could cite plenty of evidence that the lack of it does. Modern slums are notorious breeding grounds for disease, degeneracy, and crime. There would, of course, be danger in giving handouts to the able-bodied without requiring useful work from them. A program for full employment will have to be specifically designed to balance rights against duties.

5. *The Fear of the End of Progress.* This is a very common fear in America, though not so much so in other countries. If the state collects taxes and savings for public works and welfare, what will be left for venture capital, and for the man who wants to build a better mousetrap? Invention will die out. That progress which has been the hallmark of America will come to an end. We shall be reduced to one dead level.

If Congress has the wisdom to adopt incentive taxation, or something like it, this fear can probably be laid at rest. No more powerful device for promoting venture capital has ever been mapped. It would virtually force us to scour the country for mousetrap makers. The chief thing that worries me about it is that such gentlemen are not to be found behind every bush, now that most of our inventing is done in large corporation laboratories. But the tax equally stimulates investing in research; so if we do not get so much progress as we desire from inventors in attics and cellars, we may get it from the Bell Laboratories.

This fear, though a standard subject at business men's banquets, seems to me largely a myth. Material progress is not so much a function of freedom to invest as it is a function of a dynamic society. The Germans, man for man, are probably as good scientists and inventors as we are; yet their economy is and has been far from free. Furthermore, the fact that invention has been subsidized in great research organizations makes material progress inevitable unless those organizations are broken up. Nobody to my knowledge has ever proposed to do this.

6. *The Fear That "What You Gain, I Lose."* "If our initial impulses," said T. Troward,* "proceed from the belief that things are so limited that our gain can only come from someone else's loss, then we have here the root of envy, hatred, and fear." The concept revolves around a fixed production—the idea that there is only so much output, or so much money. If somebody gets more of either, inevitably the rest of us get less. If the government spends money on public works, there is less to be spent on private works. The more taxes are taken to put the unemployed to work the poorer we taxpayers must be. It is this fear which primarily motivates the economy bloc in Congress. Senator Byrd's remark comes to mind: "Cut government spending to the bone and then take the bone."

Many radicals and labor leaders hold a smilar concept, but upside down. The more the rich spend for luxuries the more miserable the budgets of the poor. But it is not the spending of the rich which does the damage, as we have seen, so much as their uninvested saving.

The idea of a fixed, limited product is very ancient and runs deep. It corresponded with the facts until Watt invented the steam engine. In handicraft societies progress is normally so slow that total output *is* limited, and the more corn the baron takes the less remains for the villager. Since the Industrial Revolution, with its use of inanimate energy, output per capita has multiplied many times. Our chief economic troubles in recent years have stemmed from surpluses rather than from shortages. Somewhere there is doubtless a limit to the potential output of modern industry, but we have never reached it in peace time.

The fear is expressed by both parties in most quarrels about wages. Managers are afraid that if labor gets more, stockholders will get less. Labor leaders are afraid that high profits mean low wages. Yet as early as 1920 Henry Ford began to preach and to practice the efficacy of high wages. Many business men followed him in theory if not in practice. Low wages mean a low level of mass buying power, and low profits for business men as a group.

Thinking in terms of the whole community puts a completely different face on the matter. The more wages people get the more they will spend, and the greater the business man's sales. Ford broke this fear by realizing that the better the wages he paid the more automobiles he could sell. True, the principle will not necessarily work for one company alone, but it will work when all companies practice it together—up to the point of full use of the national resources.

Output now in the war is a conclusive answer to this fear. By releasing physical and financial machinery from cautious commercial habits, we are going to have a tonnage of goods in 1943 probably twice that of 1938. The first ceilings we are likely to hit in war production will be due to a highly abnormal demand for special materials and to the shortage of man-power. In times of depression the fear of financial limitations has an especially unfortunate effect. By believing that money is limited and that we cannot afford to put men to work, we have held output far below capacity and thrown away the potential labor of the unemployed.

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* Bulletin of the Economic Reform Club of London, 1941.

Despite its ancient and honorable origin I sometimes think that this is the cruelest fear to which modern men can be enslaved. It was sound enough in 1800, but it has no relation to the technological and financial facts of the modern world. When the unemployed go to work, they gain and the rest of us gain too. Only when the economy is at maximum capacity has this fear any theoretical validity. But at maximum capacity we should be so deluged with goods that the fear would be unlikely to arise. It is a product of the age of scarcity.

7. *The Fear of the Masses.* Many well-to-do citizens are deeply disturbed about the effects of any proposed welfare program on the mass of the people. It is felt that the masses are not to be trusted. Unless they have the threat of starvation hanging over them they will not work. A special and dramatic case of this fear is seen in the South, where nearly every advance of the Negro is opposed because it is believed to threaten "white supremacy."

Modern biology has a complete answer to this fear in its demonstration that there are no inferior classes. "Inferior" or handicapped individuals are found in all classes. But perhaps the decisive answer is found in the trend of history. Is a world revolution going on or is it not? I believe that it is. The "masses" can no longer be kept in their traditional place; they are on the march. Those who really cherish democracy are glad to see them marching. Those who dislike democracy will continue to be afraid. I have no arguments to give them, and no consolation to offer.

These seven great fears, in whole or in part, are the brakes that may hold back full employment when the war ends. No valid physical or financial reasons are now discernible on the horizon to hold it back. Balanced against these fears will be the terrible demand for work and for security from the men of the armed services and the men and women of the war industries.

Discussion of how to finance the peace should perhaps be devoted primarily to overcoming fear. It would thus fall under the head of psychology rather than economics. I am only an amateur psychologist, but I know at least where the real difficulty lies.

THE GREAT HOPES

More logical than the fears are the hopes of the post-war world. Here we stand on firmer ground. Here we say yea, rather than nay, and have the confidence to take positive action. Confidence is the key. One can name a score of men competent to find all the money we need to achieve full employment. The techniques are already forged or in process of forging. They know how to go about the task if we, the voters, will let them do it. There are men and organizations competent to administer social-security programs and public-works programs. There are men who know how to count the unemployed, how to design and collect taxation, and keep the national debt from getting out of hand. Are we going to let them do these things? Or shall we turn the economy over to trembling men, who are determined to do nothing? This is my major fear, but it does not often assail me. I believe too strongly in the common sense of my fellow-citizens.

There is another, profounder reason which makes hope more logical than fear. Our economic troubles have been due to abundance, not to scarcity. Abundance, in the sense of capacity to produce, will be enormously advanced in America by the war. I find it difficult to be filled with gloom because we can produce so much. If another Ice Age were moving south, if the Black Death were upon us, if our crops were losing their vitamins to a dread new virus, I should be gloomy. But when the promise is for more and more material abundance, I refuse to succumb to more than temporary qualms. True, we have relied on disasters in the past to absorb our gigantic production. Now I believe we are compelled to face the problem and find a better answer.

A century hence, says John Maynard Keynes, there will be no economic problem, even as there is today no problem of enough air to breathe. I believe him, and I might even lop fifty years from his estimate. Peter Drucker has already laid a wreath on the tomb of "economic man." He believes that the financial calculus of profit and loss is ceasing to be a mainspring for human behavior. The classic figure of economic man was a product of scarcity, when pennies had to be watched and there was not enough to go around. He is increasingly out of his element in an economy of abundance.

It seems to me that the world is not only in a global war but in the midst of a convulsive transition period, where human beings conditioned to scarcity are trying to adjust themselves to the technological facts of plenty. When the adjustment is made, they may look back on their worries and fears as one looks back on a bleak day in childhood, and wonder why they were so upset.

How long the transition will take is impossible to foretell, but there is no doubt that the war is quickening it by opening our minds to change—military, political, and economic. Look at the speed with which types of arms are supplanted: the rising power of the land-based bombing plane, the decline of the battleship. And so with financial fears and fixed ideas. They too can be changed or supplanted.

Where does the money come from? It comes from the work of the people and the work of their machines. The war is forcing this lesson upon us. We may have learned it by Demobilization Day.

[*This is the concluding article of Mr. Chase's series on the problems of post-war finance.*]

Let the People Talk!

BY RALPH C. ROPER

A MAJOR weakness in our government is the absence of an accurate and adequate way to ascertain the popular will between elections. Using the spoken and the printed word, leaders can talk freely and fully to the people, but the people have no effective way of talking back. Only at election times can the voters register their views, and even then, as a rule, not on separate issues.

War problems will not wait for elections. Nor will peace problems. Since an accurate and adequate understanding of the sovereign will can now be gained no oftener than every two or four years, domestic issues must suffer from neglect. The founding fathers knew this. And so the town meeting was devised. Jefferson said it was "the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation." But the town meeting had its limitations. As in the days of Aristotle, it could function only within "the range of an orator's voice." As our country's domain expanded and our problems became country-wide, simple, direct democracy had to give way to representative democracy.

Unfortunately, perhaps, we have known and experienced nothing else for more than a century and a half. It is so common among us that it has become cheap. Representative democracy, when it was first proposed by Thomas Paine (January 10, 1776), was neither common nor cheap. When he boldly urged the transfer of sovereignty to the people and the calling of a constitutional convention four years before any other leader had dared to do so, and outlined the fundamentals of our Constitution, the colonists looked upon his ideas as an entirely "new system of politics."

Democracy is government by discussion—*discussion by the people.* Listening does not satisfy the people. They are becoming impatient to talk. But to enable the people to regain their sovereign right to discuss their common problems together, and then inform their representatives of their sovereign will, new machinery must be devised. Many who have watched the workings of the Multiple Group Forum plan are convinced that this is the required device, that a country-wide system of thousands of people's forums would actually revitalize representative democracy. Dr. John Haynes Holmes has said of this plan: "It is a splendid extension of the democratic principle—altogether the most effective and fruitful extension I have ever seen. The spectacle of our group of seventy or more persons gathering week after week, under able leadership, to listen to experts and then to discuss on their own initiative and in the friendliest cooperative spirit the problems involved, and finally to report to one another their findings on the evidence and argument presented, has been indeed a thing to lift the heart, especially in these days when the democratic principle is under such heavy attack. I know that democracy is sound and good, for I have seen it work in this Multiple Group Forum plan."

Eight years' use of the plan in various communities has demonstrated that it is a practical remedy for the greatest weakness in our government. It permits every man and woman in an audience, no matter how large, to have three minutes in which to discuss a question and vote on it. The plan is simple and easily carried out. The audience is seated in groups of ten, around small tables, with a leader at each table who is democratically chosen. The questions are also democratically chosen—not dictated from above. They are so worded that they may be answered by yes or no. Usually, there are two speakers, likewise democratically selected. They speak in bouts of twenty minutes, then five minutes, each, one for the affirmative and one for the negative. Information and discussion, not debate, are expected. The speakers give facts and clarify issues. When they are through, the audience takes over the more important part of the meeting. For half an hour the participants at each table discuss the subject. The Multiple Group Forum thus permits conservatives, liberals, and radicals, face to face and elbow to elbow, to talk over together their common problems—economic, social, and political; local, state, and national.

Multiple Group Forums are democratically financed. In the center of each table is an ordinary soup plate. After discussion by the audience the chairman calls for the usual "music." The ensuing clatter of nickels, dimes, quarters, and half-dollars is the guaranty of independent discussion at subsequent meetings.

The third period of the program is devoted to reports by the table leaders. Each leader is given two minutes in which to report the vote of his table and summarize briefly the main points brought out in the discussions. At the end of the meeting the chairman, who has been chosen by the forum, announces to the audience the total vote upon the subject discussed.

I am often asked: "How do you prevent the "packing" of meetings? How are speakers selected? Table leaders?

A Multiple Group Forum is formed the easy, simple way, as informally as possible. A group of interested persons meet. They may come from existing clubs, discussion groups, forums, schools, churches, farmer groups, labor unions, women's clubs, men's clubs, business groups, and other organizations. They select a steering committee, and give to it such powers as they wish to delegate. A date is fixed, a question is chosen, and speakers are selected. The forum is held. In most cases the success of the first session is enough to insure others.

The steering committee is usually given authority to select subjects and speakers, but it often calls for suggestions from the audience. And the power of control remains always in the audience. Table leaders find themselves and are found. I have known table leaders to be chosen informally by unanimous voice. Changes of leaders come about in the same way.

As to packing a meeting, the best answer is that in the eight years the plan has operated in various communities packing has never happened, so far as I know. The procedure is so inherently democratic and simple that no one ever thinks of packing a meeting. That can happen only when control is from above or outside. At one meeting that I recall there were five speakers—Republican, Democrat, Laborite, Socialist, and Communist; every speaker had his say, and the audience had its say, without the least confusion or disturbance.

There is one unfortunate fact: conservatives do not as a rule take to the idea of discussion by the people so readily as do liberals and radicals. This was evidenced when invitations were extended to all former candidates for the Presidency—Herbert Hoover, James M. Cox, John W. Davis, Alfred E. Smith, Alfred M. Landon, and Norman Thomas—to cooperate in the promotion of a country-wide system of Multiple Group Forums. Only Mr. Thomas accepted.

Some people have objected to the Multiple Group Forum plan and its extension over the country because there are already in existence countless public forums of one kind or another. They overlook the fact that these forums do not permit audiences to take over the discussions. The large forum, says Nelson Antrim Crawford, editor-in-chief of the *Household Magazine* (Topeka, Kansas), which has a two-million circulation, largely in small rural communities, has so "degenerated" that it merely permits the audience to ask questions and the speakers to show how wittily they can reply; the chairmen of such forums often warn audiences against starting any arguments. If these forums are to function in the interest of the people, Mr. Crawford concludes, they must let anyone with an idea, good or bad, have his say.

I should like to see thousands of Multiple Group Forums all over the country simultaneously discussing the same questions. They could then count their votes and report them to national headquarters, where they could be tabulated, analyzed, and published. Such democratic machinery would provide a barometer of public opinion the like of which is not now available. Had this plan been in use when the League of Nations issue was pending, the world might not be at war today.

Sir Norman Angell's book "Let the People Know" should have as its corollary, "Let the People Talk!"

In the Wind

PRINCE HUBERTUS ZU LOEWENSTEIN'S draft classification is 4-c, the category of refugees who want to defeat Hitler but don't want to shoot Germans. The Prince explains that if he took arms against a sea of Nazis he might inadvertently shoot some members of the underground.

GERALD L. K. SMITH'S magazine, *The Cross and the Flag*, finds Secretary of State Cordell Hull "the most respected individual in Washington. . . . Now that the American people are beginning to awaken, Hull is coming into his own."

THE FIRST PUBLIC SHOWING of "Mission to Moscow" in the Soviet capital drew a record-breaking crowd to the Cinema de Luxe. The Hollywood portraits of Kalinin and Vyshinsky gave the audience a laugh, but those of Litvinov and Stalin seemed to be successful.

FURLOUGH TICKETS sold at reduced rates by the New York Central Railroad don't recognize all our allies. They are only for the use of "personnel in uniform of the United States Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard [and] personnel in the uniform of the British Empire."

ALL THAT FIGHTING on the Russian front is just a "phony war," says Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen. In an address at Akron, Ohio, quoted in the Akron *Beacon-Journal*, he analyzed the military situation thus: "The Russians cannot be as victorious as we are led to believe along a 600-mile front, day after day, for more than two months. It just doesn't happen. . . . I can't believe it. I'm positive it's all being done according to plan. . . . When Russia and Germany unite, . . . then we will pay for our reds and our pinkos."

FESTUNG EUROPA: During a recent blackout in Prague lamp-posts were painted with the inscription, "Maximum weight, six Nazis." . . . From a speech by Deputy Gauleiter Gerland in Brno: "People need not know the worries which the politically responsible leaders are shouldering for them. Knowledge easily makes one weary, but if one has faith, one remains strong."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Issues at Moscow

BY RALPH BATES

MANY liberals who have taken an active part in the campaign against the Metternichean peace projected by the Western allies have not yet realized that in the critical areas of Europe the U. S. S. R. is practicing the kind of foreign policy they have wanted America to practice. When their lack of understanding is not due to the lingering fogs of 1939 it can be attributed, I believe, to a failure to explore to its depths the accepted truth that the war is a revolutionary war. By that is meant that the immediate struggle for national liberation must necessarily awaken not merely the old forces of democracy but new ones, which will eventually seek to create a healthier society. This fact provides the test of a foreign policy. If it aids the people of Europe in their daily struggle against the Nazi forces of occupation, giving the clearest guaranties that the time-servers, the traitors, and the old implicated futilitarians will not be preferred to the men who fight now, if it shows eagerness to collaborate with the institutions which the people create for themselves as weapons, then that policy is democratic. For these new institutions represent solvent Europe. They are its flesh and blood, its very bone.

To put the problem in its true light the now manifest logic of past events must be described with brutal clarity. The urgency with which the Foreign Office and the State Department now address themselves to Moscow is due to their realization that they have misunderstood the time-table of Europe—and not only the time-table but the weight of the forces engaged. It cannot be doubted that our diplomats once thought that Russia would be so exhausted that Stalin could easily be persuaded to accept the Metternichean solutions which seemed to them the only safe means of adjustment to the Soviets' continued existence. The tremendous Soviet victories, however, indicating that the U. S. S. R. will be the most powerful force in continental Europe, have caused them to think again.

Both the second front and the political future of Europe will be discussed at Moscow. There are bound to be sharp differences of opinion, though Stalin has declared more than once that differences of social structure in the Allied countries need not prevent a solution. If one is reached, it will certainly be through compromise.

The characteristics of Soviet policy can be seen from the case of Yugoslavia. *Nation* readers are familiar with Yugoslav developments, but certain basic facts must be recalled here. The reactionary royal government in exile would neither organize the people for struggle nor wage war with its existing forces. When the Partisan movement began to attain real proportions, Mihailovich began civil war against them, in collusion with the Axis. As a consequence he became alienated from the people, while the Partisans and the civilian committees which directed them assumed the real and very democratic control of one-third of the country. All this is now generally admitted. What is not so well known is that the Partisans originally proposed to cooperate with Mihailovich, and recognized the royal government in London as the highest Yugoslav authority. They were driven to a contrary course by that government's rejection of democracy. In short, what has happened in Yugoslavia is an illustration of the truth stated in my first paragraph.

When I wrote my first article on the Yugoslav problem for *The Nation* (November 28, 1942) I was charged by one indignant reader with bad faith and with playing the Communist game. Many liberals then shared the belief that the Partisan movement, now officially recognized by London and the French Committee of National Liberation, was a Russian or at least a Communist Party creation, intended to serve Russian interests alone. It is true that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia did play a major role in bringing about this national rebirth, and that the U. S. S. R. was at first the only power to give resolute moral and practical support to the movement. Notwithstanding this, the Yugoslav Communists today are associated with five other political parties in directing what is the first democratic Yugoslav regime in many long years.

With these facts in mind, let us turn to the greatest problem of the war, the future of Germany. Here is found the gravest risk of conflict between the Anglo-American bloc and the U. S. S. R. The organization of a Free Germany Committee in London, closely following the political lead of the Moscow group—with which it is in contact—may indicate that London is preparing for a realistic discussion. All Mr. Churchill's utterances on this point, however, have been reactionary, though not more so than those of certain so-called liberals. Dismemberment, the amputation of Prussia, more or less permanent policing by a so-called international force, the maintenance of a hermaphrodite state—these proposals are substitutes for the German revolution which the Metternichs hope to frustrate. So great is the confusion that the last British Labor Party convention passed a disgraceful resolution on Germany, one wholly consistent with the views of Vansittart. Fortunately the Trades Union Congress has rejected a similar resolution by an overwhelming majority.

The program of the Free Germany Committee in Moscow and the political warfare based upon it leave no doubt as to the way in which the U. S. S. R. will use its tremendous influence. It will do all it legitimately can to aid Germans to establish a strong democratic state, able to defend its institutions against any new assault by German reaction; able, too, to recreate a healthy social life. There is no question of socialism or communism. The realists in Moscow, as well as the old Socialist and Communist vanguard in the German factories, know that a social revolution like that of October, 1917, would be prevented by London and Washington.

Criticism of the Soviet position is summed up in the contention, put forward and then abandoned by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, that the Soviet Union is determined to keep a powerful German army in existence at all costs, while the Anglo-American bloc is determined utterly to disarm the German nation. This view is refuted by a recent article in *War and the Working Class* which states that the Russians desire a purge of all the German warmakers, including the militarists, the Nazi Party leaders and functionaries, and the industrialists who supported Hitler's war aims. The entire social basis of German militarism must go. Nor do we need to rely exclusively on the Russian journal.

The thing to consider is what kind of Germany would result from a civil war waged around the Moscow committee's directives. For instance, the committee urges the German people to force immediate suspension of all hostilities and immediate withdrawal within German frontiers. One might suppose, to listen to the alarmists, that such a proposal would eventually be accepted as a matter of course by the Nazis or their militarist successors. Yet during the First World War this classical demand for the abandonment of conquests was a point around which the whole fight for German democracy developed. It will be so again. The mobilization of revolutionary forces around such a demand, if successful, will itself shatter the reactionary formations.

The nation that could consent to retreat and cease fighting would be not merely a beaten country but a purged one, in process of political, and to some extent social, change. Mr. Churchill, substituting a geographical term for a social description, has called for the amputation of Prussia. He is willing to risk the emergence of a new pan-Germanism in order to isolate the military class. The Russians believe that in the struggle for peace and the abandonment of conquest the majority of the old Junker generals will almost certainly be swept away. Field Marshal von Paulus, one notes, does not subscribe to "Free Germany."

Again, certain persons have thrown up their hands in astonishment because the German soldiers are asked to keep a firm grasp of their rifles, yet not to turn them against their own officers. It is difficult not to be scornful of the haphazard thinking and bad history on which this criticism is based. In 1917 there was no general Bolshevik insistence upon a liquidation of the officers. Many officers, indeed, sat upon the soldiers' committees and in the soviets, as Social Revolutionary delegates. When the officers attempted to prevent the establishment of the committees and to put down peace agitation, the Communists certainly recommended the use of the rifle. That is what the German committee proposes now. I quote the actual words of the manifesto, underlining the key phrase: "You have weapons in your hands. Hold on to them! Under the leadership of those commanders who recognize their responsibility and move together with you against Hitler, *boldly clear the path leading your country to peace.*" Evidently something has to be cleared out of the way. There is at least the Waffen S. S , the Gestapo in arms, at present between three-quarters of a million and a million strong. That being so, the simple tactic of "voting for peace with one's legs" will not serve as it did in czarist Russia. The German democrat has no chance of walking home to take his place on a revolutionary committee. Hard civil war within the army must come first. Nor can it be waged by ill-organized militias against the disciplined and superbly equipped S. S. Corps, but only by a new patriot army formed, for technical reasons, as far as possible out of intact units. Surely the reason for the difference between the Russians of 1917 and the Germans of 1943 is clear enough.

Manifestly the Soviets believe—as who does not?—that it is the fear of a peace of liquidation which keeps the German soldier fighting. The Free Germany Committee seeks to wipe out this fear and to utilize partiotism for the purposes of the democratic revolution. Criticism of its efforts arises from failure to bear in mind the axiom that every revolutionary effort must take into account the objective circumstances of the epoch.

Finally it should be noted that the crucial passage in the German committee's manifesto defines the limits laid down by Soviet statecraft. If the German people do not revolt, "Hitler will be overthrown only by the force of the coalition armies. But this will signify the end of our national independence and of our existence as a state, the dismemberment of our fatherland. And we shall have only ourselves to blame afterward." In the absence of effective revolution, that is to say, the Soviet Union will *not* clash with the Anglo-American bloc in order to frustrate the dismemberment demanded by Mr. Churchill.

One other criticism of the Moscow committee's doctrine has been made. Soviet readiness to work with

German officers is held to hinder the opposition to the Badoglio regime. Again, the objective conditions of the Italian revolution must be considered in relation to the Soviets' position. The U. S. S. R. knows that the policy announced by Mr. Churchill in his speech of September 21 must be regarded as a basic conception, not to be opposed in headlong fashion. It knows that it cannot lead or create an Italian revolutionary opposition to Badoglio and the king. At best it can support the demands of such an opposition should it come into existence. However, Moscow did not shirk conflict with the Anglo-American group. It invited itself into the debate, just as it took part in the controversies of the Non-Intervention Committee during the Spanish war. And its stern criticism of the AMG suggests that it intends to urge greater democracy in our treatment of reconquered areas. If this is so, then the fear expressed above is baseless.

It is frivolous to object, as it has been objected, that the Soviets' active sympathy with democratic movements is merely a matter of self-defense. It is a matter of self-defense, of course, and we should be grateful that at least one power feels that it has nothing to fear from popular governments. The U. S. S. R. will discuss the future of European democracy with us along lines that are clear enough. In the stress of negotiations it may be forced to surrender something of value. How much depends to a considerable extent on the democratic movements in Britain and America. If there is no drawing together of the three powers, the future will be black indeed.

[*The controversial questions raised by Mr. Bates will be taken up from other points of view in later issues.*]

Behind the Enemy Line

By ARGUS

FOR some weeks now every German soldier going home from the front on furlough has received from his sergeant a printed paper, labeled OKW No. 227, August, 1943, containing instructions of a curious nature.

First, the soldier is warned that he will find conditions at home far from pleasant; he should not, however, think they are worse than they are. He will perceive that food is often hard to obtain, but he must not forget that rations are sufficient. He may see cities devastated by air raids and perhaps find his family living in emergency quarters; yet the actual number of devastated cities is small—the same ones are bombed again and again. He will run across grumblers and shirkers who spread "false rumors" and "wild stories," but they are an unimportant minority unworthy of notice.

Secondly, the soldier is called on to make his presence have a tonic effect on the community. It is his duty to take to the people at home "some of our strength, our will, our vision, and our confidence." "During the first months of the war the Fatherland breathed its strength and faith into the soldier on leave. Today the roles are reversed, and it is the soldier who must bring to the home front the moral stimulant it needs." There follows a recapitulation—for the soldier to repeat at home—of all the facts that "enable us to hold our heads high as far as the military situation is concerned."

Thirdly, the soldier is asked not to unsettle his comrades, on his return to the front, with gloomy stories about conditions at home. If he has found certain things bad, he should tell his commanding officer, who "will take up the matter with the proper authorities." He should especially avoid exciting his companions with "wild stories" about the bombings. "Every one of us must be careful not to make that mistake."

No comment on these instructions is needed. But one thing may be pointed out: the author of them was obviously addressing men whose morale is considered intact. Distribution of the paper shows that the German army command believes the front-line troops to be in general completely reliable.

The Zurich *Volksrecht* of October 2 contains a collection of stories about typical happenings in Germany. The first is one of an increasing number now current about the Nazi who seeks witnesses of his good behavior:

> A high Nazi official [says the paper's informant] lives in the same house as my grocer. The official's wife, my grocer tells me, recently said to him, "You can testify that my husband always behaved correctly and never harmed anybody. He never did anything even to you, who have always been a prominent Social Democrat."

Another is about the Nazi who tries to make it appear that he has never been one:

> One morning the treasurer of the Nazi Charity League called on a friend of mine to ask for a contribution. "Good morning," he began, not using the customary "Heil Hitler." My friend asked him if that was the new party greeting. The man replied that he had never been a party member and wanted to have nothing to do with the party; he was collecting money only for the sake of the charities. And he left with an "Auf Wiedersehen." My friend knows, however, that the man is in fact a member of the party. He is simply running to cover.

The widespread belief that Hitler will meet Mussolini's fate is illustrated by the following reported conversation:

> After the collapse of fascism in Italy I talked with a non-commissioned officer in East Prussia. In a voice full of conviction he said to me, "The same thing is bound to happen here. Everything is in readiness. I have precise information." His words impressed me all the more because he was a complete stranger to me.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Charles Beard's Political Testament

THE REPUBLIC: CONVERSATIONS ON FUNDAMENTALS. By Charles A. Beard. The Viking Press. $3.

IT IS not often that a book appears bearing unmistakable signs that it is destined to become a classic in its field. These imaginary dialogues which Charles Beard conducts with lively and intelligent interlocutors constitute such a book. It is a political testament, full of wisdom, set down with patience, buoyed up with a spirit of cheerful skepticism, and marred only by a caution which betrays it into ambiguity on a key point. Above all, it is an inspiring course in the fundamental issues of government and democracy. No intelligent person will find political science dull after reading it, whether he agrees with Beard or not. It should revolutionize the teaching of American government both on the college and the adult-education level.

These conversations are given in twenty-one chapters which begin with an analysis of the opening words of the Preamble to the Constitution, "We, the People," and conclude with "the Fate and Fortunes of Our Republic." As Beard goes from phrase to phrase, from provision to provision in the Constitution, he brings into play a dry humor and common-sense realism which dissolve the mists of rhetoric that usually attend discussions of the Constitution. As exercises in popular semantics these dialogues are excellent.

But let no one who knows the early Beard imagine that he has translated everything into the language of economic determinism. Although he has a sure grip on the economic facts of our day and never loses sight of them, he has traveled a long way from the standpoint of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution," whose remarkable and unanswerable findings were forced into too narrow a framework of motivation. Beard recognizes more explicitly than ever before that we cannot simply construe economic motives from economic conditions. Indeed, if anything, he goes to the other extreme and makes of the *Federalist* a kind of philosophical manual of perennial issues in political science without sufficient reference to the economic conditions of the period. He does not deny, of course, that political ideas were originally creatures or servants of interests. But he insists, and rightly, that by molding the outlook, hopes, and language habits of several generations of Americans, ideas enter into the *making* of history and to some extent influence the form and direction taken by present-day interests. History, for Beard, is not a blind working out of economic interests in conflict with each other but "the interplay of *ideas* and *interests* in the time-stream."

Of more topical interest than Beard's ideas on man, history, and causality, which receive only peripheral treatment, are his views on the social and political issues of our time. True to his own theory of why we continually reinterpret the past, Beard's reconstruction of the spirit and meaning of the Constitution is pointed toward a program of action for our own troubled era. On some of these issues, particularly the important problem of the economic underwriting of constitutional democracy, Beard is curiously reticent. He contents himself with exposing inadequacies in the proposals of spokesmen of capital, management, and labor to assure full employment and a rising standard of living for the community. His healthy reminder, here as elsewhere, that we don't know as much as we think we do is a corrective to dogmatism, but it is coupled with an over-caution that suggests that we do not even know enough to make a beginning. On foreign policy this spirit of caution is in evidence too, strongly buttressed with pertinent historical analogies. Like Dr. and Mrs. Smythe, his imaginary companions in dialogue, Beard rejects the appellation of "isolationist." He thinks of himself only as "an American whose strongest affections are centered here." Naturally he believes in the vigorous prosecution of the war but refuses to be swept away by the floods of loose talk about the nature of the post-war world and of the agencies which will be intrusted with the enforcement of peace. "Those who condemn nationalism and announce a merging of the Republic in a world solidarity may well profit from a long and minute study of the way in which American solidarity came about, not overlooking the long civil war required to seal our Union." These considerations are well worth pondering, particularly by those who believe we should commit ourselves to enforce peace no matter what kind of peace is established, and who place their faith in alliances and federations while they profess theories which locate the chief causes of war in domestic areas beyond international control. Beard does *not* favor withdrawal from world affairs. But instead of blind wholesale commitments in advance to ambiguous principles he urges piecemeal collaboration on practical issues.

On the home front Beard appears to be an untamed advocate of the New Deal and makes short shrift of those who urge constitutional objections to the policy of government intervention. Very impressive is the way he wrests the Constitution out of the hands of standpatters and reactionaries. He asserts that without altering a line in the document it can become the instrument of the most far-reaching social reforms. But for all his trust in the New Deal, Beard distrusts New Dealers, partly because they lack constitutional understanding and partly because they are subject to the same frailties as other human beings. This reflects not cynicism about human beings but wisdom in the ways of the political world, and awareness that the unintended consequences of what we do are often more fateful than our immediate successes.

An emphasis so marked as to border on a change in political outlook is now apparent in Beard's thought. Constitutional piety is called in as midwife of social reform, and unhistorical reason with its bold logical plans is turned out of doors. Abetted by a little intelligence, constitutional piety guarantees a new birth of freedom and welfare without Caesarean operations. In a sense, Beard has turned Savigny and the historical school inside out. Historical-mindedness is now become an indispensable aid to progressive legislation: arguments and proposals may be "historically true, if utterly unreasonable."

This accent on constitutionalism reaches its climax in Beard's defense of the power of the Supreme Court to declare void any acts of Congress which curtail personal liberties. The abrogation of the veto power of the courts, which ironically enough was a historical usurpation, he deems "undesirable and dangerous." I am in hearty accord with Beard's desire to protect minorities from discriminatory legislation. But to intrust that protection to the Supreme Court seems to me to be demonstrably unreasonable, whether reason is taken as a historical or a logical category. It is a misreading of American history, as Beard's own writings testify, to regard the Supreme Court as a reliable or consistent defender of minority rights and civil liberties. By and large it has used its power of judicial review, under the noble banner of minority rights, to bolster *property* rights imperiled by the advance of social legislation. So long as the court is not stripped of its power of judicial veto, there is nothing to prevent one justice, or all nine, when the chances of time and personality are well mated, from interpreting the amendments to the Constitution as a charter of established social privilege. Nor is it without significance that the state of personal and civil liberty in England, where laws are made without benefit of judicial review, is certainly not less healthy than it is here. If this is unhistorical, the fact that minorities have suffered more at the hands of other minorities than of majorities is not.

Charles Beard's position on this and related matters seems to me to grow out of his cloudy distinction between a constitutional government and a democratic one. The latter is defined simply in terms of majority rule; the former is one which limits the power both of officials and majorities by guaranteeing the human rights of individuals. Since rule by majority may be oppressive and degenerate into an elective despotism, democracy is distinguished from constitutional government. In the light of these definitions Beard considers the United States a constitutional rather than democratic republic. A second glance at these definitions will show that they are inadequate for the case in hand. Beard himself admits that in the United States rights of persons and property may be—and have been—destroyed by amendment. True, this requires, as he points out, an "extraordinary" majority. But what is sacred about 75 per cent or 99 per cent? Can't an extraordinary majority be just as tyrannical as an ordinary one? If a constitutional government is one in which "fundamental rights [are] reserved to the people," who determines what rights are fundamental, and who reserves them? Unless it is ultimately the majority or its elected representatives, constitutional government *must* be non-democratic.

Morally, rule by majority, ordinary or extraordinary, a minority, a Supreme Court, a despot may be benevolent or malevolent. Our choice between them is based upon the quality of their fruits, of which welfare is only one. All that Beard seems to me to want to say is this: fruits that are forced or plucked too hastily are likely to be bitter; a wise democracy is one in which the majority lays down rules for itself to proceed cautiously. As a rule caution is a good rule. But ometimes a democracy must act quickly and boldly, as none

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knows better than Beard, the historian. To repent at leisure one must at least survive!

Granted, then, that on a particular occasion democracy may trench upon certain claims and desires that are precious to us. We cannot therefore impugn the validity of the democratic process unless we are prepared to defend the doctrine of absolute natural rights or the principle of aristocratic rule. Beard, happily, is prepared to do neither one nor the other. "If for decency, progress, order, and liberty in the community and the nation, we cannot rely upon the character, sentiments, allegiances, and moral habits of the people, upon what, in heaven's name, can we rely?" Well said! But here speaks the democrat, not the pious constitutionalist who in the course of history has answered: the king, the church, the nobility, the party, the Supreme Court. The majority may be foolish and wicked, but if a democracy be defined and practiced in terms of *freely given consent,* the wise and virtuous minority has at least a talking chance before it decides to yield out of prudence or fight out of principle.

Charles Beard is a great American democrat. It would be a pity if his words were twisted to make him appear a Hamiltonian *pur sang.* SIDNEY HOOK

Hamilton Rowan

THE DESIRE TO PLEASE. By Harold Nicolson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

AT THE age of eight Harold Nicolson was stupefied on being told by a schoolboy friend that his grandfather had been hanged. His mother, however, corrected this statement. "It was only your great-great-grandfather," she said, "and he wasn't really hanged; he escaped just in time." His name was Hamilton Rowan. "He was a rebel," his mother added. "We do not talk about him much." Now, after nearly fifty years, Harold Nicolson has published a biography of his fantastic ancestor—a beautifully written document so packed with history, humor, political intrigue, personal anecdote, suspense, and, not least, with wisdom, that its two hundred pages take as long to read and digest as would several novels of the size and quality of "Gone with the Wind."

Archibald Hamilton Rowan, whose character no novelist would ever dare attempt to create, was born in London in 1751. His father, "Old Baldie," was "a muddle-headed, untidy, raffish sort of man" who inherited Killyleagh Castle in County Down and whose mistress "began life as a housemaid" and ended it as a blaspheming old drunkard. "Old Baldie's" wife was a mean, snobbish bully of an English Protestant, who persuaded her father to make a will by which her son, because she suspected him of having "inherited an undisciplined soul," should succeed to her family's large fortune only on condition that he assume the name of Rowan, take a degree at Oxford or Cambridge, and refrain from visiting Ireland before the age of twenty-five. Her son did take the name of Rowan, and he did take a degree at Cambridge—where he threw his tutor in the river and received a commission in the Huntingdon Militia; but he more than once "sneaked clandestinely to Killyleagh" before the appointed date.

Three years, in fact, before that date Hamilton Rowan—whose figure was so colossal that "it might have served as a model for Hercules"—had visited not only Ireland, Holland, and the United States—whence he returned with "a raccoon, an opossum, and a young bear"—but also France, where Marie Antoinette was so impressed by the gigantic *seigneur anglois* that she sent him a ring. Hamilton Rowan remained in France eleven years. Why his great-great-grandfather chose to retire to the Continent at the age of twenty-two, Nicolson has no idea. In Paris, in spite of the fact that the French and British governments were then at war and he was an officer, Rowan spent his days rowing up and down the Seine in a Thames wherry. Nicolson also has no idea why, after four years in France, Rowan began to adopt an anti-English attitude—an attitude that was to govern, and almost deprive him of, his life. A clue to the puzzle why this rich, magnificent-looking Englishman should turn against his native land and devote his long career to passionate defense of Ireland's wrongs would seem to lie in his relation to his mother, whom he could never have liked, who bullied him, who for him no doubt symbolized England, who despised the Irish and tried to prevent her son from visiting Ireland, thereby bestowing upon that country "the glamor of a forbidden home." Another reason for Rowan's defense of the oppressed might be traced to the probability of his possessing a bad conscience over his own great wealth and extravagance.

Rowan committed his first subversive act when, at the age of twenty-six, he succeeded in obtaining an audience in Paris with Benjamin Franklin, whose acquaintance he then proceeded to use in order "to enlist Englishmen in the American forces for the purpose of fighting against their own country." Seven years later Rowan and his Irish wife decided to leave France and settle in Ireland. "The Irish," writes Nicolson—without too much malice—"do not want anyone to wish them well; they want everyone to wish their enemies ill." Hamilton Rowan spent the next fifty years planning, violently, indiscreetly, always illogically—in short, Irishwise—innumerable ills for Ireland's oldest enemy. In this pursuit Rowan suffered imprisonment in Ireland, jail fever in France, exile and extreme poverty in Germany and then in the United States, where he became "a printer and dyer of calicoes" on the banks of the Delaware. Nevertheless, this enigmatic rebel, constantly courting violent death, "died quietly" in his adopted country "in the eighty-fourth year of his age."

Hamilton Rowan fell into the maelstrom of Irish politics by joining, in the company of Wolfe Tone and Napper Tandy, the Society of United Irishmen—from whose "inner ring" of 126 no fewer than 34 died on the gallows. He was first arrested in Scotland, and then, for the distribution of revolutionary pamphlets in Dublin, sentenced to two years in Newgate. Three months later, disguised as a cowherd, he was smuggled out to France in a rowboat. Thereafter he was accused of inciting the French government "to invade his Kingdom of Ireland with ships and armed men." Legend has it that immediately after his escape Rowan was idiotic enough to visit his home. There, by amazing presence of mind, he is said to have escaped death by hurling his hat out of a window and concealing himself in a closet. Nicolson first learned of this legend in James Joyce's "Portrait of the

Artist," where Stephen Daedalus wonders "from which window Hamilton Rowan had thrown his hat upon the Ha Ha." To check up on this, Nicolson visited Joyce in Paris, and his description of this meeting—in a room in which I have watched the blind genius moving and talking precisely as here described—is not only one of the best passages in this fascinating book but also proof of its author's uncanny eye for detail, his strict adherence to fact. The conversation that ensued between the two writers, however, was of so unexpected a nature that it was only when Nicolson had regained the street that he remembered why he had come.

JAMES STERN

On Underestimating Japan

JAPAN FIGHTS FOR ASIA. By John Goette. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

AMONG the correspondents who have served in China, none has had the opportunity to know the Japanese better than John Goette, veteran International News representative in Peking. Mr. Goette was attached to the Japanese army for five years, traveling with the invading forces in many parts of China and enjoying unparalleled contacts with the Japanese military leaders. On the basis of his experience Mr. Goette is gravely concerned lest America underestimate Japan's bid for dominance of Asia. His book is an impassioned plea that we take time to understand the nature of Japan's strength and the permanence of its threat to world peace.

Numerous incidents are related to show the toughness, the loyalty, and the fighting qualities of the individual Japanese soldier. Behind this dogged and almost superhuman devotion to duty lies not so much a lust for war as a unity of purpose that is without parallel in any other nation. The Japanese soldier who is wounded in battle is assured of every care that modern science can provide. If he is killed in action, his name is revered by a grateful people. Moreover, the Japanese army is a veteran army. In its six years' war in China it has gained experience which has already proved invaluable in its war against the West. And although the navy has had no such experience, it has been carefully schooled for years for the inevitable attack on the United States and Britain. Contrary to the usual American opinion, both branches of the service are competently led by men who are capable of daring and initiative in carrying out the grandiose plans of the heads of the government.

Mr. Goette lays great stress on Japan's ability to transform its conquered territories into political and economic assets of immeasurable worth. He goes beyond any other contemporary writer not only in accepting the sincerity of Japan's "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity" policy but in crediting its results. More than a half-million Japanese civilians have moved into occupied China within the past few years. These immigrants are well established; they are making the occupation pay dividends financially; and they are rapidly building an economic domain which greatly strengthens the Japanese capacity to withstand the military pressure of the United Nations. At the same time the Japanese have undoubtedly enjoyed some measure of success in their elaborate and

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expensive program for indoctrinating the peoples of the occupied territories with Japanese concepts. Although their propaganda efforts are frequently clumsy, the Japanese make up in zeal and persistence for their inability to see through other people's eyes.

While there is clearly less danger in overemphasizing the enemy's assets than in underestimating them, most readers will regret that Mr. Goette gives little space to Japan's liabilities. Presumably because his experiences were limited largely to the Asiatic mainland, he does not discuss such questions as the basic weaknesses in Japan's agriculture, the shortage of shipping, and the insuperable problems of war production. Nor does he consider Japan's vulnerability to air attacks. But since most of these points have been overstressed in current writing on Japan, his book offers a healthy corrective. MAXWELL S. STEWART

Nomini Hall

JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF PHILIP VICKERS FITHIAN. Edited with an Introduction by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. $4.

CUSTOMARILY the Tidewater planters imported their household tutors, along with their furniture and plate and china, from Britain; but just before the outbreak of the Revolution they began to seek instructors for their children in the divinity schools of the North. Philip Fithian was twenty-six years old and a recent graduate of Princeton when in 1773 he came to the Northern Neck of Virginia to serve as tutor at Nomini Hall, the plantation home of the Honorable Robert Carter. It was an entirely new world in which the young man from New Jersey found himself, and at first the Virginians, with their formal, courtly manners and their enormous appetite for life, seemed wonderfully strange. In many ways their behavior was as shocking as his Presbyterian elders had warned him that it would be. Their favorite clergyman—whose sermons never interrupted their social chats in the churchyard for longer than twenty minutes—was also one of the colony's most persistent tipplers and reckless gamblers; the tiniest girls could talk as constantly and knowingly of silk and chintzes and Paris net as their fathers and young brothers did of shooting and boat racing and dogs and horses; the lessons of Mr. Christian, the dancing master who made the rounds of the great plantations, always took precedence over Mr. Fithian's carefully prepared exercises in Greek and arithmetic. Yet during the two years that he lived as an intimate member of their household Fithian grew as fond of the Carters—and of their neighbors, the Fauntleroys, Washingtons, and Lees—as they did of him. He recorded with admiration the skill with which "sensible, judicious" Mr. Carter managed the multiple activities of his 60,000 acres and the efficiency with which "prudent, always cheerful" Mrs. Carter supervised the manifold tasks connected with maintaining a "great house." He wrote with genuine affection and a warm and endearing humor of his seven "lovely charges"—the "volatile" fun-loving teen-age boys, and the "merry, winning" little girls. He was particularly impressed by the unfailing kindness of these children to their colored servants and was constantly amused by the serious manner in which they imitated their duties in their own play. They were forever busy at make-believe weaving, spinning, sweeping, and scrubbing, and pretending to be pregnant women by "stuffing rags and other Lumber below their Apron Strings."

Great things were happening in America during the two years that young Fithian lived at Nomini Hall, and he duly noted the "tumult" that news out of Boston and Philadelphia occasioned in the colony. When war finally broke out, he enlisted as a chaplain and died of dysentery and exposure after the Battle of White Plains. He was one of the very first of many young Calvinists from the North who during the interval between their graduation and ordination served as tutors in the South and formed an attachment for the families with whom they lived that was not weakened even by the sectional bitterness that led up to the Civil War. It is fortunate that the Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies have made available the diary and letters that he wrote at Nomini Hall. They give a fresh, human, and altogether charming picture of plantation life on the eve of the Revolution.

GRACE ADAMS

DRAMA

ONE TOUCH OF VENUS" (Imperial Theater) has so many touches of talent that it is exhilarating in spite of its flaws. For one thing the story, slight as it is, has a point. It also has one character. This is the good-looking American boy, a rising young barber, who is stuffed with the sentiments of popular songs and the American dream of settling down and raising a family in Ozone Heights. By accident he brings Venus into life, circa 1943, when he slips a newly paid for engagement ring on the finger of a statue of the goddess in a chi-chi modern art gallery. Venus "eliminates" the barber's fiancee by the old magic device of causing her to vanish—which provides enough complications to keep the piece going. It goes very well through the first act, which ends in a fine blaze of costume and song. The second act is a bit of an anti-climax. The dénouement is played out too fast, and this fault is accentuated by the circumstance that not until Act II do the authors really get down to characterizing the barber. The characterization is amusing and telling and should have been incorporated in Act I.

Needless to say, Venus finds that she wouldn't like Ozone Heights and takes her leave, but has the kindness to provide a substitute, an all-American girl who looks just like herself.

The story, as anyone can see, gives scope to contemporary fashions in attitudes and expression. Modern art contributes to the decoration and the fun. Freud takes a deep bow early in the proceedings when Mary Martin, exquisite in her own right and made more so by the clothes of Mainbocher, utters the unexquisite observation that love is not the sound of a dying violin but the twang of a bed-spring. Later on the psychiatrist has his moment, at psychiatry's expense.

Agnes de Mille's particular American blend of ballet and "modern" and musical-comedy dancing also fits nicely into this mélange. Neither of her two numbers can compare with "Rodeo," but they are good medicine for red-blooded Americans who think they don't like ballet. And the supple humor of Sono Osato is a wonderfully effective antidote for an old and silly prejudice.

Kurt Weill's tunes are pleasant but not very distinctive. They seem to me to fall between the stools of American and European popular songs. And Ogden Nash's rhymes too often put weights rather than wings on his lyrics. Still, several of them are effective, given the setting and presentation.

The performances are good throughout, though John Boles is a bit heavy and persists in singing a popular song as if it were an operatic aria. Kenny Baker is extremely well cast as the barber. Paula Laurence "louses up songs," as she calls it, in a most engaging way and otherwise makes the best of a rather sketchy part. As for Mary Martin, she is lovely, gay, impudent, and intelligent.

"One Touch of Venus" has a *New Yorker* flavor—diluted but definite—and most of the collaborators hail from the borders of Bohemia where smartness parleys with talent and allows it scope so long as it observes the rather fierce conventions of smartness. Here both smartness and talent parley with Broadway. Broadway is skeptical—*Variety* notes the dearth of jokes and says the piece is "slanted to connoisseurs." But the drought on Dream Street has been so long drawn out that the gag-and-soda audiences I complained about last time may even take to the fairly dry red wine of Perelman, Nash, De Mille, and Weill.

MARGARET MARSHALL

[*Joseph Wood Krutch, regular drama critic of* The Nation, *is on a year's leave of absence.*]

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FILMS

"SAHARA." Humphrey Bogart and several less high-salaried but no less talented soldiers, stranded at an oasis, hold off and then capture a full Nazi battalion. Anyone who can make that believable, even for so long as you watch it, knows how to make a good war melodrama. "Sahara" is the best one since "Bataan." Cinematically it is better. It borrows, chiefly from the English, a sort of light-alloy modification of realism which makes the traditional Hollywood idiom seem as obsolete as a minuet.

"A Lady Takes a Chance" is not the new kind of realistic sex comedy it might have been, but once in a while it's on the edge. Too often both ends of Jean Arthur are played against the middle; but John Wayne suggests how sensational he might be in a sufficiently evil story about a Reno gigolo. Besides the unusually frank erotic undertones there are some good harsh street and rodeo shots, a fine small hotel, and a saloon scene which gets down the crowded, deafening glamor which unforeseen daylight drunkenness can have, better than I have ever seen it filmed before.

"Hostages," made from Stefan Heym's novel, lacks the cinematic edge, detail, and inventiveness which the story could have afforded, but at worst it is competent, politically focused, and fairly exciting. William Bendix, though he mugs, is a valuable surprise. He evidently understands—as nobody else in Hollywood seems to—the almost beyond-death detachment which is at the center of everything a deeply political man does.

"Corvette K-225" is an unusually decent and unpretentious—but not very interesting—semi-documentary about Corvette K-225. Some of it, made in Canada and on the North Atlantic, is fresh and pretty to see; even genuinely moving. The more violent stuff, though well-contrived, is strictly studio, and suffers by comparison.

"True to Life" is a rather crass and moderately amusing comedy about two soap-opera laureates (Dick Powell and Franchot Tone) who deceive and exploit a (far from true-to-life) Queensboro family, for "material." There is some fair radio-ribbing, and I liked Victor Moore and some daft gadgets derived from old Buster Keaton comedies. Mary Martin, I notice with some alarm, is playing Jean Arthur—a tendency which even Miss Arthur must learn to curb.

"Lassie Come Home" is a dog story which I had hardly expected to enjoy, and cannot be sure who will and who won't. I did, though. Those who made it seem to have had a pretty fair sense of the square naivete which most good stories for children have, or affect; they also manipulate some surprisingly acute emotions out of the head dog. Whether from private remembrance or from the show, I got several reverberations of that strangely pure, half-magical tone which certain books, regardless of their other qualities, have for many children.

"Thousands Cheer" is a thoroughly routine musical distinguished only by Gene Kelly with nothing to use his talents on, a terrible piece of trash by Shostakovich, and the unpleasant sight of José Iturbi proving he is a real guy by playing the sort of boogie-woogie anyone ought to be able to learn through a correspondence course.

"Sweet Rosie O'Grady" has some fairly pretty color and sets (1880), a few glimpses of Betty Grable's façade, and the power to remind you that the right director and author could make wonderful use of her.

"Wintertime," Sonja Henie's ten-thousandth baked alaska, proves that skating musicals do not have to be half as boring as they usually are; also that that fact is of no great importance.

"Thank Your Lucky Stars" is the loudest and most vulgar of the current musicals. It is also the most fun, if you are amused when show people kid their own idiom, and if you find a cruel-compassionate sort of interest in watching amateurs like Bette Davis do what they can with a song. JAMES AGEE

ART

ALEXANDER CALDER: Sculpture, Constructions, Jewelry, Toys, and Drawings. At the Museum of Modern Art until November 28. *GIORGIO DE CHIRICO:* Early Paintings. At Art of This Century Gallery until November 6.

Calder's accomplishment is the invention of a new microcosm of art. Its flora and fauna are made of wire, sheet metal, piping, glass, wood, and anything else tangible. Its plants can be conceived of as those objects with leaves of metal, its animals those with flanged and bolted haunches, its geology the involutions of wire, string, and pellets, while its machines are really machines—motor-driven—with no purpose other than the dance of their own movements. The modality of this world is linear, two-dimensional in spirit if not in fact, an inheritor of painting. Here also the mischievous word of E. E. Cummings's poetry is made flesh. Calder's art is always called gay and exuberant, and it is. But more seems to be wanted. This particular world lacks history. Lots of things go on in it but nothing happens; for its laws have no necessity and are not sufficiently determined by a driving purpose working itself out variously and progressively in fulfilment of the will or inherent nature of its creator. Its creatures differ as much in design and scale as can be wanted, but they all have the same personalities. Calder's chief asset is felicity: so few of his objects lack it; but felicity exhausts their content—as is most obvious in the larger pieces. It becomes plain then that the fundamental aesthetic concept setting Calder in motion is good taste—a good taste already established by others, since his shapes and especially his color stem entirely from the works of Picasso, Miró, and Arp. Good taste has its advantages, and Calder is one of our best artists. I do not think that he is in the same class as David Smith, who works in a similar medium and derives from the same ancestry, but he comes next.

Chirico is an inventor, too, not of a world but of an atmosphere and décor. A stereopticon view of a desolation clean-swept and orderly, haunted, abandoned, Graeco-Italian, etc., etc. Ichabod the glory has departed, leaving elegiac and lyric shadows in the late October sun. Not crumbling matter but the absence of people—more, the absence of animal life—signifies decay, or the embalmed immobility of their partial presence in rooms cluttered with geometrical paraphernalia. Those who lament the degeneration of Chirico's art into its present state of buff torsos, whitewashed horses, and chalk drapery would be less dismayed if they looked more searchingly. Aside from atmosphere explicitly denoted as such, the originality of these early Chiricos (1911 to 1917) lies only in the neat bisection and rebisection of space—a parody of Renaissance composition—and in the declamatory contrasts of dark and light, the light being expressed by color unusually flat with respect to the deliberately academic black of the modeling and shading. But the color is stale Florentine sugar, and the texture of the painting superficial and lifeless. Perhaps this came in part of the artist's desire to paint in the spirit of his theme; if so, he overdid it. The *alla prima* thinness expresses the defeatism of Chirico's art itself more poignantly than it does the defeat of the world conjured up by its means. His art is a literary feat sustained for only a moment's view. Then it dies—or goes on to survive best in black and white. Let me except "The Rose Tower" from the last; it is notable for its flesh pink no less than for the placing of its horizon lines, used so well to evoke melancholy.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

MUSIC

THE fact that Massine should create a ballet at all seems always to be a trial to Mr. John Martin's august patience and an occasion for his disdainful witticisms. It seems to me that Massine has established his right to create ballets, and that one can say of "Mademoiselle Angot," newly produced by the Ballet Theater, only that it is one of his failures. Massine himself—with his authoritative presence, his style, his get-up, his comic powers—provides a few exciting moments; the rest is just a hubbub which communicates nothing. What is unfortunate is that with Massine in "Mademoiselle Angot" he is out of "Capriccio Espagnol," and that Lazovsky has been withdrawn also; for without the presence and style of the one and the incandescent rhythmical agility of the other the finale of this ballet is far from the brilliant spectacle it was last year (and I have seldom witnessed music and dancing as wide apart as they were in the recent performance I saw). The other ballets on the program, "Pillar of Fire" and "Pas de Quatre," are still beautifully done (the performances of the music of these two were only normally ragged).

In this connection I might mention that the war, in bringing changes to newspaper staffs, has given New York a first-rate dance critic: Mr. Edwin Denby, who now writes for the *Herald Tribune.* I have made the point a number of times that the important thing in criticism is not the critic's final verdict that something is good or bad but his reasons for the verdict, in which we get the illuminating insights—when he has them—that are his value to us. Mr. Denby has an eye that sees; and looking at anything through this eye is an excitingly illuminating experience—the more so for the seriousness and the warm intensity that his writing communicates.

Again I must be glad that I did not anticipate the *New Yorker* reviewer's comment on the way Serkin's performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 27 No. 2 is recorded. I can recall no past horror for which he did not have a cheery word; but the present recording of the Serkin performance seems to have provoked him beyond endurance: "The piano recording, as such, isn't as clean as it could be, however."

Readers have inquired from time to time whether I intended to discuss some of the important books of the year. I do; and I regret the time it is taking me to write what I have to say about them. All criticism begins with an experience and ends with a formulation of one's response to the experience (though there is, of course, also the large amount of journalistic writing which uses words to conceal what they betray—the fact that the writer has had no experience from what he has heard or seen or read, and no response to it). And the book review —in which one must digest someone else's train of thought in order to fit it into a train of thought of one's own that both restates and evaluates it—is the form of critical writing which I happen to find the most difficult, and which takes me the most time to do. I read Dorian's "History of Music in Performance," Maisel's "Charles T. Griffes," Beecham's "Mingled Chime," Panassié's "The Real Jazz" months ago; and I expect to write about them before long.

Stokowski's "Music for All of Us" I will not discuss: after twenty-five years' observation of the Stokowski performance in action and word I cannot bring myself even to read it. I might suspect the story in broadcasting circles that Stokowski's knob-twiddling took his broadcasts off the air until he was given a dummy control panel to play with, if I had not heard myself in the recent Victor recording of Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony how his knob-twiddling took parts of the music off the records; after this, and after some of his atrocious Columbia recordings, I have no interest in Stokowski's dabblings in science. But if you want to know what he has to say in his book about the physical basis of music, here is the summary of his ideas in the review in the *Times's* Sunday book section: "When he gets around to the physical side of music Mr. Stokowski writes more illuminatingly than most musicians. For his is a bold, far-ranging, searching mind. Not content merely to study and conduct symphonies, he has gone to the roots of his art. He has made himself an expert on the science of sound. More than any other major conductor in this country he knows the science of acoustics and the possibilities of the new fields being opened by scientists. . . . Many other writers have set down their views. But Mr. Stokowski covers the field with a fresh, broad point of view. He tries to state his position as simply as he can, but he does not write down, as many expositors of music for the layman are inclined to do. He respects not only his art but his audience." And if you are interested in knowing the ideas behind Stokowski's butcheries of music in performance, "when Mr. Stokowski discourses on music structure he employs a wide and varied frame of reference. As a conductor he had to cover many epochs, schools, and nations. As a student he has concerned himself with the musical expression of all parts of the world—not merely the Occident, on which our musical culture is based, but the Orient, the South and Central American countries, and the remote cultures which have been carried down, at least partly, to our own time by such groups as the Indians of the Americas." That tells you everything.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

STUART CHASE, distinguished American economist, is the author of "The Tragedy of Waste," "The Economy of Abundance," and other books.

RALPH C. ROPER, originator of the Multiple Group Forum plan, is a New York lawyer now working for the government.

RALPH BATES, after playing an active role in the British labor movement, helped to organize the International Brigade in Spain and fought in it at the front. He is well known as a novelist and short-story writer. Among his books are "The Olive Field" and "The Undiscoverables."

SIDNEY HOOK is chairman of the department of philosophy at New York University. His latest book is "The Hero in History."

JAMES STERN is the author of two volumes of short stories, "The Heartless Land" and "Something Wrong."

Letters to the Editors

Soldiers and Democracy

Dear Sirs: I was glad to find, in your issues of the past month, letters criticizing the lack of any concrete, specific, unified attempt to educate the soldiers on the meaning of this war with fascism. I have been in the army since before Pearl Harbor; in those days the rare gabfests not concerned with girls turned to the "over the hill in October" theme. Today there is a desperate longing for some miraculous sudden end to the war, and then home and happiness forever after—no more problems, issues, struggles. And the lack of any serious training in democracy—instead of so many wasted hours of too much close-order drill, or policing up, inspection, etc.—is reflected in the talk of many soldiers who, quite simply, would quit the army tomorrow if they could get away with it. "But the Japs, the Nazis?" you ask—and they either remain sullenly silent or shrug the question off with "Aw, they won't come over."

The P. X. (Post Exchange) reading matter consists chiefly of superman books, comics, and, believe it or not, true-romance magazines. The splendid army theaters are mostly wasted with a constant parade of slick Hollywood thrillers or tenth-rate musicals. The few training films of "orientation" I have seen are too general, too vague; fascism is not concretely explained in terms of personal slavery, physical and spiritual. The Special Service officers seem incapable of anything but promoting games or sponsoring some puerile, hashed-up USO vaudeville. Any writing about the army stresses always the gags, the wisecrack angle. Is it any wonder the barracks teem either with crude sex jokes or with anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-anything-really-progressive talk?

In over two years in the army I have seen equipment become plentiful, superb, beautifully designed for its specific task; I have seen training become more and more realistic. But I have not seen any attempt whatsoever—despite the Special Orientation Course (on paper)—to take this unparalleled opportunity of teaching the farm boy and the slum boy, the Southerner and the Northerner, gathered together in one vast army, that the world extends beyond the comics and the crooner, and that democracy must be fought for after the last bomb is dropped.

Keep writing, shouting, yelling to all you can reach the sad truth that most American soldiers will fight without really knowing what all the shooting's for. ENGINEER

Somewhere in Tennessee, September 10

Mr. Ernst Again

Dear Sirs: I don't want to prolong this endeavor to get at the facts, but since I have spent a good portion of my life fighting for civil liberties I do want this little correction of the record left by X X X and Mr. Stone.

Your anonymous X X X indicted jointly the FBI and the Civil Service Commission, indicating that the *two* organizations had asked various questions without specifying which asked which. I think it is less than fair to do that kind of writing. Surely the questions were not made up out of the head of the author. Surely it would have been easy for Mr. Stone, in looking over the author's files, to state categorically which questions were asked by the FBI and which by the Civil Service Commission. The author and Mr. Stone have declined to do so. This casts doubt on the entire indictment. But now, if you please, the editorial crime is compounded. Mr. Stone, carelessly and without looking at the record, refers to two court cases as being evidence of FBI violation of civil liberties, of which one had nothing whatsoever to do with the FBI and involved an entirely separate and independent branch of the government—to wit, the Alcohol Tax Bureau agents. It's pretty serious when a recognized Washington correspondent indicts the wrong bureau. MORRIS L. ERNST

New York, September 29

—and Mr. Stone

Dear Sirs: Ernst is right about the cases; the federal agents in one of them were Alcohol Tax Unit men, not FBI men. The two cases were linked by the court, and I was wrong. However, Ernst is wrong in saying, as he did in his original letter, "I am writing to let you know that I have yet to hear of a single proved case of violation of the basic civil liberties [by the FBI]. This is close to a miracle." For the other case, the one involving the Mine, Mill, and Smelters Workers' Union, the Anderson case, was one in which the Supreme Court not only rebuked the FBI for violating basic civil liberties but threw out a conviction on that ground. To paraphrase Ernst, "It's pretty serious when a recognized champion of civil liberties overlooks an important Supreme Court decision upholding civil liberties against federal agents, in one case agents of the FBI." Ernst will find the decision discussed in a *Nation* editorial printed last March 20. I would also refer him to an editorial in *The Nation* for March 23, 1940, discussing the FBI's Gestapo-style raids on Loyalist sympathizers in Detroit.

The answer on the FBI and Civil Service Commission questions is that both organizations have on their lists of investigators too many political ignoramuses, nurtured on the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press, and both have asked the same kind of stupid question. No government employee is willing to risk his neck by questioning these men closely and then naming names to a liberal publication for transmission to the FBI via its defenders. I don't blame them. I. F. STONE

Washington, October 7

Incentive Pay

Dear Sirs: Official Washington hollers about a shortage of men. Nonsense. The "Plancor" projects are filled with make-work jobs tying up thousands of men.

Plancor is the term applied to a war project for which the government supplies the funds. The private corporation operates the plant; the products go to the government; the ownership of the plant will be decided after the war. For example Plancor 860 is a magnesium plant west of Lake Charles, Louisiana. Plancor 360 is the Butadiene refinery at Rose Bluff, Louisiana. Another is the Goodyear rubber concern near Pasadena, Texas. The total number of such war-plant projects is now in the high hundreds. Such projects as the Houston Shipyards, under the control of the United States Maritime Commission, though not called Plancors, are similarly organized.

The contract between the Houston Shipbuilding Corporation and the local painters' union prohibits the use of wide paint brushes in this shipyard where I work, although at Galveston, in a shipyard also owned by the Todd Drydock and Repair Corporation, wide brushes are used. The local union has made its own terms. Spray guns are used only on small articles of hardware which are later attached to the boat—pulley blocks, davits, cleats. No spray guns are used to paint hulls or girders or decks. Let the soldiers wait while workers make money!

Let nobody suppose that the criticisms of general lethargy are unfair, that such delays are inevitable. There is in practice in a few projects a plan which eliminates all this friction between labor and management. The constructive answer to be given all those who try to excuse delay is incentive pay. Incentive pay is the practice of employee participation, as a group, in group efficiency. Even such a person as Wilson, president of General Electric, has admitted that his company could not compete successfully with those companies that used the plan. Were incentive pay to be practiced in all war production, production would double and some phases might increase sixfold.

MAURICE H. HILTON

Houston, Tex., September 10

Why Shrink from the "League"?

Dear Sirs: Please explain to your readers the strange and absurd attitude of our statesmen and editors toward the League of Nations. Secretary Hull, in his recent address to the nation, referred to the International Court of Justice, which perhaps needs some remodeling, and fully recognized the inescapable necessity of world cooperation to maintain and enforce peace. Why, in the name of common sense, shrink from mentioning the League and its available machinery? Why not discuss candidly the inadequacies of that machinery and suggest amendments of the Covenant designed to render the League more effective than it proved to be at critical junctures; indeed, effective enough to deter gangsters from aggressive and predatory attacks upon foreign countries?

Mr. Churchill, in his Harvard address, spoke of the sad failure of the League and admitted the responsibility of America and European powers for that failure. But the blunders, now clearly perceived, can be avoided in the future. Revitalize the League, provide for the prompt use by its members of overwhelming force against a would-be aggressor, repeal the rule of unanimity as a condition of any action by the League, and you have the collective security now seen to be essential if war is really to be outlawed. Here, then, is the line of least resistance. Why do not the sincere friends of collective security and peace urge this eminently practical course? Why are they palsied by the uncritical talk of the "failure" of the League?

By the way, our own unrealistic and sentimental liberals, who rejected the League because of the horrendous element of compulsion it envisaged, might now put on sackcloth and ashes and advocate *more* compulsion rather than *less* in anti-war and security covenants. Sincerity and honesty dictate such confession of sin and conversion to sanity and rationality.

Please, *Nation* editors, open your columns to a discussion of the objections, if there are any worthy of consideration, to the revitalization of the League and complete restoration of the agencies it established and maintained. If the objections are shallow and fallacious, then come out boldly for the League and discourage the continued use of misty and obscure references to world cooperation and world organization in the interest of permanent peace.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, Cal., September 20

Teachers and Wages

Dear Sirs: The letter of Edgar B. Wesley in your issue of August 28 stirred my fighting blood when he advocated higher salaries for teachers. I have in mind salaries for teachers in rural schools in the Midwest. Let me tell a story.

Something like six or more years ago I attended a district convention of the first district of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union held in the chapel of the University of South Dakota at Vermillion. The president of the university had been requested to give an address, which was expected to be on cooperation but turned out to be on education, a subject on which he was better prepared to speak.

His speech was a very able one; it included an appeal for higher salaries for teachers. At its conclusion a young farmer sitting near me said if farmers had better prices for their produce they could pay better salaries to teachers. I raised a hand for permission to ask a question: granted. "In our two-room village school we have a teacher who is enthusiastic about teaching temperance. A sixth-grade boy once said in my hearing that the teacher had told his class that she 'personally knew Democrats who drank beer.' " I could say no more till the roar of laughter from that crowd of farmers had died away; even the president laughed till his face was red, his eyes filled with tears. Then I asked how big a salary that teacher should receive; he answered, "Doubtless there are many teachers who would be overpaid at nothing a month."

He was right; I recall the young woman from a nearby big city of Iowa called to fill a vacancy in one of our leading rural schools who had not one thing on her desk when I visited her school but a copy of the *Red Book* magazine; when I remonstrated she explained there was an excellent article on physiology in the back. I suggested she could find all such material she could use in her textbooks. By an accident she was forced to resign, and her place was taken by a leading pupil of our own county-seat high school, the only replacement available.

We need professional teachers, not "high-school kids"—girls who are earning money for attractive clothes and make-up until they can marry or young men who are stopping off a year to earn money for further study in a chosen line. All honor to the young girls who *are* doing fine work in the schoolroom, whose enthusiasm and devotion I can never forget.

I cannot be lacking in sympathy for teachers since I was called to teach young children at fifteen years of age, salary $12, back in the '70's. In the later '80's and '90's I envied the teachers getting $40, for as farm wife and mother I sold eggs as low as four cents a dozen, June butter, seven to eight cents. Before the deflation of 1920 the larger schools in our county were paying $165—$165 for nine-month terms. Wages did not fall much below that till the great depression.

I have no theories to offer; I have long been out of school work; I do understand the importance and truth of Mr. Wesley's position regarding the teaching of history and civics, the latter including principles as well as mere forms of government.

ALICE A. TOLLEFSON

Sioux City, September 20

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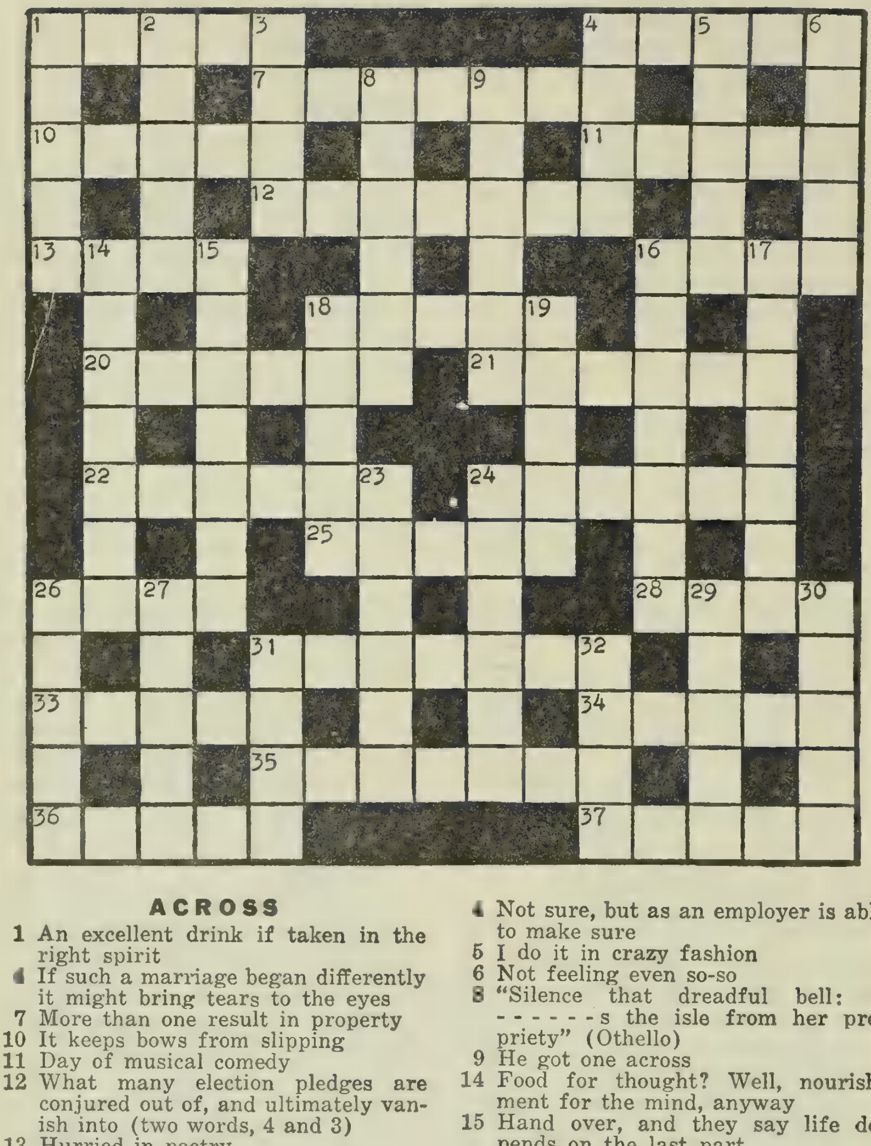
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 35

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 An excellent drink if taken in the right spirit
4 If such a marriage began differently it might bring tears to the eyes
7 More than one result in property
10 It keeps bows from slipping
11 Day of musical comedy
12 What many election pledges are conjured out of, and ultimately vanish into (two words, 4 and 3)
13 Hurried in poetry
16 Put away in twos
18 "A stab of fiery pain"
20 In which the performers trip the light fantastic toe
21 Birthday-less?
22 No McTavish was ever this, according to Ogden Nash
24 One can't avoid class distinctions here
25 It naturally attracts all of us
26 A mere title
28 Run like a hare
31 They are something between men and horses
33 The Victorian novelist the reader never finished?
34 No great good fortune attends those who rub this
35 Sent Amy for a pardon
36 One special day here, but every day in South Africa
87 Riddle you can see through

DOWN

1 Used in wireless telegraphy
2 Everybody has it yet people pride themselves on having it
8 Landlords can usually raise it if tenants can't
4 Not sure, but as an employer is able to make sure
5 I do it in crazy fashion
6 Not feeling even so-so
8 "Silence that dreadful bell: it - - - - - - s the isle from her propriety" (Othello)
9 He got one across
14 Food for thought? Well, nourishment for the mind, anyway
15 Hand over, and they say life depends on the last part
16 Doubtless this bird often gets salt on its tail
17 Lie over
18 Tight either in the past, present or future
19 Make a mess of
23 Toughen
24 They want some getting over
26 His rod had wonderful powers
27 Not fit to doze in it
29 There's something in the seaside air! This, perhaps
30 Bird in a glee
31 Different kinds of beer upset this animal
82 Puts down

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—I BLUEBOTTLE; 6 AMID; 10 LETTERS; 11 ATTIRES; 12 RUM START; 13 OWING; 15 NAHUM; 17 IN SILENCE; 19 MEDIATION; 21 RIVAL; 23 LICIT; 24 POSITIVE; 27 UNARMED; 28 ORGANON; 29 AMEN; 30 LEATHERING.

DOWN:—1 BALL; [illegible] UNTRUTH; 3 BREWS; 4 TOSCANINI; 5 LEAST; 7 MARMION; 8 DESIGNEDLY; 9 STROLLER; 14 ANIMALCULA; 16 MEAL TIME; 18 SAND-SPOUT; 20 DECLARE; 22 VIVENDI; 24 PADRE; 25 TOGUE; 26 SNUG.

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE RED ARMY'S SUCCESSFUL BREACHING of the Dnieper line is a convincing demonstration both of its tremendous *élan* and of brilliant organization and leadership. When the Germans retired on this line in good order they took up a defensive position which, as Donald W. Mitchell points out on another page, they had every incentive to hold. And they had reason to expect a pause enabling them to catch their breaths if only because the Russians, after advancing rapidly over a huge area of twice-scorched earth, might reasonably have been expected to spend many weeks in improving their communications before resuming the offensive. However, after a very brief lull, the Germans found themselves being hit, and hit hard, in many different parts of the line. Russian bridgeheads established on both sides of Kiev suggested that the recapture of that great city was a primary objective. But then came a furious attack on Melitopol, near the Sea of Azov, which was captured after many days of terrific fighting, accompanied by the driving of a wedge deep into the enemy lines north and east of the great Dnieper dam. As a result the one German line of retreat from the Crimea is endangered and a Russian victory comparable to Stalingrad in the making.

*

ON HIS RETURN TO ITALY AFTER MANY years of exile, Count Sforza declared that he had come back as a private citizen whose only interest was in helping to win the war against Germany. Until that goal was reached he would not, he said, proclaim for any party nor would he join the Badoglio or any other government not chosen by the Italian people. It seems probable that he will have great difficulty in adhering to this self-denying course. Strong pressures, we expect, will be used to persuade him to lend his prestige to the Badoglio government, which badly needs some respectable liberal trimmings. There have even been suggestions that he might be appointed Prime Minister and Badoglio relegated to the position of War Minister or Commander-in-Chief. If he resists these pressures—and we would expect him to unless he is given full power to choose his associates in the government—he is likely to be drawn toward the Partito d'Azione (Action Party) which, uniting a large number of democratic groups, is claiming him as its leader. Although the Anglo-American authorities appear to believe that Italy can remain a political vacuum until the war is over it is obvious that, even if the present regime is accepted as a military expedient, preparation must be made for the promised day when Italians can once again choose their own government.

*

POLITICAL DISCUSSION AND AGITATION IN Italy was growing even before the fall of Mussolini but it had to stay underground. If the Badoglio government attempts to suppress it it will continue underground. Will the Allied Military Mission, which is the de facto power behind the throne, then sanction the use of Gestapo-like methods to stamp it out? The issue may be brought to a head by the arrest of three prominent liberals in Apulia for issuing a clandestine newspaper. Since the only authorized journal is the official government sheet, no other method of disseminating their views was open to them. According to Herbert L. Matthews, the New York *Times* correspondent, neither the Badoglio government nor the Allied Military Mission is eager to accept responsibility for this action, which is laid at the door of a local authority. But obviously this kind of excuse will hold water only if the men are immediately released. As we cannot believe that the Allies will, in fact, permit freedom of discussion to be fought by terror, they will be compelled to insist either that the Badoglio government turn a blind eye to "illegal" political activities or that it remove a curb which cannot be enforced or defended.

*

THE ARGENTINE COLONELS WHO, AS MANUEL Seoane pointed out in *The Nation* of October 16, are the power behind the Ramirez regime, appear to be as profoundly stupid as they are reactionary. If they had seized the opportunity, when they overthrew the Castillo government, to join with the United Nations they could have pursued their program of domestic fascism with no questions asked. After all, neither the State Department nor the British Foreign Office has been unduly fussy about the democratic credentials of nations which elected to fight the Axis. Even if Argentina's part in the war had been little more than nominal, it would probably have obtained the arms which its military so eagerly desire to give it equality with Brazil. But the Colonels were emotionally tied to the Axis and had no desire to hasten the break. So the government attempted to get a promise of arms from Washington without committing itself. The result was a snub which made it impossible for Ramirez to end the neutrality policy without appearing to yield to United States pressure and so "losing face." The Cabinet split on the issue, and the proponents of adherence to the United Nations resigned. Colonel Alberto Gilbert, who is said to have given a pledge that there would be no break with the Axis so long as he was in the Cabinet, has been promoted from Minister of the Interior to Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a notorious anti-Semite has been made Minister of Justice. These moves have not strengthened the government's prestige, and public criticism is growing bolder despite stringent censorship and concentration camps. A manifesto signed by 150 leading citizens has called for "effective democracy" and "loyal fulfilment of international obligations." All signatories holding public positions have been dismissed, but this revengeful step has only led to new protests and increased agitation.

*

ONCE MORE THE PRESIDENT HAS TAKEN THE helm at a critical moment. As in the gloomy days of last June when the farm bloc was riding high in Congress, he has served notice that the present price line must be held and has presented a vigorous defense for subsidies as the most effective way of holding it. As the President has pointed out, the farmers have been getting subsidies for a decade, and no one has suffered any of the dire consequences predicted by the farm-bloc leaders. The recent action of the House Banking Committee terminating most subsidies on December 31, if upheld in Congress, would destroy all possibility of maintaining the present OPA ceilings and intensify labor's growing discontent. In an effort to hold off labor's demands until he has won his subsidy fight, the President held a long conference last week with the leaders of the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., and the railway brotherhoods. Taking account of criticism which has been leveled at the cost-of-living index prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Mr. Roosevelt agreed to have a committee appointed to check its adequacy; he did not, however, consent to a revision of the Little Steel formula under present conditions. The President has shown statesmanship in his initial efforts to stave off disaster, but he will need the support of every patriotic citizen if he is once more to be successful.

*

VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE APPARENTLY PUT his finger on an extremely sore point when he denounced railway and transportation monopolies in his recent speech at Dallas. Railway spokesmen and conservative newspapers have gone to great lengths to describe the charges as "old stuff" that have been "answered time after time." Their replies have, however, scarcely touched Mr. Wallace's main allegations, which were: (1) that discriminatory rates are keeping the South and West in a colonial status; (2) that newer forms of transportation are being brought under monopoly control; and (3) that monopolistic conditions in transportation are fostering monopolies in industry. On the question of rates, Mr. Wallace advanced a number of specific examples to show how Southern and Western industry is handicapped in competition with similar industries in the North and East. The railways do not deny the accuracy of Wallace's figures; they seek refuge in the fact that all rates must be reviewed by the Interstate Commerce Commission—a body which has seldom distinguished itself by zeal or independence in dealing with this admittedly thorny question. Many of Mr. Wallace's hearers could probably have contributed from first-hand experience supplementary data to prove his final contention regarding the effectiveness of transportation in fostering other monopolies. For nearly every Texan is aware of the decisive role of the railways in the struggle between the great oil companies and the independents. Politically, the speech was an extraordinarily astute one —a fitting answer to those who have been trying to count Mr. Wallace out for 1944.

*

FOES OF THE FEDERAL-AID-TO-EDUCATION bill succeeded in frustrating ten years of effort to equalize educational opportunity in the United States by a last-minute trick of unusually knavish character. Until the last two hours of debate it seemed certain that the bill providing $300,000,000 annually to pay increased salaries for teachers and otherwise strengthen education in the poorer states by federal assistance would be enacted with the support of the Southern Democrats whose states would be the chief beneficiaries. But Senator Langer, with the urgent backing of Senator Taft—chief opponent of the bill—threw the Senate into confusion by introducing an amendment forbidding racial discrimination in the administration not only of the federal funds but also of the state funds they would supplement. Senator Langer insisted that his amendment was essential for the protection of Negro rights and had the backing of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Actually, the N.A.A.C.P. had sent a telegram to the Senate opposing such an amendment, but the maneuver succeeded. Enough Senators favoring equal rights for Negroes joined the opponents of the bill to pass the amendment forty to thirty-seven. Thereupon the Southern Democrats joined with the bill's foes to scuttle the measure altogether. Incidentally, Senator Taft, who was chiefly responsible for the amendment that would have throttled all control by the states over their educational funds was chairman of the committee which drafted the states' rights declaration at the recent Mackinac Island conference. Senator Taft's assertion that "no one can claim that the amount of money Ohio spends on students is not sufficient for an adequate education" is also interesting in view of the fact that all four of Taft's sons were sent out of the state to receive their education in private schools.

FOR TWENTY YEARS CZECHOSLOVAKIA served as a citadel of enlightenment in an area bristling with reaction and aggressive nationalism. For five years Czechoslovakia has been a symbol of implacable resistance. Betrayed by its friends and overrun by the enemy, the Czech nation has neither yielded to despair nor accepted the terms of the conqueror. It has fought back within its own borders, in the armies of its allies, in its own courageous heart. The Czechs are an admirable people, and on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic they deserve not only homage but a pledge of atonement by the whole democratic world.

Cash-Register Spirit

A SENATE investigation into lend-lease which was really anxious to get at the facts might prove very useful. It could help to make the public better informed about the objectives of the lend-lease agreements with our allies and give some much-needed publicity to the intangible as well as the tangible returns which it is bringing us. It could inquire judicially into many rumors that now pervade and poison the atmosphere of Washington. Have shipments of goods been used for purposes which do not contribute to the war effort? Have our deliveries matched our commitments? Have materials or equipment been held back to satisfy private interests in this country? Has there been waste, inefficiency, or corruption in the administration of lend-lease? Such matters are the legitimate province of the legislative watchdog, provided its inquiries are carried out in a judicial, responsible, and generous spirit.

But who can hope that an investigation in which Senator Gerald P. Nye appears scheduled to play a leading part will be imbued with such a spirit? Nye has been opposed to lend-lease from the beginning, and he has repeatedly made it clear that, while he grudgingly accepts the fact that we are at war with Germany and Japan, his personal battle is against Britain and Russia.

Moreover, the investigation has been launched under cover of carping criticism and unworthy suspicion. Its original author was Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska, who has expressed his own sentiments about lend-lease by calling it "the most colossal dole of all time." It has of course had the support of Senator Burton K. Wheeler, who prejudged the issue by declaring, "The giving away of taxpayers' money lavishly to every Tom, Dick, and Harry who wants it and asks for it is little less than criminal."

Another source of inspiration was the recent statement by Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, who sought to prove statistically that "we have been the sucker in the *nth* degree." Even if his figures had been accurate, they were wholly irrelevant, for in making comparisons between American war expenditures and debts and those of our allies he failed to take into account differences in population, resources, or national wealth. One of his complaints, for instance, was that American lend-lease expenditure of $1,250,000,000 monthly totaled on an annual basis only $3,000,000,000 less than the whole British yearly war bill. In this case he seems to have confused appropriations with actual expenditures, for total United States lend-lease shipments to all recipients up to June 30 of this year amounted to only $4,262,468,000.

In any case lend-lease cannot be discussed in bookkeeping terms except on the premises of the "iso-nationalists." Their basic assumption is that this war is not our war but a struggle we are waging solely for the sake of foreign nations who are certain to prove ungrateful. The fact that Britain and Russia held off the enemy and gave us time to prepare means nothing to them. Only dollars and cents count.

Is it not time these cash-register views were vigorously repudiated? Is it not time that this picture of Uncle Sam as a noble and naive philanthropist turning out his pockets for the sake of swindling bums was scrapped? Let us remember the parable of the widow's mite. When America has contributed to the common cause as great a proportion of its resources as have its allies, when its standard of living has been reduced in the same degree as theirs, when its sacrifice of lives is on a similar scale —then it will be time enough to cast up accounts.

G.O.P. Tax Policy

THE danger of a complete home-front débâcle in the vital struggle against inflation must be regarded as imminent as a result of the open revolt of House and Senate Republicans against any tax program that is at all adequate. If we hold to the military analogy, the action of the Republicans can only be described as desertion under fire. In its eagerness to find a political issue that would embarrass the Democrats in 1944, the Republican Party appears to have thrown aside not only caution but all consideration for the well-being of the American people. Not content with having endangered the entire price-control mechanism by advocating higher prices for farmers while opposing subsidies, the Congressional Republicans would now abandon the key to anti-inflation defenses—the reabsorption of excess buying power through taxation.

We need not repeat at this time the basic economic reasons why higher taxes are essential. Secretary Morgenthau and Director of Economic Stabilization Vinson have described the threat of inflation to the Ways and Means Committee of the House as clearly as it is humanly possible to do so. The President has repeatedly warned Congress that all other anti-inflation measures must fail if taxes are not increased. We cannot believe that the Republican leadership is so dim of understanding that it is unable to follow the simple arithmetical calculations that point inescapably to inflation if the excess consumer buying power is not absorbed. Yet in a minority statement issued by Representative Knutson of Minnesota, the Republicans oppose a further tax increase on the ground that it would bring about a liquidation of the middle class and would be "inflationary." Such an increase, they declare, would "inevitably lead to a demand for higher wages to meet the increased tax burden."

At first glance this statement is just plausible enough to make it an effective, if thoroughly dishonest, piece of demagoguery. It is dishonest because Secretary Morgenthau presented the committee with figures showing that the American public, chiefly the middle class, will have roughly $42 billion in excess spending power left after taxes and after buying all the goods that can be produced in war time. The figures check closely with estimates made by competent non-partisan agencies. Even more patently dishonest is the argument that higher taxes will cause demands for higher wages. The essence of the Treasury's tax proposals lay in the fact that they did not increase the burden on the wage-earners in the lowest bracket—those earning $2,000 a year and under. Instead, the principal burden would fall on those with incomes ranging between $5,000 and $25,000 a year—which is precisely the group that possesses the bulk of the $42 billion excess spending power. When Mr. Knutson referred to the possibility of increased taxes leading to demands for higher wages, he doubtless had in mind the sharp warning of President Murray of the C. I. O. that labor would insist on a wage rise to offset the impact of a sales tax. This merely bears out our contention that the sales tax is peculiarly ineffective as an anti-inflation weapon because it fails to tap the real sources of excess income while placing a heavy burden on those least able to bear it.

The Republican demand that the President drop his war duties and "forthwith proceed to set governmental finances in order by effecting needed economies . . . which would obviate the necessity for . . . taxes" is not meant to be taken too seriously. It is always good politics to call for economy just before an election, particularly if it is known that such economies cannot be achieved by the party in power. We sympathize of course with the desire to eliminate all unnecessary waste in the war effort. But the practical possibilities of reducing expenditures at this time, regardless of administration, are insignificant as compared with the need for mopping up the surplus spending power which is already in people's pockets. This basic fact must be grasped not only by members of Congress but by the people back home.

The Moscow Conference

TWO months ago an experienced European statesman in London said to me: "First a second front. After that the other problems will be easy to solve. Without that nothing can be solved." He scouted the notion that second-front talk was primarily for propaganda or bargaining purposes. "The demand for a second front is a demand that the Western powers fight Hitler as totally and fiercely as Russia is doing. It is what it appears at face value."

"But what is the use," I asked, "of pressing a demand when you know the answer? Stalin had been kept informed of Allied military plans. If a second front has been decided upon for this autumn, it will happen without any further pressure. If it is not scheduled, it will not happen. So the demand must be either propaganda or rhetoric. And Russian diplomacy doesn't go in for rhetoric. It seems to me that the Russians are reminding the world, deliberately and for the record, that they have carried the major load for two years. That record will be useful when an accounting comes."

"No," he said, "I assure you the thing is both more and less simple than that. The Russians are suspicious to begin with. They never for one hour forget that the Western powers hoped to divert Hitler's aggression against them. They are under no illusions about the sentiments they inspire in important quarters in your great country. They suspect that even now Britain and the United States are not unwilling to let Russian blood flow —to defeat Hitler as far as possible by Russian arms. In any case they think both nations are too slow, too fearful of risk, more anxious to save the lives of their own troops than to end the war quickly. And it infuriates them to have Sicily held up in the press as a 'second front.' They look upon Allied operations there as a small side-show made possible by their overwhelming offensive in the East. One Russian officer here in London said a rather brutal thing the other day. But it's graphic. He said, 'Allied tanks in Sicily are fueled with the blood of Russian soldiers.' The agony of Russia, its ten million dead, its razed towns and factories, must be taken into account when you try to analyze the demand for a second front.

"But the idea I wanted to give you," he said, "is that a front in Western Europe—a *major* offensive against Hitler—has become for Russia a profound test of Allied capacity and good faith. If it happens, Stalin will be ready to sit down at a table with the rest of them. Until it happens—well, he may agree to a conference, but it will be for one purpose; to demand a second front."

When these words were spoken, the Quebec conference was still going on and the British press was demanding a three-power meeting without further delay. Now the foreign ministers of the three nations are conferring, and the first item on the Russian agenda laid before the first session of the Moscow conference was, we are told, the question of a second front. According to Anne O'Hare McCormick, this subject was, in fact, dealt with ahead of those proposed by the other delegates.

Was a new promise made by Messrs. Hull and Eden and accepted, in spite of past disappointments, by Mr. Molotoff? If so, then the other pressing problems stand a better chance of satisfactory solution. For the Russians will approach them with confidence instead of suspicion and resentment. The first of these is the political problem that faces the great powers in the liberated countries of Europe. The second, firmly linked to it, is the problem of organizing security. If Russia follows its own interests, and its own lead, it will insist upon new methods of dealing with the internal political situation in each country. With admirable consistency, the Soviet Government has given encouragement and, where possible, open support to the most vigorous anti-Axis elements all over Europe. Where the United States and Britain have signally failed to use the underground movements, particularly in the satellite and Axis countries, Russia has reached in and worked with them. The tactic of attempting to subvert and use Axis supporters has never appealed to the Russians. They see their national security best protected by a Europe in which popular governments predominate. They fear, and with good reason, a continent ruled by Francos and Pétains. Just once has the Soviet government deviated from its support of the democratic forces: when it joined with Britain and America in accepting as a co-belligerent the present Italian regime. Whether this move was an overture to its Allies on the eve of the conference, or whether Stalin believes that military ends will be served by the agreement with Badoglio, one cannot say. But in view of the record of the Soviet Union, it seems safe to assume that even while Stalin formally acquiesces in the status quo, he is helping prepare the way for its ultimate collapse.

In any case the hope of a workable system of collective security in Europe waits upon the overthrow of the reactionary centers of power—whether they derive their authority from Hitler or from the invading Allies. This Russia knows. But it is hard to believe that Mr. Hull, who has strongly and even intemperately defended every act of the State Department in these matters, will be able to meet the more realistic desires of his Russian colleagues.

If he fails to do so, the conference might as well adjourn. For even the most unqualified agreements for postwar cooperation will collapse in the face of a Europe which feels itself betrayed by the very powers that promised its liberation. No Badoglio governments will survive an Allied victory unless Allied arms are used to defend them. And a security system erected on foundations shaken with revolt and civil war is not worth concocting.

With the Senate still haggling over the vague clauses of the Connally resolution, Mr. Hull is in no position to commit this country to any definite program of collective action. At most he can express the views of the Administration. Perhaps this is not as unfortunate as it appears on the surface. Much ground will have to be cleared, the accumulated trash of appeasement and reaction will have to be gathered up and thrown away, before collective security can amount to anything more than a pious wish. And Europe is fed up with America's pious wishes. F. K.

Diary of the Future

BY VERNON BARTLETT

1. Vacuum in Germany

THIS diary is a rash attempt to write history before it has happened. After the collapse of Germany there will be many opportunities for my less friendly readers to write in to tell me that my forecasts have been disproved. It will be easy to be wise after the event—as I put down these words I have no idea when or where the Allied attack will be made. But in recording these imaginary events from the moment of the collapse of Germany I have tried to avoid anything so sensational as to be improbable. The happenings are depressing; so they will be, unless we in the great democracies prove worthy of our system of government. They constitute a cautionary tale.

Tomorrow *always* comes. We are preparing for it, making it, by every one of our actions today. The United States prepared for Pearl Harbor by its rejection of the League of Nations. Great Britain prepared for Dunkirk by its excuses in Geneva for Japan's attack on Manchuria in 1931 and 1932. Men in every country who talked glibly about "freedom" and "democracy" prepared for fascism by their selfish and lazy interpretation of those words. I cannot do better than quote a sentence by Philip Gribble: "Today is yesterday's effect and tomorrow's cause, and not merely yesterday's future and tomorrow's history."

June 30. Gerald Barry, editor of the *News Chronicle*, rang me up at three this morning. Willy Forrest, cabling from G. H. Q., has confirmed a midnight report from Berne that the German army in southern Austria has surrendered. The B. B. C. 7 a. m. news merely announced that the Allied forces had crossed the Loibl Pass and two other passes over the Karawanken Alps and had captured Klagenfurt. In other sectors there is tough German resistance.

A day of wild rumors. The Cabinet met twice. It appears that the Allies are hesitating to announce the news, for they don't yet know how much attention to pay to this army surrender and whether it has taken place in agreement with the German Supreme Command. The Prime Minister's car was stopped by a large crowd in Whitehall and he stood on the running-board, gave the *V* sign for victory, and promised that there would be good news within the next forty-eight hours.

Stayed late at the office. Reports from all over the place about serious rioting in Vienna, with the police refusing to fire on the crowds.

July 1. The 7 a. m. news bulletin contained a special announcement urging everybody to listen to the 1 p. m. news, when the Prime Minister would broadcast. Secret session of the House of Commons, at which we were given the contents of this broadcast. Allied troops are advancing into Austria and are meeting with no resistance. One German corps commander and five divisional commanders have surrendered. No news has been received from German G. H. Q., but Dr. Goebbels broadcast an impassioned appeal to workers and civil servants to carry on. There must not be another "stab in the back," he urged, and added that the German armies were still fighting successfully except in Austria, where some units, consisting of cowards and traitors, had surrendered.

The P. M.'s broadcast insisted that the German surrender was to be expected within a few hours; that when it came, it must be unconditional; that the armies of the United Nations would march victoriously through Berlin; that work must go on in our factories and offices with greater energy than ever; that the time was drawing near when we should have the opportunity of showing our gratitude to the United States by hastening the defeat of its principal enemy, Japan; and that we must not forget the humiliations we had suffered in Hongkong, Malaya, Burma, and Singapore.

The appeal to go back to work was not very successful. All traffic had to be diverted this evening from the Piccadilly district. Rain helped to prevent much in the way of rowdyism, but I saw a good many men in Allied uniforms being carried across Leicester Square.

July 2. Apparently there's some dispute as to whether we should march into Germany as soon as we can or whether we should try to delay things until there's been a good deal of the inevitable blood-letting, both inside Germany and in the occupied countries. Hundreds or thousands of Nazis and dozens or hundreds of Quislings will be murdered by the people they have oppressed, and we don't want to interfere except, perhaps, to take into custody the more notorious war criminals. Even in their case, if some of them were to be shot by their own compatriots we should be relieved of a very difficult problem. But if troops are on the spot, they must almost inevitably maintain order. Therefore the British Cabinet is supposed to want days or even weeks to elapse before our men march into Berlin, and the generals are supposed to want to march there without delay. There is talk of a not very satisfactory compromise—small detachments will take over government offices and so on, but will remain as inconspicuous as possible, especially when there's any shooting going on. This seems weak and undignified, but it's thought to be the most sensible solution.

July 3. The end is very near. Revolts in France, Poland, and other occupied countries. According to Swiss reports, the German soldiers in many French towns did nothing to stop the rioting. In Paris there has been some shooting. In Brussels many Germans, still in uniform, tried to join up with a Flemish procession marching along the Rue de la Loi carrying anti-German banners. A "Free Belgian" broadcasting station, using the wave length of the regular Brussels station, suddenly began broadcasting tonight. It stated that all Germans had disappeared from the streets, and that the German military governor had appealed to the burgomaster for protection. That nasty little Rexist leader, Léon Degrelle, has been shot, but the wound is not serious. No hospital in Brussels wanted to take him in.

A meeting of the United Nations governments established in London was called at St. James's Palace to discuss the distribution of supplies in Europe. Eden in the chair. Each government naturally very anxious to have the distribution in its own hands, in order to increase its chance of remaining in power. All this, of course, has been argued out before, and the British and American delegates—especially the latter—were not at all enthusiastic. They argued that speed and efficiency were for the time being more important than politics. Am told the meeting was very noisy. The Soviet ambassador supported Anglo-American opposition to the smaller powers but left the impression that he did so because his government wished to help leaders of the resistance movements in the occupied countries rather than the governments in exile.

July 4. The situation inside Germany seems to be chaotic. In places, especially on the eastern front, the army is still fighting vigorously, but Allied troops have taken over Vienna and armored cars are reported to have advanced up the Danube as far as Linz. The civil administration is crumbling. Something very like the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils of the last few days of the last war have been established in Hamburg and various cities of the Ruhr. Our aircraft have been on very widespread sweeps over Germany and have met with practically no antiaircraft fire. Dropped millions of leaflets telling the people to stop the war.

July 5. Fourteen solid hours of debate in the House of Commons, and, even so, many of us never had a chance to put forward our own particular solutions of the problems of peace. The Prime Minister, of course, had a terrific welcome, and nobody protested when people in the public gallery broke all the rules by clapping and cheering. He even looked up and with a broad grin on his face waved his bundle of papers at them.

In the early part of his speech, when he was talking about the way the support of Parliament had given the government strength throughout the difficult years since that day in 1940 when it had been promised toil, blood, tears, and sweat, I thought he was going to break down. But he turned quickly to practical matters. He warned us that we must not expect an immediate relaxation of food or other restrictions, and that some rationed foods might even have to be cut down for the time being, since the needs of the occupied countries of Europe would be so urgent. Then he announced that some categories of married men with families—especially those with long service—and key men for peace-time industries would at once be demobilized. There was so much discussion of this in the debate, so much rejoicing about it, that inevitably many Americans will conclude that we aren't sufficiently determined to play our full part in defeating Japan.

July 6. German divisions surrendering all over the place. Brigadier Geoffrey Neville, who has had to tell the press a good many depressing things at his daily conferences at the Ministry of Information during the last few years, let himself go this morning. Said that the prisoners now numbered well over a quarter of a million. The Russians are making great progress in their northern and central sectors.

Still no word from the German Supreme Command or from Hitler. Not even an appeal to go on fighting. The Swedish legation has a dispatch that none of the really important generals will make himself hated by asking for and accepting our terms. Also that crowds have been marching down the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin yelling for peace.

July 7. Allied troops are in Munich and Frankfurt. Millions of leaflets have been dropped in Berlin warning the people that the Allies will be there within a few days, promising them that they will not be harmed if they obey our orders at once, but threatening death to anybody who is subsequently convicted of aiding any Nazi, of the rank of *Gauleiter* upward, to escape. Saw Bill Shirer in Fleet Street. He is just off to Munich for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

July 8. The Munich and Frankfurt jobs were done by air-borne divisions. A bunch of men were also landed at Salzburg, and advanced on Hitler's home just outside Berchtesgaden. They met with no resistance of any kind, but they found the famous bronze doors of Hitler's hideout closed and were compelled to blow them up. The whole villa was empty. In Hitler's large study papers were scattered over the floor, and many had been burnt in the stove.

An awkward article in the *Daily Worker* saying that the Anglo-American desire to get to Berlin as soon as possible is due above all to the desire to get there before the Russians.

July 9. Hitler is dead. He was apparently flying to Spain or South America, and something must have gone wrong with the aircraft. It tried to land at Cologne, but the airfield was being so heavily plastered by American bombers that the pilot turned back and made a forced landing in a large field near Bochum. Although Hitler had shaved off his moustache, he was recognized by some of the workers who came to the rescue. They grabbed him, shot the pilot who tried to defend him, and after a short debate dragged him off to their works and threw him into a great caldron of molten metal. Not very nice, but quite nice enough for a man who has brought unparalleled misery to the world.

There's a sense of relief that he has been dealt with by his own people. It saves the business of a trial in which a mean criminal might have become a national martyr. Another Swedish report is that Göring has committed suicide in front of the memorial to his first wife at Karinhall. Many thousands of war criminals are to be sent to Sachsenhausen and other concentration camps, but I hear tonight that the former inhabitants are not automatically to be set at liberty. They are to be held by the orders of AMG. Why? Apparently they might not be "politically safe." This is not by any means the only indication of reaction. The *Daily Worker* published this morning an angry and obviously inspired article claiming that the Soviet government has not been consulted about the conditions of the occupation of Germany. The Russians, who have their own bunch of "Free Germans," even less representative than our own, are reported to be advancing at great speed westward into Poland. People in London are greatly worried lest there should be incidents between them and the provisional Polish government, which is getting ready to fly back to Warsaw.

July 11. Excellent broadcast from Bill Shirer in Munich, relayed by the British Broadcasting Corporation. He described the taking over of official buildings. Crowds had been apathetic or, in some cases, welcoming. When the flags of the United Nations were hoisted over the building where Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain, and Daladier had signed the Munich agreement to dismember Czechoslovakia, one man shouted "Heil Hitler!" and was lynched by the crowd before Allied soldiers could reach him. In the working-class districts some red flags appeared, and Shirer described how he saw some youths chalking up the letters K. P. D. (German Communist Party) on the walls of the royal palace.

He mentioned the complications caused by the fact that we have no United Nations flag. There seems to be no agreement as to which flag is to be hoisted first, how many of them are to be flown, and how room is to be found for the flags of all the United Nations. Besides, one flag would help to show the Germans how they have united the world against them.

July 12. Goebbels has been arrested in Frankfurt. He had given a "pep talk" there a few hours before the air-borne division arrived, and was taken by surprise. The head porter at the hotel wanted to give him up to the Allies and suggested to other members of the staff that they should lock him in his rooms. One waiter told some officers with Goebbels, who shot the head porter out of hand. This so enraged other members of the hotel personnel that two of them followed Goebbels to a private house where he hoped to hide for a few days and others went to warn British officers. The house was surrounded, and Goebbels was captured without the firing of a single shot.

July 14. The Czechoslovak government is back in Prague. President Benes arrived by air and drove in an open car through the Vaclavske Namesti and across the Charles Bridge to the Hradschin Castle. Extraordinary scenes of enthusiasm. I believe the Norwegians, with King Haakon, are now somewhere in their own country, but the moment has not yet arrived for them to come out into the open. Went round to see the Belgian Minister of Information and gained the impression that they are on the point of leaving. He told me that there has been a lot of shooting in Antwerp, and that the Germans have set up machine-guns all the way down the Place de Meir.

There won't be an all-inclusive Allied military occupation of Germany. It will be almost entirely an Anglo-American job, as the European Allies will need their national contingents in their own countries, at least during the first few weeks. At the most, there will be one or two "token" contingents.

Disquieting dispatches from Washington in the morning's papers. There was a very angry debate yesterday in the House of Representatives, organized by the same old group of diehards and isolationists. The Prime Minister's speech in the House of Commons is being interpreted, very unfairly, as an indication that the British are going to slacken off in their efforts against Japan. Geoffrey Parsons has sent a long dispatch to the *Herald Tribune* explaining how natural it is that we in Britain should rejoice that the danger of German bombs has been removed, but he fears the influence of the strong German groups in America. Ed Murrow of the C. B. S. says the British government's decision to demobilize certain groups from the army has created the worst possible impression in America, although the Administration in Washington knew of the plan in advance and approved of it, especially in view of the fact that we are now expected to increase our production in order to help in sending urgent supplies to Europe. It is said that the Cabinet is very worried by the violence of this attack in Congress, which is attributed only in part to the old desire to use anti-British or any other prejudice as a stick with which to beat the President.

July 15. The Prime Minister was asked in the House of Commons about peace negotiations. He said that he was in consultation with Washington and Moscow and that a preliminary conference would be held as soon as possible. He could not yet say when and where, which is fairly obvious since Germany still has not surrendered. He made it clear that the final peace would not be negotiated for a long time anyhow—presumably after the defeat of the Japanese.

Heard another broadcast by Bill Shirer. There seems to be a kind of vacuum in Germany—nobody, in uniform or out of it, takes any responsibility. Some people had expected that the German General Staff would ask for terms without delay in order to avoid serious fighting on German soil. But it now looks as though the generals weren't going to do anything so definite. Like old soldiers in the song, they simply fade away. In some sectors there's still stiff fighting in progress, but in others our motorized divisions advance as they please. If it goes on like this, the problem of establishing order again is going to be very difficult. Shirer pointed out that after the last war twenty-five Americans were able to organize the distribution of a million meals a day, but to do that the civil administration must still be working efficiently. It isn't, at any rate in Munich, Augsburg, and other cities he has visited.

[*The second instalment of Mr. Bartlett's diary will appear next week.*]

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE OVERTHROW of the existing protection to silver-mining is the necessary first step in coming to close quarters with McKinley and his abominations.—*October 2, 1893.*

TO OLD OXFORD MEN the news of Jowett's death brings a peculiar sense of desolation. . . . It is a commonplace to say that Jowett made Plato an English classic, but it is true. —*October 12, 1893.*

THE NEW CHINESE-EXCLUSION LAW reported on Wednesday week by Congressman McCleary, and passed on Monday almost unanimously, makes some approach to humanity and decency, as may be inferred from the fact that Congressman Geary of California opposed it. Luckily, his sand-lots arguments and threats did not prove as formidable as they were a year ago. It is to be presumed, moreover, that the amendments . . . are acceptable to the Chinese government, in the sense that they are the most to be hoped for at present.—*October 19, 1893.*

AT THE VERY OPENING of the football season Mr. Walter Camp, speaking of some of the gloomy aspects of the outlook, referred to a horrible rumor that the Yale faculty would not allow the Yale team to play the annual Thanksgiving game with Princeton in this city. This was on account of the orgies of the students after last year's game. Mr. Camp could only say that the rumor ought to be sufficient to make every loyal Yale man take a vow that he would not be seen in the streets of New York on Thanksgiving night either drunk or disorderly.—*October 19, 1893.*

NOTES: The fall list of Charles Scribner's Sons includes "An Old Master, and Other Political Essays," by Professor Woodrow Wilson. . . . In "How to Judge a Horse," by Captain F. W. Bach (William R. Jenkins), we have a treatise of really practical convenience.—*October 19, 1893.*

WHAT MAGIC ART can Herbert Spencer practice to render his books so marvelously dull? . . . He artfully induces the reader to relax the muscles of the mind until nothing hinders the last stages of narcosis but the irritation produced by the Spenceresque diction. That, for all this, people read him is a great compliment to him and a great credit to them.—*October 19, 1893.*

COUNT TAAFFE'S BILL to extend the suffrage in Austria may be said to be one of the results of the successful struggle for universal suffrage in Belgium last spring. From Brussels the agitation was immediately transferred to Vienna, and all through the summer meetings were held and an active propaganda carried on to secure for the lower classes in Austria what had been won by the Belgian workingmen. There was, of course, the latent threat all along to resort to the same methods as had been employed in Belgium of public disorder and a universal strike.—*October 26, 1893.*

BURLINGAME

Hitler Fights for Time

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

IN THE American Civil War the tide turned in 1863 at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. But the South kept up a stubborn and terribly expensive struggle for nearly two more years, hoping that aid from some unforeseen source would prevent complete defeat or that its exhausted foe would give up the fight short of victory. Germany today is in the position of the South some eighty years ago. Stalingrad, Alamein, the Caucasus, Tunisia, Sicily, the air war and the U-boat losses have sapped its strength and made victory a forlorn hope. But the Nazis still command huge, well-disciplined land armies, can provide able leadership, and can counterattack with a good deal of force in many sectors. They can also hope that war weariness or division among their enemies will let them escape final defeat. Meanwhile, in the Nazis' attempt to hold the Dnieper line, in their improved defenses against air raids, and in their renewal of the U-boat struggle can be seen frantic efforts to prevent disaster.

Both in the air and at sea the Germans are now employing recently improved techniques. The latest torpedoes with their use of magnetic and acoustic principles and their larger load of explosives are a much more formidable weapon than those manufactured earlier in the war. From the limited information available regarding them it is clear that they inflict extremely heavy losses on convoys when used by large U-boat packs.

Nevertheless, at this stage the new weapon represents nothing more than a nuisance to the United Nations. Had it been used a year or even six months ago it might have altered the outcome of the war. But the U-boats' inability during the earlier months of 1943 to sink as many ships as were being built has enabled us to accumulate a huge pool of shipping for offensives in various parts of the globe. During the months of August and September 3,350,000 tons were added from our shipyards alone and losses were among the lowest of the year. To stop offensives in the near future the enemy's U-boats must not only destroy as much tonnage as is now being turned out but cut into the substantial backlog of shipping completed in previous months.

Entirely aside from the output of American yards, there is excellent reason to believe that this cannot be done. Anti-submarine measures have for some time been extremely effective. For fully five months the number of U-boats lost has exceeded the probable number of completions in spite of the fact that submarine activity has been at low ebb. Even Goebbels has admitted this unsatisfactory condition of affairs. While stories of deteriorating discipline and morale among U-boat crews have sometimes been planted by the Germans themselves, reports of such incidents from Swedish sources have been remarkably persistent of late. Since the situation is similar to that which brought a breakdown of morale among German submarine crews in the last war, it is quite likely that the reports are correct.

In the air war over Western Europe tactics are also in a state of flux. After a September lull large-scale bombing assaults have been resumed by both the R. A. F. and the A. A. F. American planes have recently played a larger role, and have been used to some extent in night as well as day operations. In proportion to the tonnage of bombs dropped, American precision work has probably done greater damage than the British type of attack. But American losses have also been proportionately greater. Against improved defense by fighter planes—whose production does not seem to have been affected—and heavier anti-aircraft fire the Fortress has not been able to maintain its earlier margin of safety, and even the use of escorting Thunderbolts has not prevented heavy casualties. The knocking out of important ball-bearing factories and the destruction of more than 100 German fighters in one raid is a valuable achievement, but the loss of sixty Fortresses with their well-trained crews, plus many of their escorts, is no light price to pay. Larger bombers now coming off the production lines and long-range escort planes may restore our earlier advantage in the air war.

Though strategic bombing has become more expensive, it is undoubtedly still highly profitable to the United Nations. In the first place, with our production centers out of range of German attack, we are able to mount a type of offensive to which the Nazis are unable to reply in kind. We can afford, if necessary, to take heavier losses than can Germany. In the second place, the offensive is clearly getting results. At least half a dozen of the forty or fifty main German war centers have been so battered that their industrial potential is about zero; others have been badly gutted and are operating in low gear. Because the German armies were initially so well supplied, some time must elapse before the results of strategic bombing are felt on the battlefield. Nevertheless, the effects of this attrition were seen both in Sicily, where the Nazis refused to evacuate soldiers who did not have their equipment, and in the futile July offensive in Russia. They will become increasingly visible from now on. Finally, the continued bombing has undermined the German people's morale; perhaps it has not lessened their courage or their will to hate, but it has revealed to the masses that in spite of years of sacrifice the war is being lost.

Important as are the decisions in the air and on the sea to the outcome of the European war, it is on land that the Nazis will probably have to be reduced to "unconditional surrender." And it is here that the Germans, though they have been defeated, are not yet beaten. The struggle now in progress for possession of the west bank of the Dnieper will provide the best single measure of how strong the German land armies really are. Short of the Vistula, the Dnieper offers the best defensive bulwark in Eastern Europe; it is a line which the Germans have every incentive to hold. If the Russians are able within the next few weeks to force this line completely, the Nazis' final military downfall in the east will be only a question of time.

On the other hand, Russian failure to break this line could well be only temporary. Though the distance the offensive has already covered testifies to a supply system of a very high order, a halt of several months to open new roads and bring up supplies could normally be expected. Later attacks in greater force, based on better supply lines, should be more successful. As long as Anglo-American threats of invasion, if not actual invading armies, tie down substantial German forces in the west, the Nazis' problem on the eastern front is to hold their own against a well-equipped, ably led enemy army, equal if not superior to theirs in quality and considerably more numerous. It is, in short, an insoluble problem.

In Western Europe the situation on land is even less clear than in Russia simply because the British and Americans hold so many weapons that are not being employed. In Italy the forces engaged have so far been comparatively small. German tactics have called for delay, infliction of casualties, and a thorough scorched-earth policy, but for an avoidance of a real test of strength. The threat of flanking attacks from the sea along the exposed coast is likely to prevent the Germans from committing themselves too heavily until the Po Valley is reached. Meanwhile large Allied forces in the Mediterranean theater are inactive. These include the French North African armies, the American Seventh Army, and doubtless other units. It is possible that these troops are being saved as reserves in anticipation of a showdown in northern Italy, or they may be sent into action in the Balkans, where the German position since Italy's defection has been extremely shaky. Similarly the Allies' greatly superior sea and air forces have not been exploited to the full in the conquest of Italy. Nor have the large armies based on Britain been utilized. With winter near and no aerial preparation for an invasion in any particular area yet under way, it becomes very doubtful whether the British and Americans will keep their promise of establishing a second front in 1943.

Britain Between the Acts

IV. THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I VISITED a good many war plants in Britain and talked not only to workers and their representatives but to managers and welfare officers. One of the most striking of the many curious conflicts of interests I ran into was that between new and traditional ways of doing things. British industry has been revolutionized by the war, and the effects, as always, have been both stimulating and upsetting. You find people resisting, with half their minds, processes and techniques they are applying with all their energies.

For the technical revolution produced by the war has brought more drastic changes to British than to American industry. The difference is one of mind as well as matter. Even before the war the typical American manufacturer had mechanized his plant as completely as invention and working capital permitted. He gauged his success by the up-to-date machines he had installed as well as by his profits. His ideal was a factory in which human labor had been supplanted by mechanical power, a factory in which men were used only as nursemaids to the rows of shining machines which turned out the product piece by piece and assembled it at the ends of the long conveyors. The British manufacturer was dominated by no such dream. In general he stuck to his old methods and old machines as long as they served him—that is, as long as he made a reasonable profit and got on moderately well with his workers. He mechanized reluctantly. He was slow to adopt efficiency techniques. In industry, as in other areas, a certain amount of muddling was looked upon as normal and reassuringly British.

It was the war with its double demand for planes and shells and guns and tanks and for men to handle them that jolted the British industrialist out of his accepted ways and drove him to "American methods" and, in many cases, to American machines. Everywhere one felt the effect of the change. It helped produce the deep uneasiness I found in the workers, especially the older men. It created a sort of resentment—however mixed with gratitude and admiration—toward the women workers. And the managers I talked with were as deeply divided as any other group. Some were whole-heartedly with the new order and ready to bend all traditional attitudes to fit its demands. A few obviously hated it, even while they recognized that this war could be won only by applying every available new method and tool. But many were divided within themselves, taking pride in the rapid adaptation of the old industrial structure, in the immense output so quickly achieved, in the beauty and power of the new machines, while at the same time resisting the disruption of established methods and relationships.

This mixed attitude is, I suspect, typical. You find it most persuasively presented in J. B. Priestley's new novel, "Daylight on Saturday." In my own limited experience it was summed up best in the manager of one of the great new war plants—a plant turning out bomber engines which are said to be the best in the world. But before I describe my visit to the plant I want to inject a few figures—because only if one has clearly in mind the immensity of the British effort and output, can one understand the equal immensity of the problems created.

First, it is necessary to remember that Britain is smaller than the state of Oregon and that its population includes 33,000,000 persons between fourteen and sixty-four years old—about one-third the number in the United States. After four years of war, 25,000,000 of these are in war service, labor or military. More than 90 per cent of all single women in Britain are fully employed on war jobs. The impression you get is that everyone is at work or in uniform. And the output of British war industry backs up the impression. A few figures on the production of aircraft will serve as illustration. While Britain last year built fewer training planes than the United States, it produced more than three-quarters of the number of heavy bombers America produced and 106 per cent of the number of pursuit planes. For a country 21 instead of 3,000 miles from the enemy front line, always besieged by sea and air, the record of Britain's essential industries is something to marvel at. It is in fact a record that could only have been achieved by a new industrial revolution.

Except for its English setting the —— plant could have been in Detroit or Cleveland. It stretched as far as you could see—row upon row of one-story slant-roofed sheds. It was built, fully equipped, and put into operation in a year—the first year of war. The speed seemed American, too; that, and the pride of the works manager when he told me about it. I saw pictures of the plant at every stage of its construction. You couldn't walk all the way through it in the time I had, so I skipped some of the processes. But I saw the raw-metal beginnings and the finished engines and many of the intervening stages. I saw machines marked with American company names and heard them praised by the workers who tended them. I saw women handling heavy machines and light ones, and machines that seemed to demand only mild supervision. I suffered the shattering roar of the engines undergoing all the tests of actual combat flying. I ate lunch in the executives' canteen with some of the managing staff, and I saw the huge canteen where the workers eat and talk and listen to lectures and entertainment.

It was terribly impressive, but I had to tell myself that it was British, not American; that before the war such a plant would have been a rarity instead of one of many; that it represented not merely bomber engines to be used to defeat Hitler, but also new ways of life for Britain.

The works manager began talking about this over the lunch table. He was telling the story I repeated briefly in my first cable to *The Nation* from London: how certain shop stewards, engaged in a dispute with the management over women's wages, had resigned from the Communist Party rather than follow the present party line and vote against a strike when the demand was refused. The situation seemed confusing and rather humorous to the executives at the table. They couldn't help welcoming the party's stand against strikes, and they had no objection to splits in the ranks of their radical workers. But when they found themselves lumped with the Communists as joint oppressors of labor they weren't quite sure how to take it. Said the works manager: "Why, that shop steward turned to me and said, 'As far as I can see, Joe Stalin's no better than you are!' "

The issue was equal pay for men and women doing the same jobs. After I had been around the plant and rejoined the manager in his office, the talk came back to that subject. Negotiations had been going on for weeks, a strike had been narrowly averted in spite of the legal prohibition against "absenteeism," and the issue had gone to a tribunal. "But it won't end there," the manager told me. "It will go to the Minister of Labor, and in the end it may call for Cabinet action. This issue is no local affair. It's being raised in other plants as well—everywhere. The future of this country is involved in the decision that will be reached." He was extremely serious about it, and I was puzzled.

I told him I had thought the whole question was controlled by a national schedule of rates and bonus payments and, in further detail, by agreement between the union and the employers' federation. The agreement provides for gradual increases in the pay of women employed in work previously performed by men, until, after thirty-two weeks, if they have proved themselves able to do the job "without additional supervision or assistance," they receive "the basic rate and national bonus appropriate to the male labor they replace." The manager explained how remote all this was from the human reality.

First, it was very difficult to determine whether a woman did or did not require more assistance than a man on the same job. Then, a great number of the processes were new. A woman might replace a man, but in thousands of cases that meant that new mechanisms were also employed. While labor was being diluted with women, the machines were being diluted, too. Her work would be dissimilar to that of the man whose place she filled. There was no exact basis of comparison. "Can't you compare it instead with the work done on the first machine down the line that is operated by a man?" I said. The manager wasn't interested in the question. He wasn't really interested in any narrow technical interpretation of schedules or agreements. He wanted to talk about the social system of Britain.

"The question is, who is responsible for the family?" he said. "Under age-old custom the man is. To upset that custom is to upset established social and personal relationships. It is to disrupt the life of this country."

I said: "Surely there are many occupations in England in which women and men get the same pay."

"Very few," said the manager. "It's exceptional. In any case it affects society very little unless it applies to factory workers. And in the past women did men's work in only a few trades. The question wasn't acute. Now with millions of untrained women flooding into industry the thing can't be treated lightly. I want to ask you: you are a woman, but do you believe a man, standing at one of these machines, should get the same pay as his eighteen-year-old daughter at the next one?"

"I'd rather see his eighteen-year-old daughter get the same pay as he."

The manager waved aside this frivolity. "It's unthinkable. It would make that home unhappy. The father, a man who very likely served a long apprenticeship, would resent being put on the same level with his daughter. And she would begin putting on airs and thinking she was as good as her father. Or, even worse, he might well decide that his responsibility for the support of his family was gone. In either case the domestic fabric would begin to fall apart."

"But how about the girl herself?" I said. "She's working and turning out as many parts as the man next to her, and he isn't her father as a rule, I imagine. What happens to her morale when—for one technical reason or another, or because the manager is worried about the social structure—she goes on getting 75 per cent of the pay earned by the man? Isn't that bound to make *her* resentful? Why develop skill and raise your output if in the end you won't get paid at the going rate for what you do?"

The manager admitted that this feeling was, in part, what had precipitated the dispute. "And the men backed the demand for equal pay, didn't they?" I asked. "The union put forward the demand," he said. "The individual worker may feel one way or another about it. But the union wants women scaled up to the men's level. They're afraid the men's wages will drop when the labor shortage ends—or that the men will lose their jobs permanently to the women."

"If that's true," I said, "the differentials you want to maintain are doomed anyhow, aren't they? Naturally, if the same work can be done at a lower rate by women, the pressure will be to bring all wages to that level. Then where will your family and your social structure be? Just where they would be if you upgraded the women—only the standard of living will be lower."

"It comes back to the machine in the end," said the manager. "It comes back to all this dilution. You say these unskilled girls are doing the same work as the men. Well, so they are, many of them. But why? Because we've added so many gadgets and jigs to these machines that a baby can run them. The women are doing the same work, yes, but it's work that would never be done this way under normal circumstances. So, in a sense, it's not the same. It's been organized to meet the limitations of unskilled workers—because plane engines had to be built fast and men had to be taken off their jobs and put in the armed forces."

"You mean, you would actually prefer a plant that did the job less efficiently? Would you advocate scrapping these machines after the war?"

He looked very serious. "They won't be scrapped, of course," he said. "But we could do with fewer gadgets and more skilled workers. That's certain."

The eighteen-year-old girl and her father are symbols. The hard fact behind them is the revolution that has overtaken British industry. Only a cynic could doubt that the manager's emotion was genuine. He wasn't worrying primarily about earnings, especially now, when excess profits are taxed 100 per cent. He was worrying about the way of life, from top to bottom, to which he had been accustomed. He was refusing to recognize the truth which merely happened to be illustrated at that particular moment by the issue of equal pay—the truth that technical advance has wiped out the skilled worker as the major factor in British industry. He will continue to be needed for particular functions: there are still jobs that the machine has not learned to do. But the number of those functions is relatively insignificant.

After the war, industry will be geared to an immense production turned out by unskilled workers and skilled machines. It can't scrap its mechanical improvements. To revert deliberately to less efficient and economical methods would be a counter-revolution carried through against all the dictates of self-interest. The alternative, however, is mass unemployment unless the ingenuity of business and the government can provide markets for the production of which industry is now capable. Even a decline to the normal pre-war level will throw many millions out of work.

Is it any wonder that the British factory owner or manager is a prey to conflicting emotions as he considers the revolution war has hurried toward its climax? The jigs and gadgets are wiping out, at one level or another, the human relationships he wants to preserve. The problems that lie ahead are insoluble by accustomed ways of doing or thinking. You cannot blame him if he resists the inevitable as long as possible.

[*Miss Kirchwey's fifth article on Britain will appear in two weeks.*]

The A. P. in a Cleft Stick

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

WITH one of the most misleading "leads" ever written for a newspaper story, the Associated Press on October 7 sought to turn defeat in the courts into victory in the headlines. By a two-to-one majority the Federal District Court in New York upheld the government's contention that the Associated Press had violated the anti-trust laws, and issued an injunction restraining it from enforcing certain by-laws and agreements until such time as it had taken measures to revise its constitution. Nevertheless, the A. P.'s story, which, according to the *Guild Reporter,* was edited and reedited by a swarm of executives and lawyers, began:

> The right of the Associated Press membership to pass upon the admission of applicants was upheld yesterday by a decision of the Federal District Court here. The court, however, directed that the by-laws of the Associated Press shall be changed to prevent a member in the same field (morning, evening, or Sunday in the same city) from presenting any bar to the election in such a field.

This presumably was how the news of what may prove to be a historic decision was received by millions of newspaper readers. The New York *Times,* however, adopted the precaution of printing in an adjoining column a report by the United Press which opened:

> A three-man federal court, by a two-to-one decision, yesterday enjoined the Associated Press from continuing to enforce "in their present form" its by-laws regulating the admission of members, but left the way open for the news organization to "adopt substitutes" that might bring the association into line with the law.

Any reader who, struck by the strange contrast between these two summaries of the same document, went on to study the actual text of the decision would have had little difficulty in concluding that the A. P. was guilty not only of smothering the court's opinion but of attempting to conceal the body. Actually "the right of the A. P.'s membership to pass upon the admission of applicants" was never at stake. What the Department of Justice was challenging when it launched the anti-trust suit was its right to exclude applicants solely on the ground that the competitive position of existing members might be adversely affected. For by restricting its membership on this basis the A. P., thanks to its outstanding position among news agencies and its practical monopoly of certain categories of news, is able to raise an almost insuperable barrier to new enterprise in the newspaper field. Thus an organization which claims to be merely a cooperative service club has become a powerful protective society for established newspapers.

In its defense the A. P. placed a great deal of emphasis on its efforts to maintain standards of objective and accurate reporting and claimed that the power to limit its membership was essential to the performance of its functions as guardian of newspaper ethics. Taking these protestations at their face value, the court has said in effect: We quite agree that in view of your responsibilities you cannot be asked to admit automatically any Tom, Dick, or Harry to your ranks. Obviously you are entitled to adopt rules which will set up objective criteria to test the character of those who seek to join you. We shall not attempt to say what conditions you ought to impose. But whatever rules you formulate, you must not make it possible for a member to blackball a newcomer, otherwise qualified, whose potential competition he fears. And consequently your rules must "affirmatively declare that the effect of admission upon the ability of an applicant to compete with members in the same 'field' shall not be taken into consideration in passing upon his application."

There are at present three ways in which a newspaper owner may enter the A. P.: (1) he may be elected by the board of directors provided he operates in a field where there is no existing membership; (2) if he is competng with one or more other members who refuse to waive heir protest rights he may be admitted by an affirmative rote of a majority of the "regular" members, after which ie must pay a premium to the members in the same 'field" in compensation for the dilution of their rights; 3) he may purchase the franchise of an existing mem- er. In the case of admission by methods 1 or 2 it s possible that the question of professional or moral ualifications may be raised, although it is clear that the lecisive factor is the competitive position of the appli- ant in relation to existing members. But anyone own- ng a big enough bank roll can buy his way in by the hird portal with no questions asked. If Al Capone were ble to persuade Colonel McCormick to sell him the hicago *Tribune* with its A. P. membership, it is diffi- ult to see what the other members could do about it.

Since the court rendered its decision the press of the ountry has been editorially mum, although at the time he Department of Justice filed suit nearly every A. P. aper in the country used up large areas of valuable white space explaining to its readers how wrong the ction was. Nor have the directors of the A. P. yet been ble to make up their minds about the next step. They ave merely announced that they are awaiting the actual 'form of judgment" before determining future pro- edure. I suspect that one reason for all this reticence s that the court has placed the A. P. in a cleft stick by ffering it an opportunity to live up to its professed deals. If it insists that the right of its membership to ass on the admission of applicants must include the ight to take potential competition into consideration, it onfesses an overriding interest in limiting competition nd protecting the property rights of its members. As *ditor and Publisher* admits in the course of an editorial riticism of the court's decision:

> An A. P. membership still has the definite asset value to newspapers . . . [which] would be destroyed, in our opinion, if the majority decision were upheld and the A. P. compelled by judge-made law to admit all comers with money in their pocket and average moral character. But that would not affect the character of the A. P. service, we believe, or make it less desirable, so long as it lived up to its traditional standards.

Is not this an admission that the asset value attached an A. P. membership derives not from the enjoyment the service itself but from the power to exclude com- etitors from its benefits?

We might, perhaps, compare the A. P. with a medie- l guild in its final and degenerate stage. Originally the uild was an organization designed to maintain ethical andards in a particular trade, and to that end it ad- itted only properly qualified persons with professional aining and good moral character. Gradually, however, e guild tended to become a closed corporation re- icting its members to a group of families and excluding even those who had served as apprentices and journeymen under its rules. And eventually the guilds, cut off from new blood and ideas, atrophied. The A. P. has a chance to avoid a similar fate if it conforms not merely with the letter of the federal-court decision but with its spirit. It could then become a genuine cooperative, using its power not to conserve privilege and frustrate enterprise but to elevate the moral and professional standards of democracy's most vital industry. Only in that way can freedom of the press be preserved, for no Bill of Rights can protect a freedom monopolized by a restricted group.

In the Wind

HOLDERS OF LIFE-INSURANCE POLICIES are getting literature these days from the Peoples Committee to Defend Life Insurance and Savings urging them to write their Congressmen in favor of a sales tax. Most of the officers and directors of this Peoples Committee are insurance executives, bank presidents, manufacturers, and retired gentlemen. A letter soliciting funds for more literature bears this postscript: "In view of the undoubted consequences of a further increase in corporation taxes, support of an alternative tax seems a proper expenditure of corporation funds. Corporation subscriptions are therefore in order and will be welcome."

A GROUP OF COMIC MAGAZINES is now offering its characters to the movies and the radio. Soon it will be possible to see Kid Eternity at your neighborhood theater, or with a turn of the dial to bring the Human Bomb into your home.

EX-GOVERNOR JULIUS P. HEIL of Wisconsin, in announcing that he would seek the Republican nomination for Senator next year, outlined his program: "My platform would simply be 'the brotherhood of man.' The trouble with so many candidates on the Republican ticket is that they don't have a formula for the post-war world. . . . We've got to stop this squandering of money. If I get down there in the Senate I'll break the damned chairs up if necessary to call attention to my formula."

FESTUNG EUROPA: For some time the British Ministry of Information has been trying to get Franco's permission to publish and distribute in Spain a Spanish-language newspaper presenting the United Nations' side of the war. Franco has finally consented. . . . A Nazi newspaper in Belgium complains that coal miners deliberately dig only the worst coal, and claims there is a secret agreement among them to save the best seams for the Allies. . . . Housewives of Dröbak, Norway, recently demonstrated by massing in front of the Nazi mayor's house with empty market baskets. . . . The horse-meat ration in Holland has been reduced by one-third.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The Liberation Front in Yugoslavia

BY LOUIS ADAMIC

A YEAR ago I began to receive bundles of memoranda, underground papers, clippings, and official documents from Balkan underground sources which revealed what was actually happening inside Yugoslavia. My Yugoslav friends and acquaintances living as exiles in New York had their own sources, and we exchanged information.

One of them, for instance, showed me a letter from a friend in Croatia, dated mid-May, 1942, and sent via Argentina, which chided him for having referred in a short-wave broadcast to "Mihailovich's heroic leadership of the Chetniks' great resistance against the Axis, which has aroused so profound an admiration in America." The writer, a well-known man in Yugoslavia and neither a Communist nor even an active Partisan, stated emphatically that Mihailovich was "not a positive factor in the day-to-day resistance of the various regions." Mihailovich's name, he said, figured importantly only in broadcasts from England and America; it was scarcely known in some sections of Yugoslavia; in many places where it was known people shuddered when they heard it, for Mihailovich was believed to be working with the Axis; and all the actual fighting—since October, 1941—against German, Italian, and Quisling forces was being carried on by the Partisans.

Reading the varied reports was like sitting in a dark projection-room in a Hollywood studio and looking at "rushes" of scenes without sequence in a great and awful film which was being shot by several directors. Piecing the material together became my chief preoccupation. And as the true picture slowly emerged from behind the blurred distortion of the Mihailovich legend, I began to see that the future belongs to the Partisans and their Liberation Front. I began to believe that from this movement would come some sort of political development which would constitute the decisive post-war factor in Yugoslavia—that is, if the great powers permitted the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian peoples to decide for themselves.

The whole Liberation Front movement has been indigenous, spontaneous. It is the uprising of a people. It is a fighting act of the common man. The Liberation Front drew its inspiration in part from Russia. This was so not only because the Red Army was doing most of the fighting and the tradition of the country was pan-Slavic; the cause of the majority of the people in Yugoslavia was emotionally, economically, geographically closer to Russia's than to that of any other great power. It was a cause arising from an international problem which apparently only Russia understood and was ready to try to solve.

Chiefly, however, the Partisan movement sprang from the continuing desperate plight of the South Slav masses. It was bound up with the people's best fighting traditions and with their centuries-old strivings for a free, decent, peaceful, civilized life. The Communists played a leading role in it at its inception simply because they were acute and agile enough to be able to utilize those strivings at a crucial moment. They had a long underground experience behind them. Some had fought in Spain. The technique of their leadership fitted the times, and they issued appeals and directions which many of the people in Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro were prepared to follow.

The Liberation Front, with its fighting Partisans, was a sudden promise of fulfilment of all the apparently futile political efforts of the peasant and other democratic parties during the previous fifteen or twenty years. The numerous reports which have reached me about it, even the unfavorable ones from conservative and reactionary sources, indicate that it may be considered the climax of the mass upheavals which began in the eighteenth century in various parts of the world, including America. It by-passed everything and everybody that were old and tired in spirit, corrupt and cynical. It overrode things and ideas which had lost their validity or which leaned upon vested interests and special privilege. The Liberation Front attracted the young and active, who saw that the best promise lay in going into the mountains, into the woods, to fight.

The Liberation Front was many things, but primarily it was an instrument of hope. Most immediately it was a concrete, fighting reaction to the Axis "technique of depopulation." It was dangerous to individual life, of course. It brought reprisals. Yet it was also the course most likely to lead to survival. It was an escape for those who were due to be drafted for slave labor in Germany. It offered a way out to girls and young women who did not want to be raped by Germans or Italians at home or sent to brothels behind the Russian front. It was better for both the young men and the young women to go out with their own people and help to kill the enemy, to blow up trains and bridges and viaducts.

The fact that some of the foremost military commanders and political leaders of the Liberation Front were Communists did not mean that the rank and file wanted the country to go Communist. They were not as definite and clear as that. But at no time were they anti-Communist. Indeed, a large number of the rank and file were tentatively pro-Communist. This was because many Yugoslavs had been pushed to the point where, so far as they could see, nothing else was open to them. They had been pushed to that point not only by the Axis occupation and by the absence of a sustained, convincing policy on the part of Britain and America, but also by the action of official Belgrade and its henchmen in the provinces for the past twenty years.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia did not raise the issue of communism or capitalism. It said, in effect, that the problem before the people was to summon all their energies to destroy fascism; everything else could wait. This became the program of Communists and non-Communists. The slogan was "Death to fascism! Liberty to the people!" This slogan was politically perfect, a complete program. It rang through the villages and through the forests, where hundreds of thousands of people were hiding. It appealed to their deepest feelings. It was uttered by leaders who unquestionably were of the people and who did not stop with slogans. They led armed bands in forays against the fascists. They actually dealt death to fascists, and liberated villages, towns, and regions. They distributed food to civilians, even though the fighting guerrillas themselves had little idea where their next meal was coming from.

At various times in 1942-43 the Liberation Front Partisan movement has controlled from one-third to one-half of Yugoslavia. As I write, it holds more than one-third. But the freed area has never been of one piece. Regions dominated by the Partisans are islands surrounded by enemy-occupied territory. The size of these islands has changed from day to day with the ups and downs of warfare. And the islands which have endured the longest have been those in which the population was most mixed—Croatians and Serbians, Orthodox and Catholics—which suggests that the Liberation Front is a unifying movement. It has had in fact profound success in overcoming the old antagonisms which all other forces in the country, including Mihailovich, have been doing their best to stimulate.

Partisan generalship has often been superb. At times it has played the very devil with the Axis and the Chetniks. It has withstood five general offensives. It reached its highest success between September 10 and 25 of this year, when the Partisans occupied most of the Yugoslav Adriatic coast and swept into northern Italy, where the population is preponderantly Slavic. It is too soon to say whether they will be able to hold their gains until the big invasion of the Balkans begins either from the sea or the east; but it may be that some day their commander-in-chief, Tito, will be recognized as one of the great leaders of World War II.

"Looks as if we'll have to give them back to Schiaparelli, Fritz."

From the first, the Partisan movement knew where it was going, what it wanted. And it learned to maintain itself. It lived off the enemy and the territory where it operated. Partisan units, with complete indifference to death, have abruptly appeared as if from nowhere and wiped out enemy forces three and four times their number. For two years now, with the utmost ingenuity, these Yugoslav minute men and women have been penetrating enemy lines, blowing up heavily guarded arsenals, trains, and bridges, stopping convoys and making off with food and equipment.

The forces of the Liberation Front now number between 200,000 and 250,000. That was the estimate, on September 28, of the Axis-controlled Finnish commentator Christopher Schildt, who, talking to Sweden from an Axis-controlled radio station, said that the Germans would be able to drive the Partisans away from the Adriatic coast "probably only step by step." "It has been shown," he added, "that it is impossible to defeat these Yugoslav guerrillas."

For two years, in day-to-day battles which one of the most amazing propaganda swindles of the war credited to Mihailovich, the Partisans have held between twenty and thirty Axis divisions in Yugoslavia and away from the African, Russian, and Sicilian fronts. Last month they disarmed most of the Italian army in their country. Now they are a power obviously to be reckoned with. Their struggle, whose importance is only just beginning to be recognized, has been grim and demanding, uncompromising, revolutionary. They have been fighting not only the immediate Axis enemy but also Mihailovich, the hero *manqué,* the patriot-blunderer and blind agent of amoral interests which have been at large in the Balkans for a thousand years.

But the most significant aspect of the movement is that it includes both Communists and diverse non-Communists, and that a formula has been worked out under which all work together militarily and politically—a formula that must be extended as quickly as possible to the international scene, where Britain, America, and Soviet Russia are now struggling with the problem of their future relations.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

"TOO cautious, lacking in boldness," was the way General Kurt Dittmar, speaking over the German radio on October 12, characterized Allied strategy in Italy. This criticism by the most prominent German military commentator is interesting not only because it indicates the official German line but because it bears the hallmark of an honest professional opinion. The General appears actually incensed by the strategy of the Allies.

The situation of the Allies in Italy was and is, he declared, ideal for carrying out the Clausewitz strategy of annihilation—flank, encircle, destroy. But so far nothing of this kind has been done. To quote his words:

> Opportunities have not been lacking to the Anglo-Americans in recent months, and abundant means have been at their disposal. They have had superiority in numbers and at least equality in arms and equipment, on the ground as in the air. It is true that the terrain in the Apennines is peculiarly unfavorable for the attacker and favorable for the defense. But this advantage for our side is considerably limited by the possibility that an enemy with complete control of the sea may make a sea-borne encircling movement. . . . The political changes in Italy, which have been overwhelmingly in the enemy's favor, need not be enlarged on here.
>
> It is astonishing that all these circumstances have not induced the Allies to launch operations exemplifying at least approximately the Clausewitz formula. If in the beginning the hopes aroused by the Badoglio treachery misled the enemy, this excuse has not been valid since Mussolini was freed. But even in the last few weeks Anglo-American operations have presented substantially the same picture. One single attempt at a great surrounding and destroying movement was made—the landing at Termoli on the Adriatic—but the undertaking was carried no farther than the first step. One gets the impression that the enemy wanted to follow the Clausewitz strategy but at the last moment shrank back. In consequence even this sea-borne encircling movement hit only the left wing of our troops, not their depth.

"It is certain," concluded the General, "that the British and Americans will have a long hard road before them if they try to traverse the peninsula in this fashion." But he added that he wished to be cautious in pronouncing judgment. "For we know that with increasing experience in matters of war the methods of our enemy may change."

A month ago German men from fifty to fifty-nine years old were ordered to register for military service. Induction have not yet begun, but one can easily believe the Swedish and Swiss correspondents who say that the mere announcement has had a devastating effect. Even in the last war military service was required only through the fiftieth year. That ten more age classes must now be put in uniform shows how the bottom of the man-power barrel is being scraped.

New evidence of this has recently been provided—at the opposite end of the age scale. In a speech at Erfurt on October 6 Arthur Ammann, Reich Youth leader, announced that he had submitted a great thought to the Führer and that the Führer had taken it up. A Panzer division has been formed, he said, made up entirely of boys from the Hitler Youth, that is, boys of sixteen and seventeen years—all volunteers. The division will soon go to the front. It is a great honor for youth, and if in battle the division lives up to its high promise, others will be formed, and more sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds will have the same honor.

Premonitions of disaster are playing an increasing role in Germany. The newest schoolbooks contain a terrible poem—quoted by the Zurich *Volksrecht* of September 27—which may be roughly translated as follows:

> We are rising to the storm of battle,
> A hero's death is our right,
> The earth shall shake to its depths
> When its noblest race goes down.
> Just as Attila's house crashed and burned
> When he subdued the Nibelungs,
> So Europe will burst into flames
> At the downfall of the Teutons.

This eventuality is viewed not only in its titanic-romantic but also in its more practical aspects. It is known that the Nazi Party has its *Ordensburgen*—some dozen modern cloisters in which the young generation is trained for the higher levels of the Nazi hierarchy. The Swedish *Aftontidningen* of October 13 now reports on reliable information that in all the *Ordensburgen* the teaching is stressing a new theme: how the pupils are to behave in case of an "extreme emergency," meaning either Germany's defeat or Hitler's removal or disappearance. Of course such an emergency is treated as purely hypothetical. Nevertheless, the pupils are given most minute instructions on what they must do. A plan to continue the party and its activities underground has been worked out to the last detail. For, so the instructions run, "even in case of a German defeat and a corresponding peace, the National Socialist idea must never capitulate."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Charles de Coster's Hero-Legend

THE GLORIOUS ADVENTURES OF TYL ULENSPIEGL. By Charles de Coster. Translated by Allan Ross Macdougall. Woodcuts by Frans Masereel. Pantheon Books. $3.50.

VAN WYCK BROOKS has been calling for the heroic in literature. Almost as though in answer to his summons, here comes the reasonably complete, juicy, profusely and poetically illustrated translation of a genuine and timely hero-legend in prose. It is the "Ulenspiegl" of that nineteenth-century little Homer of Belgian literature, Charles de Coster. In a salty but elevated style its high-colored narrative deals with heroic action, and heroic action incidental to a struggle for liberty. A national and folk epic, the book, in Romain Rolland's phrase, is the epic of popular liberty.

Throughout De Coster's lifetime, 1827 to 1879, French literature abounded in studious trials at the epic—the form of the hero-legend—in prose as well as verse. Châteaubriand had attempted the form in prose in his Christian-legendary "The Martyrs"; Quinet, in "Ahasvérus," an epic in dialogues symbolizing progressive humankind. Hugo well-nigh crowned the total effort with his thunderous "Legend of the Centuries." Indubitably the young Belgian set to work in their train consciously and discreetly; indubitably "Ulenspiegl" is as artificial as the Aeneid. The kind's external traits are obvious in his narrative. Its mold is the traditional biographic one of the saint or hero saga. The material is a union of nationally sacred and historical stuff—legends of the revolt of the Netherlands against the Spanish monarchy and faithful details gleaned from Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic." Epic machinery conspicuously figures: allegory, description, dreams, even demons—although these demons are frauds, and satires of superstition. Significant epithets recur. The narrative's design is definitely symmetrical. Boldly it contrasts gestures and characters; opposes to the generous hero Tyl a thoroughly antithetic adversary, the cruel, cold Philip II of Spain.

Certainly the play of erudition is plain throughout the vigorous, tasteful, often jocund work. One sees it in the pleasantly archaic diction, imitated from Rabelais and from sermons of his epoch. One sees it in the wonderfully clear genre pictures sapiently reconstructing the atmosphere and customs of the sinister sixteenth century. The knowledge of the Inquisition's horrible tortures here displayed almost is unique. "Ulenspiegl" also offers a little synthesis of Flemish art. Like the paintings of scenes of revelry by Jordaens and Jan Steen, its lusty pictures of material and sensual life teem with references to fat roasts, tall flagons, milky breasts.

Still, it possesses an element which, setting it above the studious French attempts at the epic, curiously associates it with a no less magistral poem of its century than Goethe's "Faust." The points of relation between "Ulenspiegl" and that masterpiece, incidentally, are several. One is the common derivation of their heroes from penny chap-books. As Heinrich Faust sprang from a penny "life" of a Renaissance charlatan and necromancer, so Tyl Ulenspiegl came from a Flemish booklet recounting the exploits of a fifteenth-century Low German rogue—whose merry pranks, in the German variant of his "life," about 1890 inspired Richard Strauss with a certain rondo for orchestra on comic themes. Seventeen of the tiny chapters in Book I of De Coster's epic actually recapitulate episodes in the Flemish pamphlet. But the main point of resemblance between "Ulenspiegl" and "Faust," the one first referred to, is their common possession of the essential epic trait—a simultaneously credible and super-lifesized hero. We mean that Tyl, like Faust, lives and is superior to other natures in energy and exploits, faults and capacities. The deeper powers of a folk-life likewise are manifest in him. Through either figure we perceive the moral outlook of a people and the content of its destiny; receive revelations of the higher possibilities in life toward which it can lift itself. Their heroism of stature ultimately resides in this their mute manifestation of facets of the divine will.

In Tyl, as he acts, we touch the tough, life-and-liberty-loving Flemings, the "spirit of the Mother, Flanders"; and something besides. Tyl in a sense is "the people everywheres." Significantly a rider of mules like Sancho Panza and Margutte in Pulci, he is "the people," particularly in its slyness and bent toward clownery, its helplessness under the lash of the men on horseback, the lords temporal and spiritual, and its tenacity, its power to endure and survive. Never chivalric, his role in battle none the less is ardent, while in more ordinary forms of existence his heroic action lies in the creation of political ligatures, the animation of individuals who war for human liberty. De Coster also intended him to represent the achievement of inner no less than outer political and religious freedom. Whether deliberately, whether unconsciously, Tyl certainly was conceived of as the continuation of Euphorion in the second part of "Faust," as the really triumphant freeman, the conciliator of spirit and flesh, the discoverer of humane values. This last aspiration of his author only partially attained its object. Tyl does develop in a moral direction in the pages of the book. Only, De Coster did not possess the imaginative faculty requisite to the dramatization of inner conflict and search and growth, of naturally evolving consciousness of revolutionary values and their gradual realization in the substance of life. He was confined to the stratagem of allowing the sense of the new values to come conundrum-like to Tyl in the course of a dream, letting his character ache for the explanation until another dream supplies it.

This expedient, together with the balladry in "Ulenspiegl," constitutes the book's less satisfactory aspect. Had De Coster lived to continue his epic, he might possibly have found a better solution for his problem. Not that these defects seriously impair the value of the simple and high-hearted work. It is a unity, and shines with numbers of the glories of its kind. Magically it utters the power of the natal ground, the folk, the home. Ancestors, an entire people, contributed, and contribute, to its action. It is a living reliquary of their virtues; and "like a river moving through their country, mirrors within its waters of dream their cities and their skies."

PAUL ROSENFELD

Tomorrow's Italy

WHAT TO DO WITH ITALY. By Gaetano Salvemini and George La Piana. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.75.

PROFESSOR SALVEMINI, one of the most courageous and unflinching of all Mussolini's enemies, has collaborated with Professor La Piana of Harvard in this carefully reasoned and documented study of the issues on which may be decided the fate of tomorrow's Italy, and in a measure of tomorrow's Europe. The book is no flaming appeal to faith and action, but rather a worldly-wise and cynical examination of the policies and motives which may be, and perhaps actually are, seeking to shape the destiny of Italy without asking leave of the Italian people. You will finish this book perhaps a sadder but certainly a wiser man.

Professor La Piana, whose specialty is church history, has presumably written those extensive portions which are concerned with Vatican policies and the relations of church and state. They are sage and moderate in tone, and convey the authors' profound respect for the Catholic religion as the faith of very many Italians. They urge, as the sole possible solution of the "Roman question," the separation of church and state in Italy, approximately as in America. They recommend that the future Italian republic denounce the Lateran Concordat, which intermingled affairs of church and state, but retain the political treaty—minus two articles that manifestly do not belong in it—which fixes the territorial frontiers of the Papal State and prohibits any international guaranty of Vatican City such as is impulsively proposed from time to time by foreigners. The authors would have the new republic make an equitable adjustment of the Lateran financial agreement—indemnifying the church for properties expropriated by the Italian state—on condition that the church bear its just share of inevitable financial sacrifice along with the Italian people. They believe these settlements ought to be easy, but fear that the Vatican will resist them and oblige the republic to impose them as a unilateral dictation, as in 1871.

The Vatican and the political policy which the authors attribute to it dominate also much of the political portion of the book. Salvemini and La Piana are convinced, from their study of available evidence, that the Vatican, the British Foreign Office, and the American State Department are operating under a more or less formal understanding to preserve the Fascist state much as it is today—minus the Fascist label and the most conspicuous Fascist personalities—in order to perpetuate the church's privileged position and to prevent any effective revolution, Communist or democratic.

They examine in great detail the evidence which points to the existence of such a plan. They conclude that the Foreign Office originally intended to deprive Italy of Sardinia and Sicily and carve the mainland into two or more states but was opposed by the State Department. They infer that Myron Taylor, whose appointment as the President's personal representative to the Vatican by-passed the question of diplomatic representation while wooing the American Catholic vote, helped to formulate the three-sided arrangement which they believe now prevails.

"In accord with our State and War Departments [and with the Foreign Office] its [the Vatican's] plan is to keep intact the whole machinery of the Fascist state and of its local administration," say the authors, writing long before the invasion of Sicily. Since then AMG has been set up, with Lord Rennell of Rodd, international banker, Catholic, and friend of Volpi, Mussolini's former Finance Minister, as civil governor of occupied territories. And Herbert Matthews has reported to the New York *Times* from Sicily that "when every function of the state is identified with fascism, to abolish fascism would threaten to leave society high and dry. What often happens in effect is that the Fascist label is removed, but the same men carry on the same functions. . . . AMG is in a position where it will have to choose what men are going to be the executives of the future Italian government." The authors' prediction seems thus painfully confirmed.

There is a prophetic passage beginning on page 188 which I wish *The Nation* would reprint in extenso. It errs, on present evidence, at but one point. It assumes that the predestined Allied stooge, or democratic Quisling, is Count Grandi, eminent gangster, distinguished "anti-Fascist," president of the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations (the Mussolini parliament), "the man who, after Spellman's visit to the Vatican, was made a 'cousin to the King.' " The gentleman's name happens, at the moment, to be Badoglio. But after the present military crisis is past a civilian will be needed, and then who more "legitimate" than the "Anglophile" Grandi?

The authors have a profound confidence that the Italian people are democratic at heart and perfectly competent to govern themselves. They fear that President Roosevelt entertains the "dangerous illusion" that "the clergy can mobilize the masses and lead them wherever they wish." But they insist that the Italian democratic revolution must be allowed to take its course, even at the cost of considerable bloodshed and an anti-Fascist vendetta which they believe to be unavoidable—and certainly is, to judge by a recent *Times* dispatch from Naples.

There is so much wisdom in this book that any review must ignore most of it. Let me sum it up in this quotation: "There is no other school of liberty than liberty itself."

HIRAM MOTHERWELL

Not a Factory

THE INVASION OF GERMANY. By Curt Riess. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

MR. RIESS has written so many books in such a short time that the question arises whether he is an author or the name of a streamlined factory for literary creations. As a matter of fact, Curt Riess is not a factory but an individual. He proves this in his newest book, "The Invasion of Germany," by repeating again and again "I think," "I believe," "I do not believe," "as I have stated," and so on. Some of these personal ideas of Mr. Riess's are quite above discussion. He says, for instance, on page 12 of his book, "It is my firm conviction that mere inactive waiting will certainly accomplish nothing."

Unfortunately, not all the convictions of Curt Riess are so well founded and so harmless. He pretends to know almost all about the future; yet even his knowledge about the past is not reliable. He tells us, for example, that Marshal Foch "was outvoted" in 1918 when he argued against granting an armistice to the German army and insisted upon invading Germany. Too bad that Mr. Riess spends his time writing his own books instead of studying better books. For he would have known then that Foch himself wrote the proposals for the armistice and persuaded his allies to accept them; far from being "outvoted" on this question, Foch strongly objected to the invasion of Germany, and he explained his point of view with the famous words (reported by Colonel House): "No man has a right to cause another drop of blood to be shed."

The reader will find the first ridiculous falsification of historical truth on page 1 of Mr. Riess's book. This may save him the trouble of turning to page 2 and *ff*.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

Fiction in Review

THE season's fiction continues to be undistinguished, and this reviewer continues to cherish the pious hope that it is the war—the loss of talent to the services and the confusion of the times—that accounts for the poor quality of the new novels.

Margery Allingham is one of England's most successful detective-story writers; now, as Margery Allingham Carter, she has written her first non-mystery novel. "The Galantrys" (Little, Brown, $2.50) is the biography of a certain James Galantry, half gipsy and half gentleman, and it is also the story of a changing society, the period in English life when the established order of the eighteenth century was giving way to modern industrialism. But although Mrs. Carter, like so many of the English detective-story writers, is notably well-educated—and not ashamed of it—and despite the fact that in her hero's struggles to cope with his complicated heredity she had the material for a perfectly plausible psychological study, her novel sacrifices the realities of both fiction and social history to a quite eccentric interest in genetics. She is obsessed with the science of breeding; drawing most of her lessons from animal mating, she seems to regard all human character, not only James Galantry's, as if it were as susceptible to hereditary determination as the character of a horse. The result is neither convincing nor funny, just odd—especially the last section of her story, which is taken up with Galantry's vision of his descendants right down to their roles in the present war.

Still, there is one good reason, closely related to Margery Allingham's past reputation, why "The Galantrys" cannot be completely dismissed as merely the indulgence of an eccentricity—Mrs. Carter's prose, which is startling, in these days, for its intelligence and wit. No one who has not himself

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been deadened by the deadness of contemporary writing can fail to respond to the sweet pleasure of such a sentence as "No one spoke ill of her, everybody loved her absentmindedly"; or of a passage like this description of a rural performance of Richard III: "The play was Cibber's version, of course, but even that consequential little hack could scarcely hurt it, nor could the woman who played Queen Margaret and muffed her lines in the very midst of her envy." That Orville Prescott, in an otherwise accurate estimate of "The Galantrys," should refer to its style as "highly mannered" and censure Mrs. Carter for her habit of commenting on her characters as she goes, because "modern readers are conditioned to a different tradition, where characters may speak for the author, but not the author for the characters," indicates how willingly modern critical judgment has assisted in the damming up of one of the life-streams of fiction.

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But if it is indeed the tradition nowadays for the characters to speak for their authors but not the other way round, then one wonders why so many of our novelists choose as their spokesmen characters of the least possible dignity and stature. There is Albert Halper, for example, whose new novel, "Only an Inch from Glory" (Harper and Brothers, $2.50), takes its stand as far from any likely notion of literary glory as Mr. Halper could manage and still keep a typewriter under his hand. Of his four main characters, all Greenwich Village failures, not one has even the energy of colloquialism, let alone the energy of ideas. When they speak for their author, it is in language that entreats the world down to their own benighted level. "She knew I was her friend, her loyal friend, that I'd be her friend for life no matter what she did or what happened to her," says the painter-failure of the sculptor-failure in a typical passage. "So she let me hang around her and take her out. She wouldn't let me spend much on her, either. She knew I was making only twenty-five dollars a week. Besides lending small sums to her fellow-students down at school she subsequently pressed ten- and twenty-dollar loans upon me, when I was out of work afterwards. It hurt my pride at first, but I soon realized she was generous with everybody; and it's hard to explain but I sometimes felt that the root of her generosity was a desire to get back at her mother." Mr. Halper's prose is so slack with humility that his novel manages to say nothing about failure except that it exists and is pitiful.

At the other extreme from Mr. Halper's kind of novel, and yet in its way also typical of the failure of verve in modern fiction, is Wallace Stegner's "The Big Rock Candy Mountain" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $3), a 515-page story of life in the West in the first decades of this century. Though theoretically preferable, hard work without inspiration turns out to be little more fun, in a novel, than humility without effort. For Mr. Stegner's writing is detailed, careful, utterly respectful of the world it describes; if Mr. Halper abdicates his own personality before his characters, Mr. Stegner dedicates every last ounce of his strength to their service. Yet the result, while not exactly muscle-bound, certainly lacks the resilience of fictional life. "The Big Rock Candy Mountain" is a novel of the American dream, most of its action centered in the rambunctious Bo Mason, a big, restless, amoral hero-villain who sacrifices his wife and family to his unprincipled ambitions. (By the way, this type of hero-villain—frontiersman, robber baron, or just plain gangster—is becoming alarmingly frequent in current fiction.) By far the best sections of Mr. Stegner's book are his pleasant and credible evocations of little-boy life in the country, one of which you may already be familiar with from its publication in the form of a short story.

Vardis Fisher's "The Mothers" (Vanguard, $2.50) is a historical novel of American pioneer days. A party of travelers—it includes, for popular consumption, a couple of vicious Germans—sets out to reach the green fields of California; although most of the group perish en route, a few hardy souls endure the unendurable tortures in order to reach their destination: this is Mr. Fisher's plot. "The Mothers" is certainly more exciting reading than Mr. Stegner's story or Mr. Halper's or Mrs. Carter's. But it is not a really sincere novel either in intention or execution, though it will no doubt make a sincere movie. I regret, however, that Mr. Fisher broke off his account of the beginnings of man, started last year in "The Darkness and the Deep," in order to switch his rather superficial and mechanical Freudianism from the ape world to the more familiar world of modern history, since even his persisting prejudice in favor of women becomes less authoritative, if not less gratifying, when it continues into a period of easier identification.

According to the announcements, Hans Habe's "Kathrine" (Viking, $2.75) is concerned with the life of an unconventional woman tangled with the destiny of a nation. I expected Mata Hari and was disappointed. After its first pages of watered-down Colette, Mr. Habe's novel is only a dreary, overcharged portrait of a still beautiful cocotte—she was known as Kathrine the Great—who is trying to marry her daughter to the son of her lover. Kathrine's lover happens to be an airplane manufacturer, and the war happens to be threatening—all of which provides Mr. Habe with *his* opportunity to take a fling at the fall of poor France.

"Out of the Silent Planet," by C. S. Lewis (Macmillan, $2), the diabolically clever author of "The Screwtape Letters," is a well-written novel about a journey to Mars. But unhappily I have no taste for fiction about life anywhere except on earth, and was therefore unable to finish a book which had been recommended to me as distinguished by several friends whose judgment is otherwise unquestionable.

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DRAMA

"OTHELLO," in print, is as careless of the house rules of dramaturgy as it is prolific in bursts of poetry that move like ground swells through the emotions and the mind. Its several characters are believable because they speak with the irresistible energy and authority of the poetry; their relations to one another seem contrived, and the play as play would be stopped at almost any point by one sensible remark, for which the cue is always presenting itself.

Margaret Webster's "Othello" (Shubert Theater) is not only believable; by a tour de force of direction she has caused the faulty motivation not to disappear but to seem irrelevant. And only at one point, as I remember, does the unseized cue stand out.

The key to Miss Webster's particular and distinctive solution of a difficult problem lies in her bold use of Iago both as character and as instrument. The hero of this production is not Othello but Iago; the tragedy of the Moor, while it is quite effectively set forth, is, in a sense, the play within the play. Miss Webster might deny this. The audience bears me out. That fact may tell us more about a prevailing attitude toward the clever, sardonic, agile character who has the ruthlessness of his cynicism than about Miss Webster's intentions, but here is, at the very least, an interesting coincidence. (A friend to whom I mentioned this wondered if the sympathy for Iago was an expression of prejudice against a Negro Othello. The answer is no. It was rather the expression of a

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secret admiration for the man who exercises power—of which every human being secretly feels himself capable—and this admiration includes a kind of contempt for anyone, white or black, yellow or brown, over whom that power is successfully exercised. The ovation given to Paul Robeson at the end of the performance was certainly not simulated. It was just as certainly sentimental in part, and far more self-conscious than the wry sympathy accorded to Iago scene by scene. But cynicism and sentimentality are, after all, two sides of the same coin.)

It happens also that the most accomplished actor in the company is José Ferrer, who plays the role of Iago. Where his acting ends and Miss Webster's direction begins it is impossible to tell—their collaboration is complete. I can only record that he plays the role with passion and joy, as if he were creating it. The ostensible and inadequate motivation—Iago's desire to usurp Cassio's place—turns under one's eyes and ears into the far more sinister and exciting desire to play the part of the villain for the part's sake. Yet he remains understandable in human terms.

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And what of Othello? Paul Robeson has an imposing figure and a powerful voice. But he performs rather than acts. Under Miss Webster's direction he performs passably well, but he creates no illusion. He speaks—often sings—Othello's lines, but he is not Othello in the sense that Mr. Ferrer is Iago. And he is not the Moor as Shakespeare conceived him. Both Mr. Robeson and Miss Webster have tried to prove that Othello is a Negro; they have attempted also to prove that "Othello" is a play about race. Both theories seem to me false and foolish. Fortunately Miss Webster's artistic sense is superior to her ideology, which has been confined to the public prints and does not appear in the play.

In Shakespeare's conception the essential quality of the Moor is his foreignness. He is the exotic character—so exotic as to bewitch, for all his denials, the innocent English—not Venetian—Desdemona. The stress upon his blackness points up his alien, not his racial, character. There is no particular reason why a Negro should not play Othello or, for that matter, why a Negro should. Color aside, Robeson is simply not the type. The exotic quality is missing. Moreover, Shakespeare's Moor was surely a man of movement, as agile in his way as Iago. Robeson is monumental and inert. He makes no use whatever of his body, which becomes a dead weight. His voice does move, and it is fit to declaim such wonderful lines as ". . . when I love not thee, Chaos is come again." But even his voice gets out of character; it is too often reminiscent of Paul Robeson, singer of spirituals. Also its great volume is too often unstopped—some of Othello's "Oh's" are simply rushes of vast and shapeless sound.

Miss Webster's Emilia is interesting and right. The physical attraction which binds this knowing, unromantic woman to Iago is played up. The sense of their frank pleasure in each other provides an irrational yet unchallengeable explanation for Emilia's blindness to her husband's machinations. And this characterization adds greatly to the dramatic power of the last scene, in which it falls to Emilia to express and release the play's emotional impact. Uta Hagen's Desdemona is less enchanted than one's memory of the part, but hers too is a very accomplished performance. The physical appearance of James Monks, who plays the part of Cassio, makes him not quite believable as the second in command. However, he improves upon acquaintance and he acts well. Roderigo, in this production, is almost a caricature of the Dupe, and Jack Manning plays that characterization to the hilt.

The settings are unobtrusive, as they should be. And both the settings and Miss Webster's use of a stage limited in depth point up the character of Iago as the manipulator who takes the audience into his confidence.

The play, as it is here projected, is of course not a tragedy, since Iago runs the show. Only in the case of Emilia, interestingly enough, do we feel that she is the dupe not so much of Iago as of her own mixed passions. In the last scene she does arouse pity and terror—but mainly for Emilia. Every other character is essentially a puppet dangling on Iago's strings. There is therefore no clash of wills, we do not hate the villain, and virtue is only technically triumphant.

MARGARET MARSHALL

FILMS

So Proudly We Fail

WE SUFFER—we vaguely realize —a unique and constantly intensifying schizophrenia which threatens no other nation involved in this war. Geography is the core of the disease. Those Americans who are doing the fighting are doing it in parts of the world which seem irrelevant to them; those who are not, remain untouched, virginal, prenatal, while every other considerable population on earth comes of age. In every bit of information you can gather about breakdowns of American troops in combat, overseas, even in the camps, a sense of unutterable dislocation, dereliction, absence of contact, trust, wholeness, and reference, in a kind and force which no other soldiers have to suffer, clearly works at the root of the disaster. Moreover, while this chasm widens and deepens daily between our fighting and civilian populations and within each mind, another—much deeper and wider than any which geography alone could impose—forms and increases between this nation and the other key nations of the world. Their experience of war is unprecedented in immediacy and unanimity. Ours, even in the fraction which has the experience at all, is essentially specialized, lonely, bitter, and sterile; our great majority will emerge from the war almost as if it had never taken place; and not all the lip-service in the world about internationalism will make that different. This, and more and worse, is all so obvious, so horrifying, and so apparently unalterable that, being a peculiarly neurotic people, we are the more liable to nod and pay it the least possible attention. That is unfortunate. Our predicament is bad enough as it stands; the civil and international prospect is unimaginably sinister.

Since it is beyond our power to involve ourselves as deeply in experience as the people of Russia, England, China, Germany, Japan, we have to make up the difference as well as we can at second hand. Granting that knowledge at second hand, taken at a comfortable distance, is of itself choked with new and terrible liabilities, I believe nevertheless that much could be done to combat and reduce those liabilities, and that second-hand knowledge is at least less dangerous than no knowledge at all. And I think it is obvious that in imparting it, moving pictures could be matchlessly useful. How we might use them, and how gruesomely we have failed to, I lack room to say; but a good bit is suggested by a few films I want to speak of now.

Even the Army Orientation films, through no fault intrinsic to them, carry their load of poison, of failure. You can hear from every sort of soldier from the simplest to the most intricate what a valuable job they are doing. But because they are doing it only for service men they serve inadvertently to widen the abyss between fighters and the civilians who need just as urgently to see them. Civilians, however, get very little chance to learn anything from moving pictures. We are not presumed to be brave enough. And the tragic thing is that after a couple of decades of Hollywood and radio, we are used to accepting such deprivations and insults quite docilely; often, indeed, we resent anyone who has the daring to try to treat us as if we were human beings.

Just now it is a fought question whether numbers four and five of the Orientation Series, "The Battle of Britain" and "The Battle of Russia," will get public distribution. Whether they do depends on what is laughingly called the Office of War Information and on what is uproariously called the War Activities Committee. The OWI's poor little pictures, blue-born with timidity from the start, have finally been sabotaged out of existence; and judging by the performance to date of the WAC, it is not very likely that we shall see these films. And if we do see them, it is more than likely that we shall see them with roast albatrosses like "The Keeper of the Flame" hung around their necks.

I can only urge you to write your Congressman, if he can read. For these films are responsible, irreplaceable pieces of teaching. "Britain," one hour's calculated hammering of the eye and ear, can tell you more about that battle than you are ever likely otherwise to suspect, short of having been there. "Russia," though it is a lucid piece of exposition, is cut neither for fact nor for political needlepoint but purely, resourcefully, and with immensely powerful effect, for emotion. It is by no means an ultimate handling of its material, but it is better than the Russian records from which it was drawn, and next to the tearful magnificence of "The Birth of a Nation" is, I believe, the best and most important war film ever assembled in this country.

Beside it Samuel Goldwyn's "The North Star" is something to be seen more in sorrow than in anger and more in the attitude of the diagnostician than in any emotion at all. It represents to perfection some crucially symptomatic characteristics of Hollywood and of the American people in so far as Hollywood reflects, or is accepted by, the people. Hollywood's noble, exciting, all but unprecedented intention here is to show the conduct of the inhabitants of a Russian border village during the first days of their war; to show real people, involved in realities, encumbered by a minimum of star-spotlighting or story. The carrying out of that intention implies in every detail the hopeless mistrust in which Hollywood holds its public. To call this "commercial" and to talk about lack of intelligence and taste is, I think, wide of the main mark. The attitude is more nearly that of the fatally misguided parent toward the already all but fatally spoiled child. The result is one long orgy of meeching, sugaring, propitiation, which, as a matter of fact, enlists, develops, and infallibly corrupts a good deal of intelligence, taste, courage, and disinterestedness. I am sorry not to talk at length and in detail about this film. I can only urge you to watch what happens in it: how every attempt to use a reality brings the romantic juice and the annihilation of any possible reality pouring from every gland. In its basic design Lillian Hellman's script could have become a fine picture: but the characters are stock, their lines are tinny-literary, their appearance and that of their village is scrubbed behind the ears and "beautified"; the camera work is nearly all glossy and overcomposed; the proudly complicated action sequences are stale from overtraining; even the best of Aaron Copland's score has no business ornamenting a film drowned in ornament: every resourcefulness appropriate to some kinds of screen romance, in short, is used to make palatable what is by no remote stretch of the mind romantic. I think the picture represents the utmost Hollywood can do, within its present decaying tradition, with a major theme. I am afraid the general public will swallow it whole. I insist, however, that that public must and can be trusted and reached with a kind of honesty difficult, in so mental-hospital a situation, to contrive; impossible, perhaps, among the complicated pressures and self-defensive virtuosities of the great studios.

The thing that so impresses me about the non-fiction films which keep coming over from England is the abounding evidence of just such a universal adulthood, intelligence, and trust as we lack. I lack space to mention them in detail

BURLINGA

(the new titles are "I Was a Fireman," "Before the Raid," and, even better, "ABCA" and the bleak, beautiful, and heartrending "Psychiatry in Action"), but I urge you to see every one that comes your way. They are free, as not even our Orientation films are entirely, of salesmanship; they are utterly innocent of our rampant disease of masked contempt and propitiation. It comes about simply enough: everyone, on and off screen and in the audience, clearly trusts and respects himself and others.

There is a lot of talk here about the need for "escape" pictures. To those who want to spend a few minutes in a decently ventilated and healthful world, where, if only for the duration, human beings are worthy of themselves and of each other, I recommend these British films almost with reverence as the finest "escapes" available. JAMES AGEE

DANCE

OF THE two additional Ballet Theater novelties that I have seen, "Pictures of Goya" presents Argentinita and her associates in a sequence of episodes similar to those she has presented without benefit of Goya, including two *jotas* at the end, which are the best and which the group dances superbly. And "Slavonika," revived under the supervision of Lazovsky, impresses me as it did when it was first created by Psota: a constant commotion without a significant movement—without even the significance which the movements might acquire from the personal styles of the dancers, for the leads are danced this time by Karnilova and Romanoff, who lack even technical adequacy for the tasks they are given to do.

On the same program was Massine's "Aleko," with Kaye replacing Markova who was ill. It turned out to be highly interesting. After Kaye's work in "Pillar of Fire" I thought that she might be technically less brilliant than Markova in "Aleko," but would communicate more emotional intensity; actually, to my surprise, she communicated less intensity; and when I thought back to Markova's performance it seemed to me that the greater intensity in the communication had come in the greater sharpness of her movements—in other words, from her greater technical powers. What was so interesting was the way the difference in such powers—a difference so small and yet so enormous—revealed itself at point after point: watching Kaye one saw something difficult being done well or even brilliantly, whereas watching Markova at the same point one had seen no difficulty, no effort, no doing, but only an exciting pattern of body moving or motionless in space.

A couple of nights later, because of of Markova's continued illness, a reshuffling of works and casts brought Massine back to "Capriccio Espagnol"—brought, that is, dancing which communicated inner vitality and authority and power through restraint, subtlety, unfailing plastic coherence, in place of the excessive flinging about of arms and legs that Robbins had done in the earlier performance. But Romanoff was again the inadequate substitute for Lazovsky.

It is one thing to put Kaye into "Aleko" in place of Markova; it is another thing to put Robbins into "Capriccio Espagnol" in place of Massine, or Karnilova into a role formerly danced by Baronova, or Romanoff into the roles of Lazovsky. There has been, this season, too much of minor dancers in major roles, for lack of enough major dancers in the company to take care of all situations, all emergencies—this when people like Riabouchinska, Toumanova, Lichine are around doing nothing.

Lazovsky, it seems, is in the armed forces; and on that I will let Bernard Shaw comment. In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* in February, 1940, he wrote: "One of the most astonishing artistic developments in the theater of our time has been the rebirth of the high art of ballet at Sadler's Wells. We thought it had died with Diaghilev. That it could revive in its fullest excellence as an English institution in London, in an outlying theater in a neighborhood making no pretense to West End fashionableness, would have seemed twenty years ago the dream of a madman. Well, it has happened, and our British male dancers are as good as any in the world. Necessarily they are young; their ten years' technical training has to begin when they are children, and they are superannuated from leading parts when they are thirty-five. Consequently they are all of military age. What I want to know is whether these irreplaceably rare and highly skilled artists . . . are to be sent into the trenches to fill thirty places which could be better filled by thirty unskilled laborers. If they were key men in any of the mechanical trades they would be exempted as a matter of course. Being artistic key men their importance may not be appreciated by our often Philistine authorities."

I don't know what was done in England; but I believe I read some time ago that in Russia the musicians and dancers have been kept at their music and dancing—not because their talents made them privileged, but because these talents were considered as important for the nation to preserve for the future as its industrial machinery. That is something our own country understands about young physicists and chemists, but not about young musicians and dancers: if Nijinsky himself had been dancing here recently the army would now be making a soldier of him. Some of the musicians who have been drafted into the armed forces have been used as musicians, but not all: I was told recently of an oboist of one of the country's leading orchestras (good oboists, I might point out, don't grow on trees) who was taken by the Navy Seabees and is now doing heavy construction work. "A dancer," Shaw pointed out, "can keep himself up to the mark only by arduous daily practice. A year of soldiering would ruin him." It would not improve the playing of an oboist. B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

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Letters to the Editors

Mr. Patton and Mr. Appleby Exchange Words

Dear Sirs: In Paul Appleby's article Appetite First! in *The Nation* for September 25 he made a point of how amazingly close production of each agricultural commodity has been to the goal set by the government.

"That didn't just happen," the Under Secretary remarks. Right! As he undoubtedly knows, the goals each year have been figured backward and forward from "production possibilities," but more backward than forward. Goals have been readjusted downward from known needs so as to come within reach without converting, mobilizing, and expanding all of American agriculture to meet the food needs of the war and post-war periods, without annoying the high-price-through-scarcity coalition that almost succeeded in assassinating the Farm Security Administration and has succeeded in blocking proposals to count in 1,300,000 underfinanced, underequipped, and therefore underemployed farm families. This can be done whenever the American people want it done and let their Administration and their Congress know. It would require a loan authorization of one billion dollars and would yield a dollar and a half in food for each dollar invested. FSA experience shows that more than 90 per cent of this money would be repaid on time.

Mr. Appleby was careful to stipulate throughout his article that food production "could of course have been planned and directed even better," but I fear that he was attempting to put the best possible face on a pretty inadequate and sorry job. Louis Bromfield is dangerously wrong in many of his statements and his conclusions, but his general feeling of dissatisfaction can be justified, though for other reasons, such as the scandalous labor-freezing provisions of Public Law 45, under which farm labor is immobilized in many sections of the country, resulting in simultaneous labor shortages and surpluses.

Paul Appleby is too fine a mind and too much a friend of underemployed working farmers to be used as an apologist for a food-production program which he was allowed no part in framing.

JAMES G. PATTON,
President, National Farmers' Union
Washington, October 7

Dear Sirs: I was answering Mr. Bromfield, who did not make the point Mr. Patton makes in his letter. If Mr. Patton's letter has any real reference to my article, it is to ask why I took the trouble to answer Bromfield and why I didn't write about how a still better job could have been done. Bromfield gave the consuming public a wholly erroneous notion which has a direct bearing on the conduct of the war. I tried to show how little he knew about the subject, and to reassure the consuming public. Mr. Patton is not declaring otherwise. His letter is about what might have been done in addition. I agree with him that a better job could have been and still could be done by a special program helping lower-income farmers produce more. I don't agree that the failure to get that last 5 or 7½ per cent makes all the actually stupendous achievement something that shouldn't be pointed to with pride and assurance. His point I indorse; his zeal I applaud; his language tends to be too extreme in suggesting that his point is all there is to the food story. He knows better.

PAUL H. APPLEBY, Under Secretary,
Department of Agriculture
Washington, October 15

On Excluding the Chinese

Dear Sirs: President Roosevelt's message to Congress urging repeal of the Chinese-exclusion laws focuses public attention sharply on long anachronistic limitations against the people of a friendly nation. It is to be hoped that Congress will quickly pass the Andrews-Magnuson bills to admit Chinese to citizenship.

Within the week the American Federation of Labor convention in Boston instructed its executive council to "make a thorough study of the question of possible future revision" of immigration laws affecting Oriental races. But in this crucial period, when our Chinese allies have for six years borne the brunt of Japanese aggression, there is no time for "studying" these statutes, which are a potent weapon for our common enemy.

The original Chinese Exclusion Act was put through by Californian and Southern conservatives in 1882, ostensibly to "keep out cheap coolie labor"—after the transcontinental railroads had been built chiefly by imported Chinese.

Certainly there is no danger of any deluge of cheap labor resulting from the proposed repeal. Only 105 Chinese would be admitted annually under quota provisions. But it would remove for all time the stigma of "undesirability" from the oldest civilized nation. We owe China that act of good-will.

Some months ago our country acclaimed the First Lady of China, Mme Chiang Kai-shek. Yet this gallant lady, who represents the true spirit of the Chinese people, could never come in as an immigrant under our present laws.

ROSE PESOTTA,
Vice-President, International Ladies'
Garment Workers' Union
New York, October 12

Poland and Russia

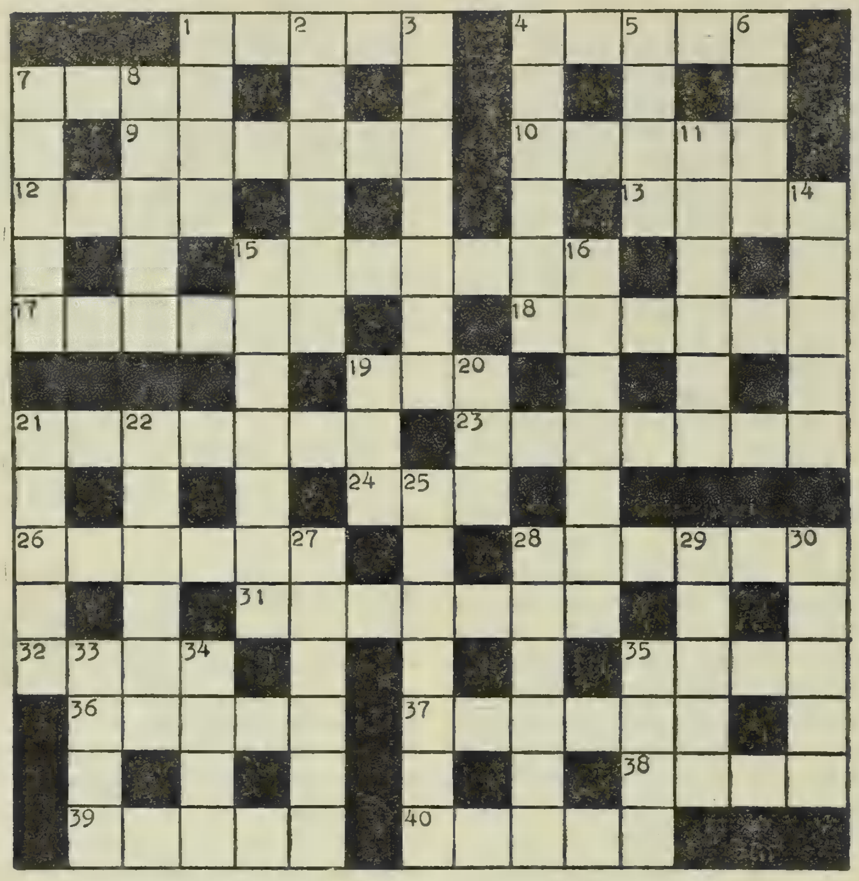
Dear Sirs: Marcin Rylski's article entitled Poland and Russia, which appeared in the Political War Section of *The Nation* on October 9, is an unfortunate deviation from your publication's tradition of fair and forthright presentation of facts.

Historical and geographical conditions and current political difficulties make the future of Polish-Russian relations a natural subject for discussion among Poles. But in alleging that it is official Polish policy to expect a restored Poland to stand "against Russia," Mr. Rylski is absolutely incorrect. It may be true that certain Polish right-wing and reactionary groups—like the clique around Colonel Matuszewski—stake Poland's future on opposition to Russia. But these groups not only lack any influence within Poland; they are outside the Polish government and in open opposition to it. The present government of Poland is based on a coalition of left, center, and moderate political parties, all of which are in agreement as to certain fundamentals of Polish policy, including the necessity for Poland to be on good-neighborly terms with the Soviet Union. The late General Sikorski's efforts to achieve that aim are continued by his successor in office, Premier Mikolajozyk, and by the Polish democratic parties. It is regrettable that so far those efforts have remained one-sided.

Indeed, there is considerable difference in the attitude taken toward Russia by the legitimate democratic parties of Poland and those groups represented by the Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow.

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 36

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 It's the devil when you lose a letter from a pal
4 All the world, according to Shakespeare
7 Not exactly miserly but not far from it
9 Wearisomeness, not a song of praise
10 In Egypt—and in Illinois
12 Land in the water
13 One usually goes to a city to see a man about this
15 Sort of fish or meat ball (mostly fish)
17 He gets paid for giving people socks
18 The dark woman loses her head but nevertheless shows you the way out
19 Harmless missile
21 Say without seeing, or see without saying
23 An unpleasant ending to a line of kings
24 Short of being a father by far
26 Brides in the wreckage
28 An old poulterer
31 Threadbare
32 It simply isn't done
35 "What's in it?" as Juliet said about Romeo's
36 One thing a dentist can't do to your teeth
37 An afternoon service (hyphen, 3 and 3)
38 I make a habit of putting my foot in it
39 Trail
40 Good winding-up dances

DOWN

1 Not costing anything to deliver
2 Strong medicine
3 Right of ownership
4 Shape of the harvest moon?
5 Entrance that fails to entrance
6 It used to be enough
7 Sound of denial from the stables
8 One thing that will show changes after the war
11 It could be slower
14 Swift once said that a nice man is a man of such ideas
15 A forbidding air?
16 Pick-me-ups on the morning after, perhaps (hyphen, 3 and 4)
19 Fit of the sulks
20 Finishes off a soft drink
21 Successful candidates may later on rise to it
22 No burs in this
25 Lost her in a sort of case
27 Bag for 39
28 You may be landed with this
29 Reluctant
30 The ruff's mate
33 We often say we have been waiting for them
34 Give more room to
35 Cape worn by the sea

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 35

ACROSS:—1 WATER; 4 UNION; 7 EFFECTS; 10 ROSIN; 11 EDITH; 12 THIN AIR; 13 SPED; 16 STOW; 18 THROB; 20 BALLET; 21 NONAGE; 22 LAVISH; 24 SCHOOL; 25 EARTH; 26 AMIR; 28 LOPE; 31 SADDLES; 33 READE; 34 ALONG; 35 AMNESTY; 36 NATAL; 37 SIEVE.

DOWN:—1 WIRES; 2 TASTE; 3 RENT; 4 USER; 5 IDIOT; 6 NOHOW; 8 FRIGHT; 9 CHARON; 14 PABULUM; 15 DELIVER; 16 SEAFOWL; 17 OVERLAP; 18 TENSE; 19 BOTCH; 23 HARDEN; 24 STILES; 26 AARON, 27 INAPT; 29 OZONE; 30 EAGLE; 31 SEAL; 32 SAYS.

The bona fide Polish democratic parties believe in international morality and the comity of nations. They are for an agreement between Poland and Russia, but they oppose any idea of "trimming" Poland against her will. For the Union of Polish Patriots, however, Moscow's word is law. As a matter of fact, its members are mostly either known Communists or old-time fellow-travelers. Others are window-dressing, and in some instances probably unwilling puppets. The Union of Polish Patriots is one of the chief obstacles in the way of Polish-Soviet friendship. The Polish government is willing to negotiate with the Soviet government, but if any results are to be achieved, the Union of Polish Patriots will have to be left out of the picture.

Mr. Rylski represents the twenty Poles and Polish Americans who signed the so-called "Appeal to Reason" as the Polish American counterpart of the Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow. I think that some at least of the twenty signatories may not relish this view. As to the group represented by Edward Puhacz, which is introduced as the London counterpart of the Union of Polish Patriots, the only thing which can be observed about them is their complete anonymity, with the exception of Mr. Puhacz himself, who is known as having been a hireling of the pre-war semi-fascist Polish regime. Moreover, he has been convicted of libel by a British court and is considered a deserter from the Polish army.

Mr. Rylski seems to have doubts as to the sentiments of the Polish people on Polish-Soviet relations. Differences of opinion may exist, but it is well known that those who advocate Poland's acceptance of Russia's claims do not belong to the legitimate underground. Allegedly "underground" papers advocating a view contrary to that taken by the Polish political parties and the Polish government are of Soviet origin.

Mr. Rylski says that the Polish people "will make their choice." It is evident from Rylski's article that his choice is made. And so is the Polish people's. They do not coincide. The Polish people have chosen the way leading to an independent, democratic republic, to social progress, and to good relations with their neighbors. They refuse and will consistently refuse to be anybody's puppets.

WIKTOR J. EHRENPREIS,
Secretary, Polish Labor Group
New York, October 16

[*Mr. Rylski's answer to Mr. Ehrenpreis will be printed next week.*]

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The Shape of Things

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE HAS ACHIEVED almost all that could have been expected and a good deal more than it seemed possible to hope for a few weeks ago. The documents are being published just at our press deadline, and we are forced to postpone extended comment until the next issue. It is clear, however, that the agreements cover more ground than was anticipated, although many subjects supposed to be on the agenda remain unmentioned. There is, for instance, no direct reference to immediate military moves, but the only conclusion to be drawn from this omission is that the Anglo-American plans laid before the Soviet government satisfied it that its allies were giving the Red army all the backing possible. Otherwise it is hardly likely that understanding on political matters would have been so complete. The agreements fall into two parts. One document, which is signed by China as well as the three powers, lays the foundations for a permanent world organization, open to all free nations, for the establishment and protection of peace. The other agreements deal with more immediate problems, and are confirmed to the United States, Britain, and Russia. They include the inauguration of a three-power advisory committee, sitting in London, to "examine European questions arising as the war develops"; the institution of an advisory council on Italy, in which France, Greece, and Yugoslavia will participate; a pledge to Italians of full restoration of democratic rights and an opportunity to choose their own form of government; a promise to liberate Austria; an understanding about the punishment of war criminals. Of outstanding importance is Russia's adherence to the unconditional surrender formula, which removes the Nazis' last lingering hope of making a separate peace. But overshadowing all specific details is the spirit of unity achieved. This is news which, combined with recent defeats, should prove shattering to German morale.

*

THE OPTIMISTIC NEWS FROM MOSCOW MAY seem to dispose of the pessimistic interpretations of the Senate's post-war policy resolution given by I. F. Stone in an article on page 518. But if the studied ambiguities which Senator Connally believes to be a policy have done nothing to hinder the discussions at Moscow, we cannot believe that they have done anything to strengthen the hands of the American representatives or that they will prove of positive value at any future international conference. The resolution does little more than put the Senate on record as being against aggression and for peace, just as Coolidge's preacher was against "sin" and, presumably, for virtue. It puts forward a misty conception of "international authority" which commits the Senate to nothing more definite than international finger-shaking at peace-breakers. Even approval of the World Court might be ruled out, as one of the resolution's supporters, Senator Gillette, admitted. The "wilful fourteen" who have been fighting hard to give the resolution some backbone are not quibbling when they seek to prefix "international authority to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world" by the word "an." For by giving approval to "*an* international authority" the Senate would be indorsing the idea of a concrete organization dedicated to the task of preventing wars. With so timid a proposal as the Connally resolution before the Senate, it is not hard to see why the isolationists are keeping out of the debate. Some of them, like Senator Vandenberg, have testified to its weakness by announcing their intention to vote for it. And while Senator Wheeler spoke against it, his speech lacked its old fire. What is difficult to understand is why the President should have approved the resolution by indirection. One explanation is that he believes vagueness will give him a freer hand. Woodrow Wilson, we recollect, thought he had a free hand, too, when he sailed for Europe.

*

MARSHAL BADOGLIO GAVE AN INTERVIEW last week to the American press which will make an interesting document for historians although we suspect some of his "facts" will not survive scholarly scrutiny. His line was to place the sole blame both for Italy's entry into the war and for its disastrous conduct on Mussolini. He admitted no responsibility for himself or for the army, not even in the matter of Il Duce's overthrow. That, the Marshal insisted, was entirely the work of the fascist hierachy and he himself only came into the picture when the king sent for him after Mussolini's resignation. It would seem, however, that he dates his condemnation of the fallen leader from 1940, for when Herbert L. Matthews of the New York *Times* reminded him of a former meeting in Ethiopia, Badoglio replied: "Those were better times for Italy." We find this unguarded remark revealing for it suggests that what turned the Marshal against Mussolini was not the latter's long record of repression at home and aggression abroad but his failure to pick the right horse in the current struggle. Consequently, we remain unimpressed by Badoglio's promise, repeated and elaborated in this interview, to resign office immediately hostilities cease.

EVENTS, HOWEVER, ARE PRESSING BADOGLIO and his royal master hard, and within the next few weeks they may, one or both, have faded out of the Italian picture. The present regime lacks both energy and authority, and it is daily becoming clearer that it cannot rally the people against Germany, cannot recreate the army, cannot restore economic life. Badoglio has now approached Count Sforza and other political leaders with a view to forming a coalition government. But before such a solution becomes possible the problem of the monarchy must be settled. Count Sforza and other prominent democrats are willing to compromise this question by retaining the crown as a symbol provided that Emmanuel and his heir, Prince Umberto, abdicate and allow the throne to go to the latter's six-year-old son. One constitutional snag is that a statute of 1938 requires that in such a case the next of kin in the royal house shall be named regent. The democratic leaders feel that both Umberto and the King are so tarred with the Fascist brush that they must be completely dissociated from the government before there can be a hope of regeneration. There appears to be no remedy for the situation except the moral equivalent of that revolution which would certainly have taken place but for the Allied occupation of the country.

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THE PRESIDENT'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A government-financed program of education and retraining for discharged service men and women should do much to allay the doubts and fears of the members of the armed services regarding their place in the post-war world. It has long been evident that many of the men and women in the services would need special assistance if they were merely to hold their own with the men and women of their own age who, for one reason or another, had not been called into service. This includes particularly the hundreds of thousands of young people whose education has been interrupted by the war, but it also includes those withdrawn from skilled occupations and those who presumably would have had opportunity for occupational advancement if they had remained in civilian life. Surely, the government is under obligation to see that so far as possible no one who has been in the services is occupationally handicapped. Doubtless, as some Congressmen have already complained, the educational and retraining program will cost the government a considerable amount of money at a time when there will be great pressure for economies. But if one million persons, as the committee that drew up the plan estimates, take advantage of the opportunities offered, the withdrawal of so many potential job-seekers from the labor market in the immediate post-war period should make the transition from a war to a peace economy that much easier.

CREDIT IS DUE TO *PM* FOR HAVING FORCED Governor Saltonstall to act in connection with the repeated Christian Front assaults on Jews in the Dorchester section of Boston. The assaults, directed mainly against Jewish children, had been going on for more than a year without official attention when Arnold Beichman, a *PM* reporter, interviewed a number of the victims and wrote a full-page story on his findings. When the story was first called to the attention of the Governor he denounced it as a "stinking article" and had Beichman ejected from the State House. Two days later, however, the Governor ordered the state police to investigate the complaints and appointed a five-man committee to confer with him on means of checking the growth of anti-Semitism. It is not known exactly what caused Mr. Saltonstall to make such an amazing about-face, but it is apparent that either the affidavits published in *PM* or some other authority convinced him of the seriousness of the situation. Influence also may have been exerted by a strong editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* urging action with respect to the *PM* disclosures. In any case, the steps taken by the Governor are long overdue. For years Boston has been a center of anti-Semitic propaganda disseminated by Coughlin and Christian Front supporters. It was inevitable that this poison should eventually lead to overt acts against the law-abiding Jewish population. The mere prevention of violence will not clear up the situation. The speakers and writers who have deliberately inflamed public opinion against the Jews, whether on orders from Berlin or not, must be held legally as well as morally accountable for the outrages.

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WENDELL WILLKIE'S BOOK "ONE WORLD" is under fire from at least one quarter of the Catholic Church. The *Catholic Mirror,* official organ of the Springfield, Massachusetts, Diocese, in its Guide to Best Sellers, has listed the book as "Not Recommended to Any Class." In an earlier issue the *Mirror* carried a review of the volume by the Reverend John K. Cartwright which makes it clear that Rome is still a long way from Moscow. "It is hard to see," wrote Father Cartwright, "what advantage the people of the Ganges and Irrawaddy will derive from the fact that Moscow has replaced London either as their center of administration or as their source of propaganda." Mr. Willkie shares, he said, "the insensitiveness of most politicians to the obvious and criminal tyranny of an ally," a stirring observation which loses a good deal of its force when we recall how "insensitive" the Catholic Church itself has been to the "obvious and criminal tyranny" of Fascism. Father Cartwright, who is a Jesuit, ended by saying that the book "does have value as a curious compend of sophistical reasoning." *Variety,* from which we glean this item, points out that Catholic opposition adds new hazards to the scheduled filming of "One World"—apparently there have already been objections on the score of politics. Between the isolationists on the one hand and the Legion of Decency on the other, Mr. Willkie may well discover that it's still a small world, after all.

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THE EXECUTIVE ORDER FORBIDDING RACIAL discrimination by firms doing business with the government has been grievously weakened by a ruling of Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren that it was "directory" rather than "mandatory." Warren ruled that in stating that all contracting agencies *shall* include a non-discrimination clause in their contracts the President obviously did not mean that they must include such a clause. Thus a minor official in the Administration who is notorious for his bias against the Negro has succeeded in nullifying the order which is the foundation of the efforts of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. From the beginning the FEPC has been hampered by the lack of any clear-cut power by which it could enforce the President's order against recalcitrant employers. Its one weapon was the threat of cancelation of contract, a weapon which has now been taken away by the Comptroller General's ruling. The President can remedy the immediate situation by issuing a new order making clear that compliance is required, but the larger problem of enforcement can be met adequately only by legislative action.

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THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WAGE-Hour Act finds the principle of fair working standards an accepted and integral part of the American industrial structure. When the act was first adopted in 1938 there were widespread predictions of dire calamity. It was said that whole industries would be ruined, that men would be replaced by machines, and that American industry would find itself unable to compete, on either home or foreign markets, with foreign industries that were under no such restrictions. One Senator from the South declared that the act had "crucified Dixie." Actually, none of the pessimistic predictions were borne out. Instead of calamity, the act brought unprecedented prosperity to many parts of the South, and many of the prophets of despair are now among its strongest supporters. As a result of the recommendations of all of the sixty-nine industrial committees set up under the law, it is expected that the minimum wage of 40 cents an hour will soon be put into effect throughout the country, two years ahead of the deadline set by Congress at the time the act was originally adopted. Although this minimum would seem to mean little under war-time conditions, it may prove of great assistance after the war. It should be particularly valuable as a means of preventing wage discrimination against Negroes, women, and other minority groups in the post-war period.

Roads to Rome

"WHILE it is true that all roads lead to Rome," General Sir Harold Alexander, commander of the Allied ground forces in Italy, remarked recently, "it is also true that those roads are mined." Nor is this the only reason why the Fifth and Eighth armies are counting their gains in yards. The terrain over which they are fighting is admirably adapted for defense in depth. Dividing the line in two is Italy's gnarled spinal column—the Apennine mountain chain, which extends numerous spurs toward both coasts. Pouring down from this watershed are many short, rapid streams which have cut deep valleys through the land. After the recent heavy rains some of them must be formidable torrents. The few main roads wind through the valleys, and before their use can be secured the high land on both sides must be cleared of the enemy. Stone-built towns and villages perched on high rocky ground make natural strongholds.

The Italian campaign has not gone according to plan, as General Alexander frankly admitted. The original idea was to land four divisions at Salerno and push rapidly across the peninsula to the Adriatic, trapping the two or three German divisions which were opposing General Montgomery's men farther to the south. But the German command, whether by a lucky guess or by good intelligence work, were prepared, and concentrated sufficient force at Salerno to keep General Clark's army pinned down near the beaches until the threatened Nazi forces could be withdrawn. Thus the German army was able to "disengage" itself in the Naples area and with the aid of reinforcements from the north to establish itself along the Volturno. And while it has been pushed out of that position, not without some cost to our side, it has a whole series of natural defensive lines to fall back on. At the present rate of progress it may be weeks or even months before our forces come within sight of Rome.

The nature of the terrain and the narrowness of the front—it is about ninety miles from the extreme left wing of the Fifth Army to the extreme right wing of the Eighth—precludes enveloping tactics of the kind which would force Rommel to choose between rapid retreat and the destruction of a considerable part of his forces. But if we look away from the actual front in Italy and study the whole strategic picture in the western Mediterranean, we see that wider outflanking movements are possible. General Eisenhower almost certainly has at his disposal reserves far in excess of any reinforcements needed for existing Italian operations. Since he has command of the sea and air, various movements are open to him. Reports of a concentration of troops and ships at Bari on the Adriatic coast suggest preparations for an amphibious expedition to join the Yugoslav guerrillas who are keeping many German divisions bloodily occupied. The broad agreements achieved at Moscow might prove the signal for such a move.

Another possibility is a landing on the Italian coast north of Rome; if successful, this would trap the Nazi divisions farther south and might force the Germans to evacuate the Holy City without a fight—an end which is clearly of great concern to the Allied high command. Before a landing in this region can be undertaken, however, it is essential for air bases to be established in Corsica so that fighter cover can be provided to protect the beachheads. This is not the work of a day, particularly as the rugged surface of the French island makes the task of building airfields a difficult one, but we can safely assume that it is being pushed forward with all possible speed.

Some military commentators have been wondering whether Rommel will seek to disrupt Allied plans by a counter-offensive. In relation to the risks involved, the maximum strategic fruits to be gathered would be meager. But the German commander might gamble on the theory that even a temporary defeat inflicted on the Anglo-American forces would be valuable in stiffening German morale and restoring his own rather shabby laurels. On the other hand, he can hardly afford to commit a large proportion of the reserves he has concentrated north of the Po, since he must have men available to stand off a new landing in Italy or to rush to the Balkans or even to France. And events on the Russian front suggest strongly that he cannot count on further reinforcements. Consequently, while progress in Italy may prove exasperatingly slow in the immediate future, the Allies are not likely to be deprived of the initiative.

Fire-Insurance Racket

WE CONGRATULATE Attorney General Francis Biddle on his statement to the Senate Judiciary Committee in opposition to the Bailey bill. This measure would exempt the insurance business from the anti-trust laws and "affirm the intent of the Congress that the regulation of the business of insurance remain within the control of the several states." The Attorney General spoke with great ability and great courage—the insurance lobby is politically very powerful. The facts he marshaled were more than a theoretical discussion of a proposed piece of legislation, for the bill is an attempt to avoid the probability that the Supreme Court will reverse the District Court's decision dismissing anti-trust indictments against 198 fire-insurance companies operating in the Southeastern states.

The facts presented by the Attorney General make two conclusions inescapable. One is that the fire-insurance business, as operated by the combinations which dominate it, is not a business but a racket using illegal and coercive tactics to extort high profits from the public. The other is that Senator Bailey of North Carolina is betraying the interests of his own constituents to serve this group of racketeers.

Mr. Biddle's statement provided the committee with a glimpse of the complaints which led the Department of Justice to act. They fully support the strong term we have applied to the fire-insurance business. "Even complaining about the South Eastern Underwriters Association rates," an Alabama business man wrote, "is a dangerous thing, since one is helpless without their underwriters." A Southern insurance agent wrote that the combine was threatening to close him out because his brother worked for an independent company. "I must either make my brother give up his business or I must give mine up." Control of the business by trade-association and rate bureaus explains the wide and profitable margin between the billion dollars the companies collect each year in premiums and the four hundred million they pay out in indemnities. The rates bear no real relation to the risks; statistics are meager and haphazard; the combines fix whatever rates they can get away with.

Profits are high and protection money commensurate. The Attorney General pointed out that 116 of the companies involved in the pending case were among the 142 companies which raised a fund of $446,000 in 1936 to bribe the Missouri Superintendent of Insurance and Tom Prendergast—a practice all too familiar to students of attempts to regulate business. These stalwart defenders of states' rights are at the same time engaged, through powerful lobbies at state capitals, in preventing legislatures from exercising those rights. The present case originated, in fact, as a result of a plea from the Attorney General of Missouri to the Department of Justice. His efforts to prosecute companies in his state, he said, were rendered difficult, if not hopeless, because the rate-fixing conspiracies were part of "a vast interstate scheme operating as a unit."

Behind the fire-insurance companies in this fight at Washington is the rest of the insurance business, all of it tainted, all of it anxious for exemption from federal supervision. It has found a willing collaborator in Senator Bailey, who is all for state regulation and points to his own state's "first-class insurance system." This has drawn a contemptuous snort from Josephus Daniels. In his Raleigh *News and Observer* that grand old Democrat says Senator Bailey must have got "a bit rusty" on North Carolina insurance law. Daniels tells the story of two farmhouses, one on each side of the Virginia-North Carolina line, both identical risks, "but the rate on the Virginia house was just about half the rate on the North Carolina house." The difference measures the difference in the effectiveness of regulation in the two states. North Carolina has no real control over fire-insurance rates, but it ought to have some control over Senator Bailey.

Famine in India

EXCEPT for the information contained in a few newspaper dispatches, the world at large has had until recently little knowledge of the severe famine which has gripped India for nearly a year. According to one estimate, made by a former member of the Central Legislative Assembly, 100,000 persons are dying of starvation in Bengal each week. Official records indicate that the weekly death rate in Calcutta is approximately three times the normal rate.

Although the causes of the famine are complex, it is obvious that the war and the friction between the British authorities and the Indian people are chiefly responsible. In normal times some 1,500,000 tons of rice are imported annually from Burma and French Indo-China. This supply has been cut off now for more than a year and a half. Supplementary imports have been hampered by the shipping shortage. Army demands, including those of the American forces in India, have been large. Although crops have been satisfactory this year, the Bengal rice crop suffered from a cyclone in the fall of 1942. The situation has been aggravated by the widespread sabotage of the railways during the recent political crisis and the efforts of some anti-British extremists to encourage hoarding. It has been further complicated by the refusal of many prominent Indians, particularly industrialists, to cooperate with the British-controlled government. Because of the existing political tension, effective government action to eliminate hoarding, control prices, and provide an effective rationing system has been extremely difficult.

Yet when all the difficulties in the situation are recognized, it is evident that the government under Lord Linlithgow failed to take even the most elementary steps to meet the crisis. It is only within the past few weeks that shipments of food have been sent to India. Rationing has not yet gone into effect. The fact that Lord Wavell in his first week in India found it necessary to set up relief camps and to enlist the aid of the army in speeding up the movement of supplies and organizing an effective distribution system indicates how little his predecessor had done. There is reason to hope that the steps being undertaken under Wavell's direction will alleviate the situation until the rice crop is harvested in January. But unless the United Nations divert shipping from urgent military purposes to rush food from Australia and New Zealand, tens of thousands of additional lives are certain to be lost. Added to those dying from starvation will be other tens of thousands doomed to death from disease as a result of a shortage of medical supplies and a breakdown in public health services. The situation presents a challenge which the British must meet if they are to justify at all their continued presence in India.

Post-War Gold Brick

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, October 28

DEBATE on the Connally resolution began Monday. It will probably continue well into next week. I dropped into the press gallery Tuesday to hear Senator Pepper speak against the resolution. Gluyas Williams could do justice to the scene in the green-carpeted amphitheater, under the yellow light seeping down from the glass ceiling, reinforced by steel girders against air raids that never came. There were not many more than twenty Senators on the floor when Pepper began, and though a few more drifted in during the afternoon, about the same number drifted out. Little attention was paid by those present. Several pairs of Senators carried on intermittent but animated conversations during the proceedings. One or two read newspapers. A few looked like aged schoolboys catching up with their lessons at the narrow Senatorial desks—the kind we had in the primary grades, with the top opening upward. There were usually one or two Senators wandering aimlessly about the chamber during the proceedings, stopping here and there for a chat, lighting a cigar, or just scratching their heads. They look pretty much as you would expect—commonplace middle-class lawyers or business men. A tendency to the pompous manner and florid speech is the principal mark of their high office, and a good many of them would be spotted instantly as phonies in any country store or corner pool room. Most of them have obtained office by ducking as many issues as possible, and they are still at it on the biggest issue of our time.

The debates, other reporters tell me, have been as poorly attended every day. There is not much use in looking in the *Congressional Record* to see whether your Senators were there. There was a time when a Senator could be counted present on a quorum call only if he was physically present in the chamber. The rules have never been applied so slackly as during this debate. Senators are counted present on roll calls all day if they have once put their head in the door and caught the clerk's eye, or made a telephone call, or even left word where they could be reached. I am told by a competent newspaperman that one Senator was counted present although he was in Baltimore—the theory being that he was within reach. At least on one day a Senate clerk was marking those physically present on a roll call in ink, those present only in spirit in pencil. This doesn't show up, of course, in the *Congressional Record*. The principal characters while I was there were Ball, refreshing in his youthfulness and simplicity, Connally, with his meager white mane and black-ribboned pince-nez, looking like a ham actor playing Senator, and Pepper, whose orotundity and tendency to make speeches even in private cover a real devotion to the public interest combined with a great deal of political agility.

I'd hate to think of the men in the services and their families at home watching these Senate debates by television. It might destroy faith in representative government, though the real test is not what happens in the Senate chamber but what you and I and several million others do about it. A little band of wilful men is once again at work in the Senate, but this time it is a band determined to establish, rather than to block, some system of international cooperation to prevent another world war. They're going to keep talking as long as they can. They hope that after a few days the country will wake up to what is going on and by pressure on the Senate force a less ambiguous statement on post-war international policy than that in the Connally resolution. Tonight there comes news that the executive committee of the C. I. O., meeting in Philadelphia, has adopted a resolution. The C. I. O. will have to do more than pass a resolution; I hope it will. Austin of Vermont has joined the original fourteen—Pepper, Ball, Hatch, Hill, Burton, Ferguson, Guffey, Green, Murray, Downey, Truman, Kilgore, Bridges, and Maybank. They are putting on a good fight. It remains to be seen whether the country's admitted desire for some kind of world order is only a vague sentiment or strong enough to affect the Senate.

The difference between the Connally resolution and the Pepper substitute is not one of mere semantics. The former, like the Mackinac declaration, can mean anything and therefore means nothing. The peace it will preserve is the peace of mind of the politicians at the next election. The Connally resolution, and the manner in which it has been handled, is an attempt not to obtain but to prevent a genuine declaration of post-war policy. Connally's maneuvers enabled a hand-picked subcommittee of eight to usurp the powers of the full Foreign Relations Committee. The committee itself refused to hold public hearings. The resolution was voted out and the Senate asked to take it or leave it in the form in which it was written. If it is accepted, there can be no genuine expression of opinion at the next election, because the resolution is so ambiguous that a vote for it is no test at all, and voters will be unable to separate internationalist sheep from isolationist goats.

Though Connally himself is on record for stronger action than whatever it is his resolution envisages, the chosen text undoubtedly suits him. His committee had been holding the lid on any post-war resolution since last March, and some months ago in the cloakrooms colleagues heard Connally say, "We'd better hurry up and adjourn or some damn fool will be bringing up a post-war resolution or the poll tax." Connally wanted no resolution if possible, an ambiguous one if necessary. The subcommittee's sudden action is undoubtedly linked with the Moscow conference, as Connally himself has more than once hinted. The large Polish vote in several important cities, the Administration's entente with the Vatican, always pro-Polish, and the far from dead desire for a *cordon sanitaire* impel Roosevelt and Hull to seek the restoration of Poland as it was in 1939. Their only possible talking point with the Russians is that the Soviet Union need not worry about strategic boundaries because there is going to be a real system of collective security after the war. Hull wants a resolution to show Stalin. I doubt whether anyone here is naive enough to think so hard-headed a customer can be sold so obvious a gold brick. The Connally resolution is nothing that anybody could rely on, but maybe some people are thinking that in a pinch they can say, "Look, we offered the Russians a system of collective security but they still insisted on their 1941 boundaries." I hope I'm wrong, but I think something of this sort is buzzing behind the diplomatic scene.

Overshadowing this *Weltpolitik* as played by the diplomatic pigmies is a desire on the part of common folk to have done with war and lawlessness between nations. The Connally resolution, as Pepper warned, moves toward World War III. The Pepper substitute will not preserve peace, but it will take us one little step in that direction. The time to prod the Senate is now.

"Face" and Freedom in Asia

BY H. G. QUARITCH WALES

LAST August, on the occasion of the forty-fifth anniversary of the American occupation of Manila, President Roosevelt promised to establish a Philippine republic "the moment the power of our Japanese enemies is destroyed." On September 24 Senator Tydings offered a resolution—now under consideration by the Senate Territories Committee—authorizing the President to free the Philippines immediately. The other United Nations continue to be vague about their intentions in Southeast Asia, though with the increase of military pressure on Japan in the near future, the question of the post-war status of the reconquered countries will become an urgent one. If we are to gain the support of the inhabitants we shall have to announce a policy which promises to fulfil their national aspirations. So far the need for such propaganda does not seem to have been recognized.

On two occasions in the past few months our lack of comprehension of the situation in Southeast Asia has been revealed. Japan's "gift" of two Shan and four Malay states to Thailand and its granting of pseudo-independence to Burma were dismissed by press and public as of no importance because all the territory involved remained as before under Japanese domination. In referring to the former event an editorial in the New York *Times* came forward with the information that the Shans "may or may not be remotely related" to the Siamese. The writer evidently did not think it worth the trouble to ascertain the established ethnographical fact that the Shans (or Greater Thai) are the closest of kin to the Siamese (Lesser Thai) and speak a different dialect of the same language. The very word Siam is merely a corruption of the word Shan. Some weeks later the *Times* belatedly recognized that Japan's psychological warfare ought to be countered but was still convinced that its stratagem was "characteristically clumsy and bound to be abortive."

It is not easy for the materialistic West to appreciate that where "face" is concerned Orientals make a less rigid distinction than we do between the shadow and the substance. A semblance of immediate independence is more likely to win their support than promises of real freedom some day. The transaction of the Shan states illustrated Japan's understanding of this principle.

I saw an earlier scene in the drama enacted in 1936 when I happened to be in Bangkok on a gala occasion. The streets and public buildings had been decorated in the usual way. Then unexpectedly a novel display was created overnight in one of the public gardens: a flower bed was laid out as a huge map of Siam—a greater Siam, including the coveted Shan and Malay states as well as a goodly slice of territory that had been stolen by the French. The flower bed had a huge popular success. Bangkok's citizens and their country cousins in town for the festivities flocked to admire it. Eventually word reached the ears of the British and French ministers. But before a complaint could be lodged at the Foreign Office, the flowers had faded and the Siamese authorities could plead ignorance of the whole affair.

Seven years later the dream seems to have come true. Perhaps Luang Pibul and other educated leaders are not deceived. But a great many people are happy that they can now plant their flower gardens and color their maps as they please, with no white man to say them nay. Besides, Japan's gift helps them to believe its other promises—for instance, that the misery caused by the forced change from rice to cotton cultivation is only a temporary phase of the slightly delayed "co-prosperity."

Lord Wavell knows what we shall be up against in the reconquest of occupied Asia unless we can offer the people a program more attractive than that of the Japanese. He knows how much depends on the invading army's receiving the active cooperation of the inhabitants. He has warned that the natives of Southeast Asia will oppose a return to the old colonial system. What indications are there that we intend to heed his advice?

Last July the British Colonial Secretary, Colonel Oliver Stanley, so far improved upon Mr. Churchill's well-known statements as to announce the government's willingness after the war to collaborate closely in the British colonies with neighboring and friendly nations. But he did not disclose when the "progressive approach to self-government" would be likely to reach its goal, the only real interest of the peoples concerned.

The Dutch alone among European colonial powers have come forward with something approaching a comprehensive plan for the future of their Asiatic dependencies. This plan, though it is not official, would have to be taken into consideration in formulating any Allied propaganda policy, since it is the work of Dr. George H. C. Hart, chairman of the Board of Economic Affairs of the Netherlands Indies, Surinam, and Curaçao. As explained by Dr. Hart in the March issue of *Pacific Affairs*, it calls for partnership of the colonies with the Netherlands in a commonwealth the members of which are apparently to be bound much more closely together than are the members of the British Commonwealth. The Indies are to share in the administration of the commonwealth and to have a greater degree of autonomy in domestic affairs. In the June issue of *Pacific Affairs* the Hart plan was critically discussed by Professor Raymond Kennedy, who showed that it is quite possible to interpret the "charter" as merely a continuation of the old system behind a new façade. As Professor Kennedy pointed out, the plan is silent on such points as whether there will be an appointed governor general or an elected chief executive, the extent of the franchise, the system of representation, and provisions for education.

If Professor Kennedy's doubts are unfounded, no time should be lost in dispelling them. The Dutch "charter" interpreted as he has shown it can be would make no appeal to the Indonesian nationalists. It is of no value to the United Nations as propaganda.

The principles of the Atlantic Charter lie ready to hand. Why not decide that they do apply to Asia after all? One reason of course is that they conflict with the arbitrary division of territory among the colonial powers. As long as we allow this to stand in the way of the natural and logical coming together of related peoples—which even the Japanese are willing to permit within their "co-prosperity sphere"—we shall fail to win the good-will of the peoples of Southeast Asia. We bemoan the supposed inability of India to unite. Why continue to divide those who wish to come together?

Historical claims based on former aggressions cannot be considered valid. If they were, the Siamese would have quite as good a right to the Malay States as any European power ever had. They can point to historical documents proving their suzerainty from 1350 A.D. until the arrival of the white man. In fact, however, the Malays hate and fear the Siamese, and Siam's claim here lacks the legitimate basis that a demand for union with the Shans would have. Allied propaganda must recognize the growing desire of the peoples of Southeast Asia, as they gain political consciousness, to coalesce along lines of cultural affinity.

The Malays of Malaya had already under the British begun to question a system which considered the people of one river valley a political unit distinct from those in the next. By a natural extension of this process they will be unwilling to remain forever divided from other Malaysian peoples, particularly those of the Indies. (They would probably exclude the inhabitants of the northern Philippines, who though of Malay blood do not share the same culture.) What is more, in antiquity most Malays did form a single prosperous nation, the history of which is now well authenticated. Unfortunately not we but the Japanese decided to remind them of this fascinating point. If now we wish to offer the peoples of this region something better than the Japanese fiction we must not seek to perpetuate the haphazard patchwork of empire.

An essential part of our propaganda, if Japan's psychological warfare is to be effectively combated, must be exposure of the enemy's false promises. We must show that while the Japanese preach nationalism and independence they practice imperialistic absorption. How else is to be explained their corruption of Buddhism and even of Christianity and Islam into some form of Shinto, with the intention of fostering spiritual allegiance to the Japanese emperor, or their attempt to impose Japanese culture by rewriting local laws, using the Japanese language in the schools, and opening Japanese "halls of culture" in the cities?

But the definite offer of real freedom is the one United Nations move that the Japanese propagandists really fear. That was evident in the reaction of the Tokyo radio to President Roosevelt's pledge to the Philippines. Deep consternation was thinly veiled beneath an announced intention to hasten the coming of Philippine independence "under the guidance of Japan." Less than two months later the Japanese set up a puppet republic, with José P. Laurel, a Filipino collaborationist, as its President.

To counteract the effect of such moves the Western powers should make public a time-table stating definitely when the various peoples of Southeast Asia will receive full freedom after the reconquest, the dates to be determined by the degree of their political advancement. Ultimately, of course, the question of boundaries must be taken up. The time-table should be guaranteed by the Asiatic group among the United Nations, leadership of which has been earned by China in this war. After this has been done, the other nations should seek the aid of China in impressing the sincerity of their purpose on the peoples to be liberated from Japan.

Diary of the Future

BY VERNON BARTLETT

II. Peace Breaks Out

JULY *18.* To all intents and purposes the war is over. There is a good deal of fighting going on in the Erzgebirge and Sudetenland generally. The Czechs have been magnificent here, although they are virtually unarmed. They attack the Germans with spades, scythes, or bare fists. German divisions are also holding out in the Eiffel and the Black Forest. There has still been no formal surrender. Not one word has come over the radio for nearly a week to suggest whether Himmler, Ribbentrop and company still control the government, or even whether there is a government to control. The contradictions in their radio programs are fantastic.

France is now entirely free. Proclamation yesterday from the Committee of National Liberation in Algiers that elections will be held within three months for a new Constituent Assembly. The committee will transfer itself to Paris before the end of the week.

July 19. Berlin is in Allied hands. This was announced in a special broadcast by the Prime Minister before the 1 p. m. news. Armored cars reached the city's outskirts from the south and southwest before dawn. At about the same time gliders landed at the Tempelhofer Field and other airfields near Berlin. They took over all government buildings without much trouble.

Believe it or not, State Secretary Meissner turned up at the German War Office to welcome the commander-in-chief of the Allied forces. Meissner has been doing jobs of this kind, irrespective of the political color of his boss, ever since he was appointed by Ebert, first President of the German Republic. The most astonishing political chameleon in history, he seems to be the only minister who has stuck to his post.

Revolutionary committees have been established in Kiel, Hamburg, Danzig, and some towns in the Ruhr. Trouble among the armed forces seems to have begun in Kiel, as it did at the end of the last war. One sailor broadcast tonight from Hamburg and called on all men in the armed forces to arrest their officers and to form Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

Just after listening to this man I turned the knob on my set and heard Admiral Räder telling the German people that the war had been lost and further resistance was useless. As one might have anticipated, he insisted that, once again, civilian morale had not stood up to the strain. The Reichswehr, he said, had not been defeated but had withdrawn, partly in order to avoid further useless casualties inflicted by an enemy with great superiority in all arms, and partly to give this enemy no excuse for doing further damage to historic German towns. He ended his broadcast with an assurance that the day of Germany's recovery and revenge would dawn. When he had finished, the band played "Deutschland über Alles." It also began the Nazi hymn, the "Horst Wessel Lied," but there was the sound of some kind of altercation, and the program came to an abrupt end.

July 21. At last a man has come forward to form a government in Germany, and if he is allowed to do so I hope every Allied government in Europe collapses. It ought to, for the man is that stupid and conceited man Ribbentrop. He has the collaboration of that other poor and unprincipled creature von Papen, and of a number of little-known generals. These men are in hiding somewhere, it is believed in the Black Forest, and they submitted their document—their terms, one might almost say—to the Allied High Commissioner's office in Berlin.

The document has the nerve to begin with all the old nonsense about the necessity of building a barrier between Communist Russia and the rest of Europe. It goes on to emphasize that the reluctance of responsible persons to form a government in Germany is a danger to the whole continent and "threatens civilization with disintegration." Ribbentrop claims that he worked with Hitler only in the hope of guiding his great energies and power into peaceful channels, and points out that in the great purge of June 30, 1934, Papen's closest friends and collaborators were murdered by the Nazis. This is supposed to show not that Papen is a moral coward but that he has never been a whole-hearted Nazi.

Then comes the inevitable reference to the army's lack of interest in politics, with the reminder that it was for years the opponent of Hitler. The generals, it is insisted, were against his reoccupation of the Rhineland, his campaign against the Czechs, and his attack upon the Soviet Union. The members of the government, or proposed government, hint that they are all gentlemen, with standards of behavior very different from those of the Nazis, the Communists, or, it is implied, the Socialists. They would gladly cooperate with the Allied forces but would, of course, need to be left with sufficient armaments under their control to enable them to keep order.

July 22. Jan Masaryk spoke up in behalf of the smaller nations today at the United Nations Committee in St. James's Palace. He quoted from articles in the American press hinting that the State Department would have very little time to consult individual European governments, and that those which most conformed to American views would get most help. Masaryk wanted to know whether these articles represented British and American opinion. He was given the usual diplomatic answer, and expressed his opinion of it with his usual refreshing frankness.

The truth is that Hitler has done two incompatible things to Europeans. He has united them by economic measures and by common suffering, but at the same time he has encouraged their acute sense of nationalism by trying to crush it by force. The Norwegians have developed a new sense of unity with the Yugoslavs, the Belgians with the Poles, as they have heard how hardships similar to their own have been inflicted on people way on the farther side of Europe. But these people have also had to suffer so much because they *were* Poles or Belgians or Norwegians or Yugoslavs that their national pride is much stronger than it was.

This is where Americans may make a blunder that might easily wreck the peace conference. Ever since their intervention in the De Gaulle-Giraud business they have failed to pay attention to the sensibilities of these Europeans, whose diversity of culture is responsible for the contributions they have made to civilization.

July 23. Himmler has reached Argentina. His machine was refueled in Spain and again somewhere in West Africa. It is not yet known how so important a person, even though he carried fake papers, escaped recognition in Brazil. The Foreign Office is extremely worried about the problem of extradition. Public opinion will certainly demand the surrender of such a prominent war criminal, but nobody quite knows what will happen if the Argentine government refuses to give him up. Bill Stoneman and other American newspapermen believe the United States, as leading promoter of the Pan-American Union, would be opposed to the use of pressure on Argentina.

Lunched at the Belle-Meunière with Dr. Negrín and Pablo de Azcárate, Prime Minister and Ambassador in the last government in Spain in any way elected by the people—and therefore the only government to which, without interfering in Spanish affairs, we could turn when the Franco regime disappears.

The conversation turned on a debate yesterday in Parliament in which a small group of members did less than no good by making a fuss about the bases leased to America by Britain, and about the American press campaign for more bases in other parts of the world. Surprisingly strong opinions were expressed about Gibraltar. No Spaniard, not even a Spaniard with so international a point of view as that of Negrín or Azcárate, likes the British occupation of Gibraltar. But I was surprised by the violence of Azcárate's reaction when it was suggested that the United States and Great Britain—with the Soviet Union and China a little in the background—should control Gibraltar among other bases which must be internationally controlled if an International Police Force is to do a proper job.

Azcárate wasn't in the least anti-American, but he didn't see why the United States, any more than any other country outside Europe or Africa, should control the entrance to the Mediterranean. He would rather have the present regime continue than have Gibraltar under the control of two great powers instead of one. His argument favored, rather, a full association of the smaller powers in any international arrangement.

Raymond Daniell of the New York *Times* was dining at a neighboring table and joined us for coffee. He pointed out, with a little justifiable bitterness, that a lot of us Europeans who had grumbled in the past because the United States paid too little attention to the affairs of the rest of the world now grumbled because the United States was paying too much attention to them.

A blunt reply has been broadcast to Ribbentrop and his buddies. The governments of the United States and Great Britain, in consultation with those of the other European United Nations, have no intention of dealing in any way with men whose crimes against mankind are so many and so appalling. They are fully prepared to govern Germany themselves, if need be, until a new generation of Germans is able to take over control.

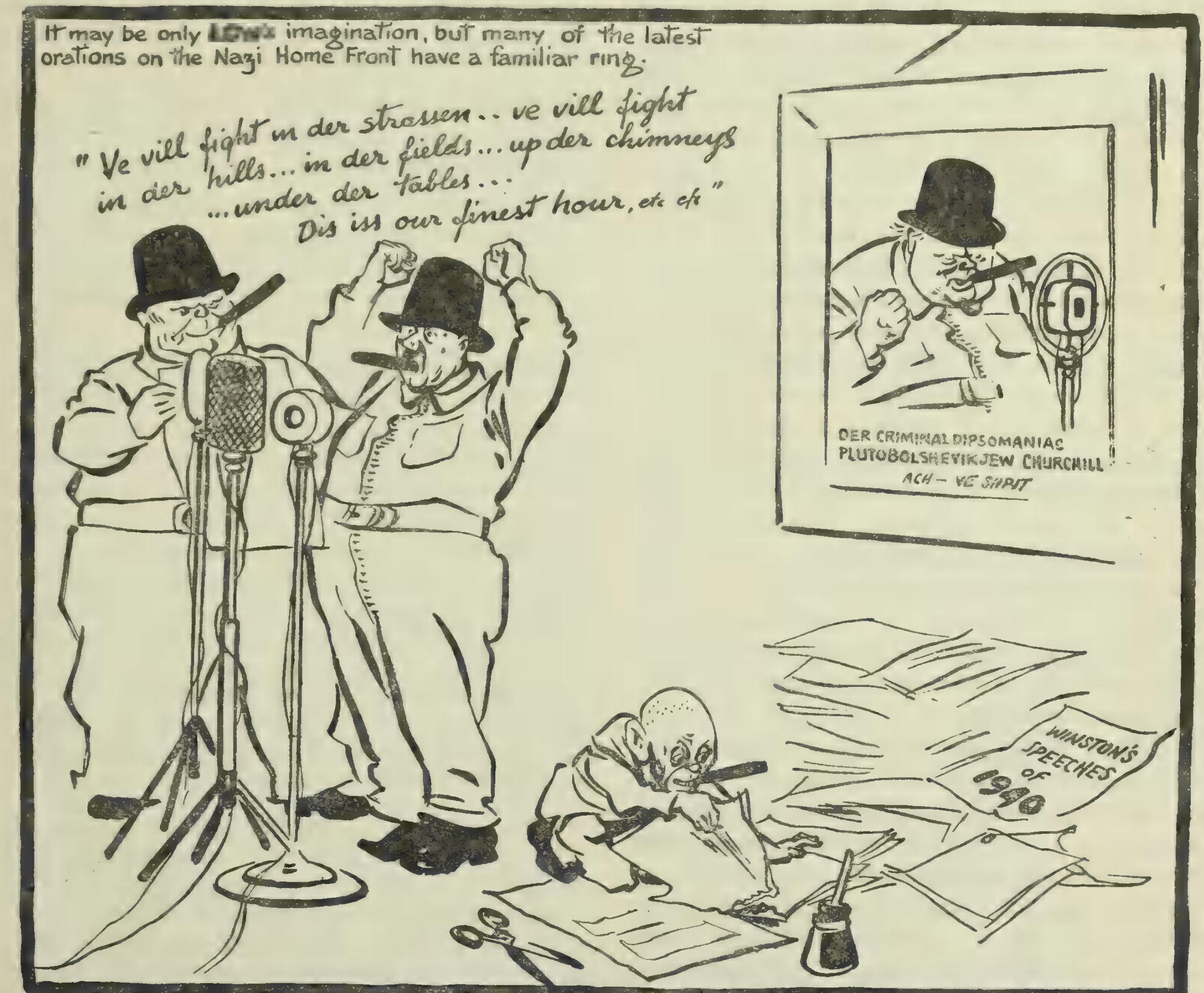
This announcement was broadcast and published this morning. It is encouragingly precise, but some of the effect of this precision was destroyed by one or two comments in Parliament suggesting that the nation is not united in rejecting all dealings with men like Ribbentrop.

This evening's papers announced that, as the result of a raid carried out by American troops based on Strasbourg, Ribbentrop, Papen, and seventeen important Reichswehr officers have been arrested. So much for that stupid, arrogant man!

July 29. Went today to Bloomsbury House, hitherto headquarters of the German refugees in Britain, and found the place a pandemonium. This is the result of the report in the morning papers that all refugees are to be sent back to the land of their birth. Shinwell, in a question yesterday in the House of Commons, had failed to get a convincing denial of the report, and this doubtless added to a panic already encouraged by letters and editorials in some of the Tory papers.

Many of the refugees hope to go back to Germany, but they want to hear much more about conditions on the Continent before they return to it. On the other hand, a lot of the refugees hope never to return to Germany, because their memories of their last few years there are so bitter. On the whole, the older people want to stay here; the younger people are prepared to get back into the political struggle to make Germany a country fit for democrats to live in. It seems pretty beastly that a few members of Parliament and some papers should start a campaign to rob these people of their free choice. Apart from everything else, there is enough confusion in Europe already without sending thousands more people to add to it.

The Soviet attitude is becoming much clearer, but not more reassuring. Russian armies intend to control territory from Danzig to Istanbul. Among the secret documents of the czarist regime published by Trotsky after the Bolshevik revolution was one claiming that Russian territory should stretch westward as far as the River Oder, and some people believe that Stalin has that claim in mind. As the Russian army is the only organized and disciplined set of men in Eastern Europe, this advance presents no real difficulty. Some American papers have gone so far as to suggest that Anglo-American troops should get there first, but most of the forces in Europe and the Mediterranean are British, and no British government could possibly push them into war against Russia. Great Britain and Russia cannot afford to quarrel, and the smaller nations of Europe would be the first to suffer if they did.


It may be only [redacted] imagination, but many of the latest orations on the Nazi Home Front have a familiar ring.
" Ve vill fight in der strassen .. ve vill fight in der hills ... in der fields ... up der chimneys ... under der tables ... Dis iss our finest hour, etc etc "
DER CRIMINAL DIPSOMANIAC PLUTOBOLSHEVIKJEW CHURCHILL
ACH – VE SHPIT
WINSTON'S SPEECHES OF 1940

IMITATION THE SINCEREST FLATTERY.

But it is not at all certain the Russians want to keep the territory they have occupied. Their emphasis on Free Rumanian, Free Bulgarian, and Free Hungarian movements suggests that they don't, but that they do not intend to have hostile governments in neighboring territories. Above all in Hungary, where a revolution has been overdue for a generation, the British and American negotiation with the same old bunch of land-owning aristocrats has aroused the liveliest Russian suspicions. The Anglo-Saxons have even dug out men as discredited as Tibor Eckhardt and as old as Count Bethlen.

In the Far East Soviet policy is rather more involved. Those few but fairly influential Englishmen and Americans who used to argue that there was no great hurry to open up a second front in 1943, because the Russians and the Germans were rather conveniently killing each other off, are now hoist with their own petard. Russians are now said to be telling themselves that Japan will be defeated, anyhow, and that it won't do any harm if the other United Nations suffer fairly numerous casualties in the process.

July 30. There's hell to pay. Serious rioting took place on Sunday in the Ruhr. Most of it was probably spontaneous, since the whole area has been terribly knocked about in air raids and a good many workers who had been transferred to work in factories in Austria and Czechoslovakia are now coming back to their native soil and are shocked by the state it is in.

There has been a lot of sporadic rioting in the last month, but this was much more serious. The Workers' and Soldiers' Council in Essen had stated in advance that resolutions would be passed at a demonstration denouncing the great industrialist families—Krupp von Bohlen, Thyssen, and so on; and it was clear that trouble was likely. But the same old division of responsibility between Allied military and civilian authorities stood in the way of sensible precautionary action. No warning was given in advance of any demonstration, and consequently nothing was done to limit its scope. Then, when it got really out of hand and began setting fire to the mansions of these Ruhr millionaires, Allied troops were called out. In the end they did what any troops would have done in similar circumstances: they turned their machine-guns on the crowd. And ill luck would have it that the troops in this case were Americans.

The effect in Washington has been instantaneous. The isolationists, the Russophobes, the Russophiles, the progressives, and the Anglophobes all seem to be united in criticizing the American Administration. American boys should be brought home instead of becoming involved in Europe's civil wars is the main isolationist argument. The Russophobes lay emphasis on the rumor that the demonstration was encouraged from Moscow. The Russophiles and the progressives generally are disgusted that Americans should be using machine-guns to defend German industrialists who have been the originators of two world wars. The Anglophobes trot out the old argument about the wily British Premier who has persuaded the guileless American President to play a dominating part in Europe while American boys are dying in the South Pacific.

[*The third instalment of Mr. Bartlett's diary will appear next week.*]

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IF IT IS TO BE a Junker peace, if the essential, underlying principles of the President's fourteen peace terms are not to be accepted, the world will go on in the same old stupid way—headed, as Mr. Asquith has just said, for destruction. . . . The more is the pity that Mr. Wilson has made the great blunder of allowing his dull and narrow Postmaster General, his narrower Attorney General, and all the other agencies under his control, to suppress adequate discussion of the war and of peace aims. . . . At the very moment of his extremest trial our liberal forces are by his own act scattered, silenced, disorganized, some in prison. If he loses his great fight for humanity it will be because he was deliberately silent when freedom of speech and the right of conscience were struck down in America.—*November 2, 1918.*

THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION are specially gratifying to the suffragists. . . . The prohibitionists also will derive encouragement from the returns.—*November 16, 1918.*

NOW THAT REAL REVOLUTION is threatening or under way in Austria-Hungary and Germany, our conservatives have suddenly become alarmed at a process which is the inevitable result of the war we have been witnessing.—*November 16, 1918.*

FOR SEVERAL WEEKS the American public was kept in a state of agitation by reports of a "general massacre of all the upper classes" of Russia on the night of November 10. . . . The hideous affair was pre-described, commented upon editorially, and, save for the practical details of execution, carried through by the press before the fateful day arrived. . . . The only action of the Bolsheviki . . . was a general order "giving amnesty to all arrested hostages and persons alleged to be involved in plots against the Soviets except those whose detention is deemed necessary as a guaranty for the security of the Bolsheviki who have fallen into enemy hands." Not one newspaper copied this report. Having accomplished the massacre it might have seemed inconsistent to bring the dead to life, as well as weakening to the lavishly documented case against the Bolsheviki.—*November 23, 1918.*

THE SEMI-OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT that President Wilson proposes to attend the peace conference has elicited a variety of opinions from newspapers and public men. The published expressions of opinion seem to be, on the whole, unfavorable to Mr. Wilson's plan. It is pointed out by critics that it would be an unprecedented thing for a President to cross the ocean or to attend an international conference.—*November 23, 1918.*

Tax Idle Savings!

BY GEORGE RICHMOND WALKER

WHEN Stuart Chase advocates taxing idle money—"defrosting uninvested savings," as he puts it—it is a simple case of dog biting man (no offense to Mr. Chase). But when Eric Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, comes out with the same suggestion, that is a case of man biting dog. It's news; it's good tidings; the world should sit up and take notice.

Perhaps Mr. Johnston would change his mind if he carefully considered the implications of his words. However, he did say in the September *Reader's Digest* that the government "needs to turn around and say to every investment dollar: If you stay idle, you pay *full* taxes." When asked specifically whether that meant he was advocating a tax on idle investment funds, he replied that this interpretation was correct.

In considering a tax on idle money it should be said at the outset that the tax is not a sudden bright idea of the money reformers. It is not, indeed, a money reform at all but a basic modification of the structure of capitalism. The economic theory which explains and justifies it stems from Adam Smith and comes down through Malthus, Proudhon, and Gesell; it is a line of thought that has run parallel to orthodox capitalist and socialist economic theories almost from the beginning, and offers an alternative to both. Probably Mr. Johnston is not aware of this, but no matter. He believes in a dynamic and competitive system of private enterprise, and he has perceived that such a system cannot function if capitalists are permitted to withdraw from economic activity—at will, for as long as they please, and without penalty.

The economists of capitalism, including even Keynes and Hansen, have assumed without question that investment must be induced by the expectation of profit. If investment outlets are insufficient, or if there is dissatisfaction with political or economic conditions, then capitalists have the privilege of holding their funds idle. But when they do so, the consequence is depression. As the investment of capital provides employment and expands the plant and equipment of industry, so the refusal to invest causes business stagnation.

Consider what this means. It means that those few who own or control investment funds have the power to prevent the expansion of industry. It means that they have the power to employ labor but *no responsibility for employment.* It means that holding as they do the threat of depression in their hands, they can coerce or frustrate the will of the majority, block reforms, and wear down a liberal Administration. The right to hoard investment funds is thus clearly anti-democratic and inconsistent with the successful operation of a private-enterprise economy. To deny the right would not mean a decrease but an enormous increase in economic freedom, for economic freedom means the opportunity to live, to work, and to produce and not the privilege of denying this opportunity to others.

Professor Hansen's scheme of public works, which forms the core of the National Resources Planning Board's post-war program, would not cure the evils of capitalism but would tend rather to preserve them. To capitalists he says in effect: "You may continue to save as much as you please; you may continue to limit your investments in private industry at the point where they yield the most profit; and you may invest your surplus savings in government bonds at a rate of interest that is satisfactory to you." The privilege of not investing would remain untouched, and therefore all political and economic factors would still have to be ordered to the satisfaction of capitalists, for otherwise they would invest neither in industry nor in government bonds. And again the consequence would be depression.

Industry itself, however honest its intentions or however carefully it plans, cannot solve the problem of unemployment, for industry cannot provide employment beyond its ability to sell the goods that its workers produce. The sales of industry depend upon consumer expenditure and capital expenditure. To the extent that income is saved, consumer expenditure is reduced; and unless the savings are promptly invested, the sales of industry, and likewise employment, will necessarily decline. Thus the power to employ rests ultimately with the individuals and business concerns having funds available for investment.

A tax on investment funds, although it would leave many problems unsolved, would transform the face of our economy. Imagine capitalists eagerly searching for outlets for their funds and gladly accepting whatever rate of return they could get! Imagine the effect upon monopoly control of prices if small and medium-sized industrial concerns could readily borrow the funds needed for expansion! Imagine the effect on business in general if producers knew that all the money paid out by industry in costs and profits would return promptly to buy the goods and services produced!

If the suggested tax were now in effect, the Treasury could borrow the funds it needs to finance the war without further recourse to banks and without any of the nagging, the parades, or the ballyhoo. People would rather buy 1 per cent bonds than pay a tax on their idle funds.

And after the war the tax would have these highly beneficial effects:

1. It would act as a continuing stimulus to spending and investment. A tax on idle capital, like a tax on land, would discourage its being held out of use.

2. It would cause a rise in the price of outstanding securities, real estate, and other capital assets, and thereby reduce their yields. A point of equilibrium would be reached when the yield from existing assets equaled the rate of return that could be secured from new capital investment, with risk factors taken into account.

3. With the rise in the value of existing assets the proceeds of capital-gain and estate taxes would be greatly increased.

4. Security markets would become stabilized and speculation would diminish. Flights from securities into cash and from cash back into securities would no longer be profitable.

5. Saving in excess of the demand for new capital would be discouraged; the ratio of spending to saving would increase; the effective demand for the products of industry would be maintained.

6. Funds could be borrowed at low rates by towns and cities and spent on municipal improvements; low interest rates would also stimulate private housing.

7. The rate of turnover of demand deposits would rise and become stabilized; the volume of money could then be effectively controlled with the view of preventing both inflation and deflation; changes in the volume of money could no longer be offset and nullified by changes in its velocity.

8. And, finally, the system of private enterprise would function at or near the level of full production and employment, and there would be much less need for public spending and for bureaucratic controls.

A tax on money hoarding would not destroy capitalism; on the contrary, it would release its creative energies. The tax *would* destroy the predatory power of capitalists to prevent an expansion of industry and to maintain an economy of high prices, low wages, and scarcity. The problems of a dynamic economy would remain with us, but not the general problem of economic stagnation.

If these results are desirable, from a liberal point of view, then a tax on funds available for investment should be item number one on a liberal program for the post-war world.

[*A second article by Mr. Walker, explaining the mechanism of a tax on savings, will appear in an early issue.*]

In the Wind

A "GOVERNMENT GIRL" in Washington reports the following incident as a drastic introductory lesson in Yugoslav politics. Meeting an attaché of the Yugoslav government in exile at a Washington party, she made small talk by asking an innocent question about the Croat problem. "Croats!" cried the eminent Yugoslav, looking as if he were on the verge of apoplexy. "Croats! You want to talk about us, and you talk about our enemies!"

THIS SCRAP OF CONVERSATION was overheard recently in a New York department store long known for the care with which it selected its employees and the terror of dismissal in which it kept them. Customer: "I'll report this to the manager!" Salesgirl: "So what? So they'll fire me. So what!"

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK, by the Colorado State Chamber of Commerce: "If Americans learn nothing from this war, it will be the full meaning of the word taxes."

MILLINERY DEPARTMENT: A store in Columbus, Ohio, advertises a Russian shako adorned with a large pearl, twenty-four sapphires, twenty-eight diamonds, and six rubies, for $1,750.

PAUL J. O'CONNOR, Florida's deputy commissioner of internal revenue, favors a federal sales tax as easier to collect than the 20,000 delinquent income-tax accounts on his books. "It looks like those 1942 taxes are going to have to be forgotten," he told the Miami Beach Lions Club, "because the cost of locating the people and collecting the taxes will be prohibitive."

THE CRITICAL FACULTY: The *Commonweal* finds James T. Farrell's "My Days of Anger" a good book, but adds this note of caution: "It contains very coarse language. As the reader will gather from any review of this book in any paper, Catholic or not, its place is on the reserved list."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Der Neue Tag, a German newspaper published in Prague, comments on morale: "In no small measure we ourselves are responsible for our nerves failing. We are not hard enough against ourselves because we trust no favorable forces any more." . . . French workers being deported to Germany have been reaching out of the windows and chalking on the cars, "Vive De Gaulle! We are not volunteers." . . . A Nazi paper in Bratislava complains that the Slovakian Jews "each day, after hearing 'good news,' walk in the streets with smiling faces, thus undermining the people's morale; and many Slovakian officials, under pressure of events, become wavering and begin to talk in a cowardly manner of humanity and to condemn anti-Jewish measures."

[*The $5 prize for the best item received in October goes to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union for the story of the arrest of one of its organizers on a charge of impersonating a federal officer. The item appeared October 9.*]

OLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The Greek United Front

BY BASIL J. VLAVIANOS

HE news from Greece is extremely confused. Various contradictory reports have appeared in the American press, most of them garbled and leading. News emanating from Egypt and the Near is distorted by a ruthless censorship, which seems gned primarily to stifle the truth about the nature of Greek resistance. The reason for this is simple: pub- ion of the truth would create an atmosphere un- rable to the return of King George II to his country. sequently, foreign correspondents in Egypt must er cable nothing at all or repeat the confused and erally inaccurate stories furnished them by the sup- ters of the King.

ecently we have been told that Greece is divided, the guerrilla leaders are fighting each other, and the King and the British authorities have shouldered burden of appeasing them. The truth is quite differ- Small clashes, provoked by royalist propaganda, been greatly exaggerated by groups interested in ting the King upon a "divided" Greece. Actually, Greeks as a whole are united in their struggle against foreign and domestic tyrants. They are striving to ate themselves from the German and Bulgarian and to prevent the reestablishment of Greek fascism er George II.

heir unity is clearly reflected in a moving report h I received some weeks ago from the head of a gation sent to Egypt by the National Liberation t and other underground organizations. This report, ed by Elias T. Tsirimokos, former member of the k Parliament and now general secretary of the n for Popular Democracy, one of the groups form- the Liberation Front, describes the struggle against nvader as "the hardest and most beautiful ever un- ken by the Greek people."

e National Liberation Front (E. A. M.) was cre- one month after Germany's invasion of Greece to dinate the activities of various popular factions, otic organizations, and civilian movements. Its aims be summarized as, first, liberation of the country the foreign occupation, and, second, establishment popular government after the liberation. It keeps up ance to the invader by organizing armed struggle e countryside and hostile demonstrations in the cities. Greek people's support of the Liberation Front is reaction to the misery, starvation, and moral degra- n to which they have been subjected.

In the first year of the occupation, 1941-42, the chief concern of the Greek people was to escape destruction by starvation. People could not even obtain rationed bread. Owing to the inflation and the scarcity of foodstuffs, Tsirimokos said in his report, wages and the salaries of public officials were "nothing but wages of death and starvation." But in spite of the widespread misery the spirit of opposition and the strength of the popular movement grew day by day. Demonstrations of open revolt against the conqueror were staged, general strikes were called, and political warfare was carried on by every possible means.

On March 5, 1942, for instance, the news that citizens were to be drafted for compulsory work was the occasion of an enormous demonstration, organized in twenty-four hours, in Athens and Piraeus. About 250,000 people gathered at designated places and marched in the streets for many hours, despite the violent intervention of the Italian police. Many persons were killed and wounded, but the draft was frustrated.

Another important manifestation of resistance took place on July 22, 1943, when the expansion of the Bulgarian occupation in Macedonia became known. The Germans had declared that they would resort to unusual force to put down militant demonstrations. Only a few weeks before, they had executed 106 men for participating in one. However, more than 300,000 Athenians gathered that day to protest against the Bulgarian occupation, ignoring German bullets, hand grenades, and tanks.

It is known, from Tsirimokos's and other authentic reports, that as the result of successful guerrilla fighting a large section of Greece is today free and self-governed. Only the big cities, where the Germans maintain their garrisons, and the roads leading to the border are controlled by the invaders. Under the surveillance of guerrilla and underground organizations freely elected communal councils administer the country. Free Greece is living "under the most democratic laws the Greek people have ever known."

The National Liberation Front, or E. A. M., is the largest as well as the oldest of the Greek underground movements. Its army is known as the Greek Liberation Army, or E. L. A. S. Among other guerrilla units are the Greek National Democratic Army, or E. D. E. S., and the National and Social Liberation Group, or E. K. K. A. All have fought heroically against the incomparably superior forces of the enemy. The Allied command in

NOT BLUM, BUT STALIN

Everybody remembers that from 1936 to 1938 the slogan of the haute bourgeoisie *in France was "Better Hitler than Blum." Some weeks ago during the height of the Russian advance there appeared chalked on the walls in one of the most conservative towns of France a new variant on the old theme: "You didn't want Blum; now you have Stalin." In this small episode is crystallized the political meaning of the last decade. The conservatives who saw in every popular movement, from the moderate socialism of Léon Blum to Roosevelt's New Deal, the specter of Moscow now face Moscow as an indisputable reality—the strongest force in Europe today.*

the Middle East, with which the Greek guerrillas are connected, has repeatedly expressed the warmest admiration for their achievements. But the guerrillas are strongly opposed to the King, who gave impetus to the Greek fascist dictatorship. And this opposition is responsible for the systematic concealment of underground activities by the government in exile. Just as the truth about Tito's Partisans in Yugoslavia was suppressed, so the deeds of the Greek guerrillas, united in their opposition to King George II, have been relegated to obscurity by the propaganda of His Hellenic Majesty.

The "civil strife" in Greece of which we read, to the extent to which it exists, is instigated by royalist agents. Tsirimokos openly denounced the King's methods in his report: "The whole movement of liberation has not only been ignored; it has been obstructed by agents sent to Greece. Abroad, calumny has characterized the aims of the heroic fighters for freedom as wicked and anarchistic." The idea of the King and his supporters is to win over, by any means at their disposal, one or more of the guerrilla leaders in order to divide the opposition and to substantiate their claim that anarchy would follow the elimination of the monarchy. They have been working zealously for months and months, and are still working, toward that end. On June 11, 1943, the London *Tribune* said that division among the Greek forces might result from this lamentable policy. The Greek liberals in this country issued a similar warning.

Owing to the censorship no one here is in a position to know how far King George's divisive propaganda has succeeded. But on August 10 the British managed to smuggle out of Greece and to bring to Egypt a delegation representing the Greek guerrilla and underground movement. This delegation was composed of three former members of the Greek Parliament—two of the Liberal and one of the former Royalist Party—one Independent Democrat, one Conservative, and one Communist. All these men are prominent in the groups which are resisting the German and Bulgarian occupation supporting the cause of the United Nations. Some long to the E. A. M., others to the E. D. E. S. or E. K. K. A, that is, to the organizations which, acc ing to the correspondent of the New York *Times,* engaged in bitter internal strife.

Not the slightest sign of any dissension among t has been apparent since they arrived in Egypt. Not have they reached a complete accord with the mili authorities in the Middle East on how better to sync nize the efforts of the guerrillas with those of the Al forces, but they have worked closely together in tr to solve the Greek political problem.

On August 17, 1943, the delegation, together with Exintaris, the accredited representative of all the G parties—except the Communists—in the last Parlian of 1936, and Mr. Kanellopoulos, who resigned last M as Vice-President of the government in exile, sig a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. Tsouderos. It clared that "for the sake of national unity, which a insures the success of the national struggle and the mal development of the country, it is necessary th be announced that the King will not return to Gr before the people have decided on the form of gov ment." On receipt of the letter the Prime Minister mediately called a meeting of the Cabinet, and aft long discussion all the ministers, including the Pr Minister himself, one of the King's most devoted herents, decided to pledge themselves to support demand expressed in the letter and to inform the K of their decision.

Instead of making the required declaration, w any man of good faith would unhesitatingly have d the King refused. Ignoring the Greek constitution more and the political rules which require the Kin follow the advice of his ministers as long as he k them in office, he retired to Lebanon "for reason health."

This story was kept strictly secret from the Amer and British public until the Greek *National Hera* New York published the Tsirimokos report, sent through private channels. It is still impossible to ob accurate information of what is actually happenin Egypt. George II has succeeded in withholding all n about the representatives of the Greek people and attitude of his ministers, who have often seeme variance with him. At the same time the most dub stories have begun to circulate about alleged "civil str among the same guerrilla groups whose representat are collaborating so closely and harmoniously in Eg

Mystery still shrouds the situation. But two things certain: first, that news about the civil war in Gr has been deliberately exaggerated; and, second, that dissension among the guerrillas has been prov chiefly by King George II and his supporters.

hind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

M time to time the German high command dis-
utes a kind of circular letter headed "For the
ation of the Officer Corps." Every officer receives
and with it instructions not to carry it into the
ne. Nevertheless, Number 20, dated July, 1943,
ind on an officer who had been taken prisoner.
ontents make some interesting revelations. They
or example, that listening to foreign broadcasts,
s so strongly condemned by the Nazi Party, has
even to officers. In a detached, almost apologetic
e circular says of this:

> tening to foreign broadcasts will be punished by
> sonment. That is the order. There is only one
> e—absolute obedience. Equivocal obedience, obe-
> e with "ifs" and "buts," obedience with reserva-
> or reductions (once is practically never; the order
> not be taken too literally; certainly music from
> eign station cannot do any harm), in short, any
> ence that is qualified—well, that may be the fashion
> e world today, but there is no such thing for Ger-
> officers.

rther paragraph shows that older men in increas-
nbers are filling up the ranks of the army. Offi-
admonished to treat them properly:

> ler men are now joining us—factory workers,
> nics, shopkeepers, salesmen, office workers,
> men, men from all occupations. They are accus-
> to seeing things run in a business-like, orderly,
> ly way. Do we clearly understand that it is in-
> sible—indeed, it would be idiocy—to subject such
> o shouting and abuse from morning to night?

he air-raid bombings are again the chief con-
vo weeks ago this column quoted from a circular
given to German soldiers when they go home
e front on a furlough. Here is what is said to the
on the same theme:

> ny soldiers nowadays go home with a heavy heart.
> e urgent duty of officers—one which must not be
> —to have a serious, comforting talk with them
> they leave. Hard shocks await these men at
> They will see such devastation as they have never
> before. They will perhaps have to visit the
> of their families; or they will find that all their
> ions have been destroyed. . . . Often they will
> that their families have been through harder
> han soldiers who have seen heavy action.

l care must be taken to keep soldiers who have
leave from spreading scare stories among the
or this reason it is the duty of officers to "speak
ry man on his return."

> When non-commissioned officers and men come back, they will have an urgent need to unburden themselves, to unload their worries, to get advice. The company commander should seize this opportunity to explain to them how wrong it would be to spread wild stories among their comrades. The reality is bad enough; any exaggeration is *a crime.* Above all, soldiers returning from leave must be told very forcefully that under no circumstances may news of this kind be communicated to the civil population of the occupied countries. That would be grossly prolonging the war.

Hitler has seldom made a speech without referring to his "fanatical" will or his "fanatical" faith. For years Germans were aware of this habit but were not especially struck by it. Strangely enough—as people's reactions are always strange—when he used the same word in the speech he made at the beginning of September, he seems to have scored a hit. It must have had a burlesque effect. For suddenly in popular speech he began to be called the *Oberfanatiker,* which means both "super-fanatic" and "top fanatic." It is reliably reported that in conversation people speak of him more and more not as the Führer but as the Oberfanatiker.

Hagen is a large industrial city in Westphalia. Near it is a camp for prisoners of war. When the city experienced one of the severest air raids at the end of September, some of the prisoners seized the opportunity to escape. On October 7 the Hagen newspapers and placard pillars carried an announcement by the mayor which is worthy of note. It informed the inhabitants that the authorities knew that a number of the fugitive prisoners were not only staying in the town but had been received into people's homes, where they were being concealed and fed. The mayor reminded the inhabitants that persons who thus helped the enemy made themselves liable to punishment by death. But the hosts of the escaped prisoners could not for a single moment have been in doubt about this fact, and that makes the whole episode the more remarkable.

The actualities of life in one of the destroyed German cities were pictured in the *Dagens Nyheter* of September 12 by a Swedish woman just back from Düsseldorf.

> Wherever I looked, whatever street I took, the same sight met my eyes—the fantastic forms taken by the pieces of house fronts still standing. The streets had been cleared, and people walked about like ghosts in a modern Pompeii. They lived in cellars, which were often intact though the house above had been destroyed. One frequently saw placards on the walls asking the salvage units not to dynamite the walls as the cellars were inhabited. The opera, the theater, and the hotels have been destroyed; the town's finest shopping street, the Schadowstrasse, is a heap of ruins.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Art of Pre-Columbian America

MEDIEVAL AMERICAN ART. By Pál Kelemen. The Macmillan Company. Two Volumes. $22.50.

WHEN land was discovered west of the Atlantic, the real shock to the European mind—which had always vaguely expected this discovery—was the realization that it was new land, unaccounted for in their philosophy. They evaded the shock by calling the natives "Indians," and by identifying them with the Lost Tribes of Israel or the survivors of Plato's Atlantis, and they were in general uninterested in asking what these people were really like. Nothing brings this fact home more clearly than the publication, after 450 years, of "the first book in any language to survey the achievements of all artistically important cultures in pre-Columbian America." It is interesting also that the European provincialism should still persist in the title of this book, as if you couldn't say anything more important about pre-Columbian art than that it coincided with the medieval period in Europe.

This impression is actually irrelevant, for the book as a whole is quite free of the condescension its title suggests. It is a simple, straightforward digest of the available archaeological information to date, an attempt to assemble a continuous picture out of our scattered bits of knowledge. Anyone who has tried for himself to sift through the writings of archaeologists and anthropologists and historians, each one concentrated on his own interests and locale, will appreciate what this means, and how fine a job has been done. At times the account slips into the natural dulness of the textbook, but for the most part it is so astonishingly good that one is tempted to leave criticism for praise. It is lucid and inclusive, simple enough for the general reader but solid enough to be useful to the student as well, and it is abundantly illustrated. The importance of such a book can hardly be exaggerated.

An important book must be judged stringently, however. This is especially true of books on art, and of books on American art, for they are uncommon and desperately needed. Grateful as we are for a study like this, we have a responsibility to measure it against the ideal. The quality of the plates, to begin with, is still not good enough—they are still not up to the level of the Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte series of pre-war Germany, for example. Some really bad photographs—Stela H at Copán, for one, and the gold Quimbayo pendant from Cleveland—reproductions from Maudslay's half-tones, and merely routine views of such sculpture as that at Quiriguá, good enough for identification but in no sense demonstrating its peculiar aesthetic quality, are disappointing in a volume so impressive. If you are writing about art, your reproductions have to be good enough to speak for themselves. On the other hand, one must be grateful for the quantity—there are more than 900 illustrations. And although there are certain curious omissions, such as the columned hall at Mitla, the dynamic kneeling figures fro
structure 11 at Copán—of which good photographs do
—and the more humane Mexican heads, the choice i
markably comprehensive.

Perhaps the primary criticism of the text is that so
of it is given over to a mere detailed description of the
trations, item by item; so that it is rather a catalogue t
text and might more happily have been arranged as
in juxtaposition to the plates. The lack of any general
interpretation to orient the reader amounts at time
scholarly negligence. Thus in the section on Andean wea
it is impossible to get a clear idea of the sequence of per
of the relationships in time of the various sites, or o
relation of styles and motifs to periods and sites. Term
ogy is used freely without definition. We read on
page of an "embroidery from the Ica Valley in Nazca st
and on the next, of a fabric of "the Ica period, fro
Nazca Valley." I am aware that this inadequacy derives
the author's sources, and that it is hardly just to criticize
for their carelessness. One can, however, give a clear
ment even of confusion.

And is it too much to expect that the author will contr
something to his material? Ideally the writer on art does
things: he points to the object so that the reader will
see it, and he interprets it in such a way that this iso
thing will fall into a universal scheme of aesthetic va
It is perhaps in this last respect that our text is least fru
Not that the author hesitates to take an aesthetic attit
the most valuable thing about the book is that it does pr
as art what has too often been seen as merely anthropolo
material. The critical attitude, however, is singularly u
sidered and inarticulate. Although he deprecates the fact
"our civilization tends to evaluate an art by the way it de
the human figure," and insists that different ideals of
sonal beauty should be recognized, he fails to indicate
permanent artistic qualities to which such varieties of
in human features or in architectural decoration are
sidiary. There is almost no reference to qualities of ma
or characteristics of design. That passion for mass, com
ness, and the weight of the stone which constitutes a
sculptural attitude is never defined in speaking of
sculpture. He comments that the faces on the Mochica
Chimu pots "have nothing either cruel or exaggerated a
them"—but what does that mean? These portraits ar
contradiction of the easy generalization that "the In
were not interested in realism," and the author make
effort to explore their significance. Perhaps that sort o
ploration is too much to ask for in the first book that even
the material together; but it does make the differenc
tween an able, intelligent survey and a really valuable
tribution to the field.

This book shows pretty well what is known abou
pre-Columbian art of the Americas. It shows that ther
things worth looking at and wondering about. Even

ws us how much is not known—implying the rich cities of Mexico, the Peruvian coast still honeycombed ombs. Here is an original and romantic civilization, phically the richest proving-ground for definitions of —and this the first book in more than four centuries mpt a serious appraisal of its art. Even if it were not d a foundation stone, Mr. Keleman's book would be ant as a challenge. ELIZABETH WILDER

Countess Draws a Blank

MR. BLANK. By Countess Waldeck. G. P. Putnam's ons. $2.50.

E Mr. Blank you are invited to meet is Herr X, leader f the Germans after Hitler. Who on earth will this ank be? If you want to know, meet Countess Waldeck. ads you past the dummies of everyone who could pos- e considered and says quite impartially: This might be e; that one is unlikely; this one is out of the question. she abandons her impartiality and says: This one be best.

course Countess Waldeck is personally acquainted with all the possible Mr. Blanks. She talked with Fritz n once in a sanitarium and with Prince Louis Ferdinand, on of the Kaiser, in the New York house of an Ameri- iter—pardon me, of a famous American writer. Thus ows which of the gentlemen have charm and which have ake Schacht, for example; "the moment he begins to e finds he has charm." Fat, jovial Göring "has charmed lly everyone who has come in contact with him." Otto r has a "civilized charm." Even when one discovers, ore careful analysis, that she did not know the gentle- rsonally, she appears extremely well informed. Field l Rommel—one of her possible Blanks—has a sh charm." Yes, and she knows the character of each d his secret ideas, and little anecdotes about him, ic or not. Mixed in with all this are political reflec- nd theses some of which are not unintelligent. And in also are seemingly erudite historical analogies and ions, derived in many cases from unknown sources. mple, she says that Foch thought the men who signed itulation of 1918 were representative of a new and d Germany. Known sources—namely, the memoranda och wrote down from the very first—show the op- e

elf all this would not call for much comment. When d this book, it seems for the first fifteen minutes to of the dozens which stir the froth of gossip and into our most vexatious problems, and thus pro- soufflé which is supposed to be more appetizing. his taste. But as you read farther you find that in one the book is extremely original, in fact, a pioneer in For after the Countess has denied any chance to a Mr. Blank, a Social Democratic Mr. Blank, a liberal nk, and a big-business Mr. Blank—and on the other ter she has granted a very good chance to a Com- Mr. Blank—she urgently recommends the Mr. f her own choice. Now then, her choice is a setup consisting of Göring, Schacht, and Meissner. The last-named, in case you don't know, has been the personal "State Secretary" of the head of the German state for a quarter of a century; under Ebert he was a Socialist, under Hindenburg a conservative, under Hitler he is a Nazi. Of course in Countess Waldeck's opinion it would be still better if this trio could be completed by a Kaiser Louis Ferdinand. That this would be feasible appears doubtful even to her. However, Göring, Schacht, and Meissner—supported by the generals and the army, the two churches, and the trade unions—are not only possible leaders but practically indispensable. The Allies could do no better than to instal them. Göring is "well liked," he has a "hold over the masses." Schacht is simply a genius, "the smartest man in Europe." "He could fill the shoes of a German Talleyrand remarkably well." Thus we have here the definite proposal that the victors not only accept Messrs. Göring and Schacht but deliver Germany over to them—and not only so that these men can sign the capitulation but so that they can guide the Reich in "peaceful development" toward a progressive future.

The theory is that only they "could make the peace stick with the German people." The great goal of making the peace stick will necessitate "expediency." "Only if Mr. Blank gets the German nation behind the peace terms can a lasting peace be expected." And only a man who is recognized by the German people as a strong man "will be able to line up the German people behind the peace terms."

Now there is some truth in this. It will not be easy to line up the German people behind any peace terms—even the enviable terms that Countess Waldeck recommends. For she insistently recommends such a peace as Talleyrand maneuvered for France out of the Allies of 1815—and that, as is well known, was peace with some territorial aggrandizement thrown in. So that the Talleyrand *redivivus*, Schacht, may maneuver a similar peace for Germany out of the present Allies is precisely the reason she wants him for Mr. Blank. Apparently it has not occurred to the author that her suggestion that even a peace of that kind could only with difficulty be made to stick is a disturbing thought. But the problem is real. It will not be easy to get the German people behind any peace terms, and that fact will perhaps bring abundant fulfilment of the author's desire for expedients. Perhaps for a long time there will be no German government at all. Or perhaps there will be no peace treaty; or the occupation will be long. But for that reason to seek out Göring and Schacht to serve as Mr. Blank—and in addition to arm them with a Talleyrand peace—would be an expedient to condemn not because it *is* an expedient but because it is the caricature of one. For the question is not only, Are they strong enough "to make the peace stick"? but would they want to? As to that—take my word for it, says the charmed Countess. We can only trust that her word will not reach very far. Schacht and Göring of all people! As if they never had the opportunity to make a peace stick!

This is the first time that a proposal of such a kind, set down in black and white, has been made in this country. Fortunately a glance at the author is reassuring—and a glance at her can scarcely be avoided, for "I know," "I think," and "I say" are her chief arguments. Now the registered wife of the unknown Count, as has already been publicly established, is the former Fräulein Rosie Goldschmid of Mannheim. She has long been known to be the victim of a desperate case of *snobisme*. Her book is simply the result of a new attack of this wasting sickness. LEOPOLD SCHWARZSCHILD

Captain Ingersoll Reports

THE BATTLE IS THE PAY-OFF. By Captain Ralph Ingersoll. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

RALPH INGERSOLL went into the army and found a strange sort of peace. At first he was miserably unhappy at being wrenched away from the editorship of *PM*, and he hated intensely his grueling basic training as a private. Gradually he became swallowed in the vastness of the army and fascinated by its intricacies. When he made twelve bull's-eyes with his rifle, he was so pleasurably excited that the trembling of his hands made further shooting difficult. The organized killing of Germans became his crusade. For a subcrusade, embodied in this book, he chose the very object of his early hatred—basic training. It should be made far tougher!

Private Ingersoll went up the hard way to become Captain Ingersoll. No doubt he was good in his military job, but he remained Crusading Journalist Ingersoll and certainly excelled in that role. More or less by accident he turned out to be the first highly successful realization of the concept of soldier-correspondent. He himself puts the accent on the soldier part; feeling a little guilty about his army leave, he tore through the writing of this book in 100 hours and felt grateful when the War Department allowed it to be published. The War Department could scarcely have missed this bet, for here is powerful propaganda in the good sense.

The episode around which the book is built took place in the early part of the Tunisian campaign before the British Eighth Army broke through the Mareth line. The Americans were assigned to knock the Axis out of a mountain pass south of Gafsa. In order to take the defenders by surprise, American rangers and engineers made a terrific night march across the mountains—a march which would have been impossible for untoughened men—and without pausing for breath attacked the enemy's flank. Lieutenant Ingersoll, as he was then, went along on the march as an observer with the engineers, helped to direct mortar fire, and was nicked by a Stuka bomb that killed men near him.

His account of the engagement is war reporting at its best. Thanks to his gift for detail, one gets right into the middle of the battle; and thanks to his ability to synthesize complicated military operations, one sees the whole picture. This capacity for portraying both the forest and the trees is rare; newspaper correspondents seldom achieve it in their chopped-up daily cables, and few authors of books possess the requisite combination of inside information, battle-front experience, and narrative talent.

In the capacity of crusader-journalist Ingersoll devotes pages to educating his readers about how the wheels go round in this marvelously complicated army. He tells things which people need to know, but frequently don't, in order to understand how the war is fought. He describes the mechanics and psychological effects of a booby-trap, tells how many platoons are in a battalion, and makes clear the dual functions of G-3. He is particularly impressed with the enor
organizational achievement of delivering millions of
complete with the wherewithal to live and fight, in far
ters of the globe. Hitler's suicidal miscalculation, he th
was to underestimate the organizing ability of the Ame
people.

Captain Ingersoll, who embodies some of the qualiti
two famous Bunyans—Paul and John—points up two m
First, the American people at home are not sufficiently
mitted spiritually to the war; he apparently means that
do not have enough emotional hatred of the Germans.
ondly, lives can be saved and the war shortened by
rigorous training of recruits in this country. If he we
pray for a miracle, it "just might be that every barra
the United States would burn down," so that the men w
learn to live with the sky for a ceiling and the ground
floor and be so tough that they would consider a dry bla
the luxury it really is. MARCUS DUFFIE

The Legend of Pétain

PETAIN: VERDUN TO VICHY. By Francis Martel.
Dutton and Company. $2.50.

THE Pétain legend dies hard. There are Americans
loathe Quisling and Laval but think of Pétain
grand old man trapped by fate into abysmal tragedy.
diplomacy long treated him with a consideration aki
reverence; even today our propaganda handles him
surprising gentleness. It is time to realize that the P
conspiracy is something more insidious, and ultimately
potent for evil, than Laval's "collaborationism." A reaso
documented case against Pétain is very much in order,
such an indictment is what Francis Martel professes to c

The "goodness" of Pétain's life is not in question, i
goodness we mean freedom from scandal. Conservative
cles, among which he was a great favorite, lightly cond
whatever peccadillos might be charged against the hands
bachelor colonel: the gentlemanly code in Europe is no
ously elastic. Pétain, before the First World War, was
behaved, and assiduous in the performance of his mil
duties. Toward Republican institutions he preserved an a
ness which never reached the degree of active disloyalt
fact, he almost realized the ideal so well defined by Fra
Coppée:

> Il avait ce qu'il faut pour un bon officier:
> Il était ponctuel, sobre, chaste, économe. . . .

The war gave the sexagenarian a marvelous chanc
proponent of defensive tactics, he was called upon to
Verdun. But, lacking in aggressive spirit, he could hol
line; he could not clinch victory. So on Joffre's relu
retirement Pétain was passed over, and the supreme comm
went to Nivelle. The appalling failure of Nivelle's offe
brought the more cautious Pétain to the fore again.
generalissimo he managed to restore order and some de
of confidence in an army which had been perilously n
state of open mutiny.

This great negative service, however, fell short of
supreme achievement and the supreme reward, which
reserved for Foch. Already in 1918, just before the glo

of victory, we can discern the permanent elements in s thought—his ineradicable defeatism, his deep-seated of the British, his rancor at being the second, not t, and above all his unspoken but unconcealed con- for democracy.

veen the two wars Pétain was for many years the actual of the French army. The Maginot Line is the logical e of his defensive policy. If the high command ed away De Gaulle's revolutionary proposals, it was t of the excessive caution, the senile sluggishness of t, induced by the Fossil Marshal. With an overwhelm- play of force he managed to retrieve the blunders of niards in the Riff and to capture Abd-el-Krim. Long the ultimate crisis his mind was made up. He knew as to be, not in France alone but in Europe, a tussle n social conservatism and social democracy; and he quarely with the conservatives. He was heart and soul Mussolini, Hitler, and later Franco. He was not, as fondly thought, soaring above politics. As early as he was almost openly a candidate for the role of ," that is to say, of reactionary dictator. He would referred that this role should have come to him out ory, but he was willing to wrench it out of defeat.

are constantly asked: "What could he have done?" rst, he could have surrendered in the field, like the of the Belgians, and saved his soul. He could have a retreat toward Brittany, a bastion and a bridge- nstead of Bordeaux, which was an impasse. He could ept up the fight from Africa. Above all, he should not rdered the French to cease firing days ahead of the of the armistice. His haste alone is responsible for ture of unresisting Frenchmen by the hundred thou- t looks as though there was premeditation in that lunder: the French army, although stunned and de- ed, might not have permitted the creation of the regime. It was safer for Pétain that 1,800,000 French- ould be in German hands.

veen "Verdun and Vichy" there is a link, and that is turn reactionary mind of Pétain. Behind the handsome e and the grandfatherly smile there is morose con- —and vindictiveness. Pétain had been for years among who were eager to "strangle the slut," the democratic ic. Franco provided the pattern, Hitler the oppor-

cis Martel presents his arraignment with great force. ok is cogently thought and well written; it might be what we need—if it were not so hopelessly unreliable. ly is it full of minor misstatements; but many of them such as a Frenchman of culture would be likely to The book has points of excellence; but it is curiously . The general point of view is not French; the specific ibilities of England in the Spanish and Czechoslovak re not presented as a genuine Frenchman, irrespective y, would see them. Either "Francis Martel" imperson- successfully a cosmopolitan journalist or vice-versa. er case we are left in doubt. This is an able, at times ant, piece of work; I happen to agree with the essen- s and with the general thesis; yet there is an equivo- a about the whole thing which greatly impairs its ess.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM

By JOHN PUTNAM

179 PAGES CLOTH BINDING $1.50

THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM includes all of the sound older arguments as well as a number of significant new arguments for Socialism. It makes use of the best of Marxian theory and also utilizes the theory of monopolistic competition. It points out that Socialism is inevitable not only because of the technological changes so brilliantly described by Marx and Engels, but also because of the increased economic strain which modern war imposes upon Capitalism. The gross wastes due to competition and private initiative are described separately for each of the major industries.

The author of this book was an Associate Professor of Economics at a large state university and is now an economist with a Government War agency. He writes under a pen name.

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Fiction in Review

IT IS the sad story of current fiction that almost without exception, and whatever their particular little stamps of individuality, the new novels all seem to fall into one or the other of two equally abortive categories. They are either action stories—on the lowest level, historical romances—in which we get a play-by-play account of what happened, narrative unrelieved by characterization, insight, or comment; or they are "intellectual" novels, stories of emotion and sensibility in which nothing ever happens except in the minds of the characters. It appears that contemporary writing is unable to make an amalgam of these two extremes; it is unable, that is, either to comment on action or to dramatize emotion.

Elizabeth Janeway's "The Walsh Girls" (Doubleday, Doran and Company, $2.50) belongs in the second of these categories. Here is a novel whose life is so unremittingly internal that you long to cry out, in the famous exhortation of Henry James, "Dramatize, dramatize!" Mrs. Janeway starts with a perfectly good fictional idea, the relationship between two neurotic sisters, and she is an intelligent woman —in the sense, I mean, in which you grade an author for her understanding of her own theme. But you follow the history of the Walsh girls to its weak and contrived resolution with the increasing certainty that everything Mrs. Janeway has finally set down as her finished novel should have been simply spade work, the things she thought in her own head before she ever put pen to paper. In a better literary tradition all the reflection, explanation, and documentation which are the end-product of "The Walsh Girls" would have been merely the work of literary gestation; *then* would have come the real job of creation, the job of manufacturing a plot—a dramatic situation or a series of dramatic situations—to embody the author's knowledge of her characters.

If Mrs. Janeway had gone about her work in this way I can imagine that "The Walsh Girls" might possibly have emerged not as a full-length novel at all but as a dramatic novelette. And in that case, provided of course that Mrs. Janeway had been able to match her seriousness and psychological insights with an informed prose, she might have produced something fine and tight, like, say, Edith Wharton's "Ethan Frome," instead of another long, dreary record of confusion and maladjustment.

But to get back to the book as given and away from the dream of the book that might have been. The unhappy sisters of "The Walsh Girls" are Lydia, a repressed spinster, and Helen, younger and prettier, recently married to George, her childhood sweetheart. Before the story opens, Helen has been married to a German who was murdered by the Nazis. It is the memory of her tragic European years that Helen wishes to erase in her alliance with George, a solid citizen, but along comes Lydia to threaten her younger sister's effort at therapy-by-marriage. A domineering, self-sacrificing schoolteacher, Lydia would try anyone's patience, and her presence in Helen's home all but destroys the younger woman's already precarious balance. It is at this point that Mrs. Janeway introduces a touch of real horror: as a result of their strained companionship each of the Walsh sisters decides that the other sister is quite literally crazy. The final element in this pretty kettle of conflicts is a certain Charlie who unbelievably falls in love with Lydia, scaring that poor creature out such wits as she has left.

And all this dismal company resides in a Connect town alarmingly devoid of possibility. The investigat through the length of a long novel, of two tortured psyc with no room to move around in would surely tax the sources of the most talented writer—and Mrs. Janewa less talented than she is uncommonly courageous about s of the darker aspects of family life. For instance, of relationship between Lydia and Helen she gives us much m than the usual small-talk of sisterly jealousy; she shows, one thing, that family affection is not always the gene affair it looks to be and that people often help one ano for reasons of their own which are far from worthy. Ind it is insights such as these that impart to "The Walsh Gi its only strength and compensate in some small part fo enveloping tediousness.

I have come rather late to J. B. Priestley's newest novel, "Daylight on Saturday" (Harper and Brothers, $2.5 the story of an airplane factory. None of Mr. Priestl novels is ever as interesting to me as he is sympatheti a person. For Mr. Priestley seems a rare creature: e mously busy encouraging the English to beat the Nazis, still has time and the prime will to do everything that he within his talents, to prevent the war from being fough vain—to name the careerism that motivates so large a pa the patriotic effort, to prepare for the hungers and mise that will find a voice as soon as the guns stop roaring warn against the powers that be in English official life, to try to educate decent instincts to a reasonable orde society. I can think of no equally established American w who is using his pen to the same sound purpose, an from the point of view of fiction, this most recent of Priestley's vehicles moves a little too much like one of machines whose place in future civilization Mr. Prie wants to control before it is too late, I for one am read forgive it.

DIANA TRILLIN

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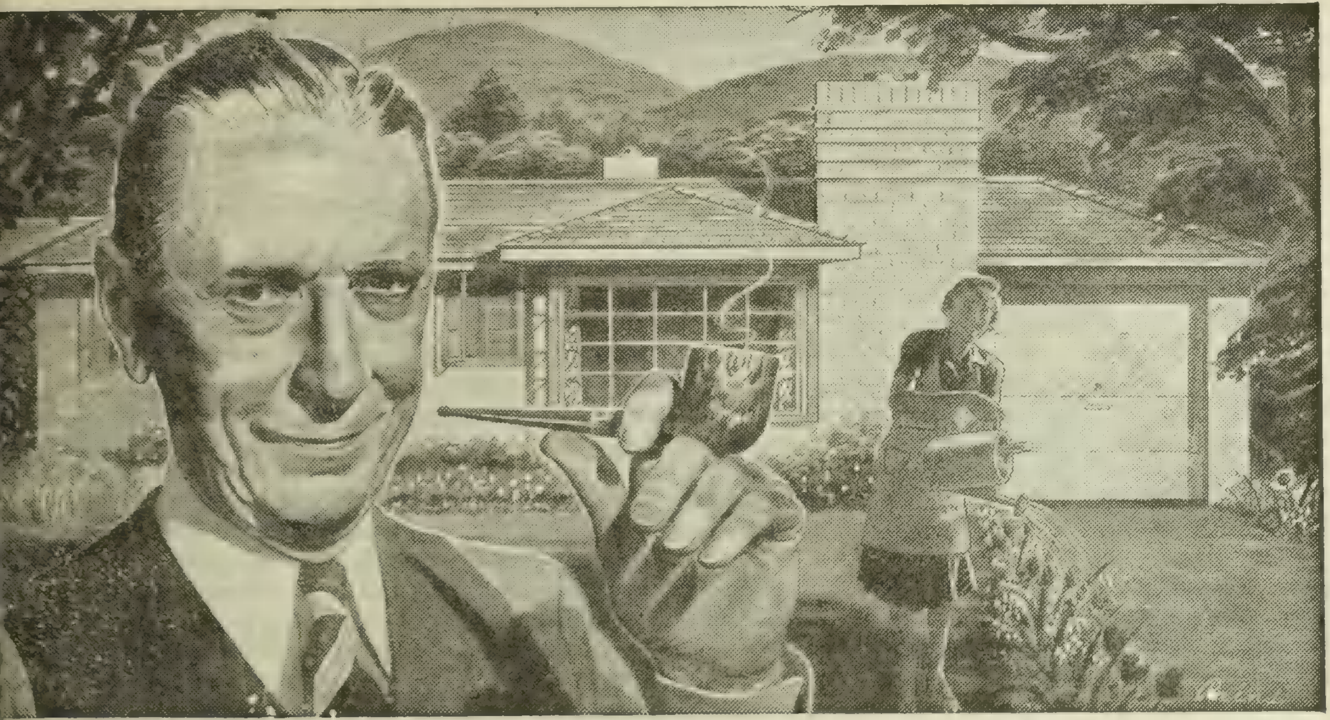

A message for you...from 1953

(Today, John Jones is just an average American, wrestling with all the doubts and worries and problems that beset every one of us right now. But let's skip ahead 10 years. Let's look at John Jones* then—*and listen to him . . .)

"SOMETIMES I feel so good it almost scares me.

"This house—I wouldn't swap a shingle off its roof for any other house on earth. This little valley, with the pond down in the hollow at the back, is the spot I like best in all the world.

"And they're mine. I own 'em. Nobody can take 'em away from me.

"I've got a little money coming in, regularly. Not much—but enough. And I tell you, when you can go to bed every night with nothing on your mind except the fun you're going to have tomorrow—that's as near Heaven as a man gets on this earth!

"It wasn't always so.

"Back in '43—that was our second year of war, when we were really getting into it—I needed cash. Taxes were tough, and then Ellen got sick. Like almost everybody else, I was buying War Bonds through the Payroll Plan—and I figured on cashing some of them in. But sick as she was, it was Ellen who talked me out of it.

" 'Don't do it, John!' she said. '*Please* don't! For the first time in our lives, we're really saving money. It's *wonderful* to know that every single payday we have *more* money put aside! John, if we can only keep up this saving, think what it can mean! Maybe someday you won't have to work. Maybe we can own a home. And oh, how good it would feel to know that we need never worry about money when we're old!'

"Well, even after she got better, I stayed away from the weekly poker game—quit dropping a little cash at the hot spots now and then—gave up some of the things a man feels he has a right to. We made clothes do—cut out fancy foods. We didn't have as much fun for a while but we paid our taxes and the doctor and—we didn't touch the War Bonds.

"We didn't touch the War Bonds then, or any other time. And I know this: The world wouldn't be such a swell place today if we had!"

The Treasury Department acknowledges with appreciation the publication of this advertisement by

THE PUBLISHER OF THE NATION

FILMS

VERY late—but the film is ready for national release, I am glad to say—I hacked through the thicket of "delightfuls" and "enchantings" which had kept me at a distance, to see "Jeannie," a gently characterized British-made comedy about a Scottish peasant woman who discovers, in the course of a trip to pre-war Vienna, that she doesn't have to feel like an old maid after all. A more acute pointing of the roles of an English business man (Michael Redgrave) and an almost traditional sponging count, more accuracy with the Viennese bourgeoisie (the hotel personnel seems very good), and sets much more evocative in details could have made it an entirely beautiful film. But Barbara Mullen alone (as Jeannie), in her prim, sharp-tuned delicateness, would make it one of the easiest, sweetest of light comedies; and I must apologize for my slowness in agreeing with everyone else who has seen it.

The Cagney brothers' first independent piece, "Johnny Come Lately," seems to persuade many people that the Cagneys (and others) should stay dependent. I do not agree. The film does show a fatal commercial uneasiness and, I half suspect, radical loss or atrophy of cinematic judgment. But "Johnny," before it breaks down into a panic of melodramatic and comic propitiation, does give a gentle and leisured if not very memorable first hour whose tone and pace would never have survived a big studio; there is a very appealing performance by Grace George; and there is a general ambience of hope and pleasure about the production, which, regrettably, loses its glow. The hazards of independence are great unless you have daring, brains, ability, and a basic unconfused carelessness about whether you go bankrupt or not; but with very few exceptions I believe that anything good in films which comes out of this country, at all soon, is bound to come from the independents.

Something I have learned only by hearsay is, I think, worth passing on as plausible. A former Hollywood man, now with the Signal Corps, went along with the raid on Kiska. On the way he did a fair amount of shooting of the colossal paraphernalia, the slow inflation of the controlling personalities, and (I hope) the generalized tension between life, memory, future, and death, which are bound so laboriously to converge upon any such action. Once there he also photographed, enthusiastically, the two dogs, the scrupulously impudent inscriptions, and the general letdown which were all the Japanese left. He exposed, in all, a good many thousand feet. They may have been the record of what some people feel to have been the turning-point of the war—the moment at which the Japanese went somewhere else in preference to heaven, as we have learned to expect of them. Or they may have been the matrix of one of the funniest and most mitigating pictures about war which could ever conceivably be made. I suspect they may have been both at once, and I suggest that the title "Desert Victory" was used too soon. In any case, if I have heard right, my conjectures are as irrelevant as my hearsay must be counted unreliable. The complete negative, unless my informant has been misinformed, was destroyed in Washington.

JAMES AGEE

ART

SIXTY-EIGHT of Van Gogh's oils and eleven water colors and drawings (at Wildenstein's until November 7) go to make up the most important show of the artist's work since that at the Museum of Modern Art in 1935. The Van Gogh Problem, of which we are reminded from time to time by single pictures, asks again for solution. Exactly how great a painter was he? The problem is made no easier by this exhibition, in which the complete masterpieces are too few and far between.

It is more difficult to judge painters fairly than writers and composers. The difficulty is physical. Color and texture cannot be reproduced in their full values for purposes of circulation. Because a sufficient number of the originals of a painter's masterpieces are seldom present in any one place at any one time, we fall into the habit of demanding the absolute measure of his talent from every picture, good or bad, as long as it's an original. We do not ask as much of the lesser works of writers and composers simply because their best is just as accessible. I think it hardly fair to pronounce on Van Gogh without having seen all his masterpieces, but that is part of the inevitable presumption of writing about art.

A roomful of Van Goghs has an impact. Yet all but some seven or eight of the paintings here lead to the question whether the impact has as much to do with art as with that emotion or quality of strikingness which Kant distinguishes as analogous to th beautiful, but only analogous, in th its presence makes us linger on the object embodying it because it keeps a resting our attention. It is the qualit to which primitive art, at its best o worst, owes its inevitable effect upon th cultivated observer, and which is pa of the emphatic physical presence o the work of art that exposes to fu view its inner workings, its means o effectuation. With Van Gogh there als enters the power of an original temperament frustrated by its rupture wit that world of logic, competition, an compromise in which it found itself.

I do not hold with Dr. Alfred M Frankfurter that in the means of expression Van Gogh chose for himsel he was never "other than an amateu with a divine genius." There is to much good painting in his bad picture to say that. Van Gogh's distortion o vision, induced no doubt by his psychopathic state (compare with Roussea Douanier and Eilshemius), arrived a results of the same order as those o Cézanne's inability to draw with academic correctness. The "rarity wit which Van Gogh touched complet mastery"—to quote Dr. Frankfurte again—was due to a faulty comman not so much of his medium as of h temperament. Van Gogh became to obsessed by the pattern glimpsed in nature. The frenzied insistence with whic he tried to reproduce this pattern in h separate brush strokes and give it th same emphasis over every tiny bit o canvas resulted in pieces of violent decoration the surfaces of which had bee ornamented instead of painted into picture. Similarly, Cézanne's preoccupation with the justness of color value down to the last millimeter in the delineation of space and volume mac him lose sight at times of the whole i view. In his case, though, segments a least of otherwise unsuccessful picture survive as superb texts in the painter' art. It was Van Gogh's misfortune an distinction that, unlike Cézanne, h could not rejoice in the limitations o his medium.

The appreciation of an artist has it own history. At this moment several o the Van Goghs of the Paris perio (1886 to 1887) seem to please eve more than the later work—though the are not quite as original—especially th Renoiresque "Bridge Across the Seine, in which subtle touches of pure, hig color are so well placed to define spac and its tensions. The self-control her and in the "Corn Field," the flowe

and the two self-portraits of the
eriod unsettle some of the usual
s about Van Gogh's art. Yes, mis-
of temperament, not of craft, ac-
for most of the disappointments.
be argued perhaps that the failure
Gogh's art or craft lay precisely
failure to react upon and disci-
his temperament; he should have
hecked by the refusal of his art
pond to his exorbitant demands
it as a means of utterly direct ex-
on. But that would be expecting
uch. Van Gogh's shortcomings as
ist are a translation into another
ge of those that belonged to him
uman being.

loan exhibition of the novelist
que's unusual collection of School
ris pictures (at Knoedler's until
nber 13) contains three of the
Cézanne oils in this country, a
er of water colors from the same
—these are a bit too perfect—and
in oil, water color, pastel, and
by Daumier, Degas, Van Gogh,
, Toulouse-Lautrec, Delacroix,
ssarro. Also two good Fayum por-
The collection itself is a work of
eing the result of a personal but
ent taste that has looked to
nineteenth-century painting for
what it and no other school can
do not believe I have ever seen
nination so fine embodied in pos-
s. Of course, Remarque confined
f to safe masters, but even so—

CLEMENT GREENBERG

RECORDS

EEMS to me that a composer must
an extremely facile and superfi-
ind to be able to go from the
of "Die Dreigroschenoper" to
"One Touch of Venus"—per-
en a mind which is not genuinely
ed in either music. I remember
hen I heard "Die Dreigroschen-
in Europe in 1929 I was irritated
sheer ostentatiousness of the
of-factness that caused a melody
ceed for seven and one-third
es and then break off drably. I
sense of Weill putting it on too
and listening to his Broadway
ow I have a sense of his putting
too thick.

a continues its Brunswick Col-
Series with Set B-1010 ($3.50),
has the title "Riverboat Jazz—
Orleans to Chicago—As Played
ous Jazzmen on the Mississippi."
y only one of the bands, heard on only one record-side, played on riverboats; and what the volume offers is simply eight enjoyable performances—spontaneous and vigorous in style, with fine solo passages—recorded by small groups of Negro musicians between 1926 and 1928. Some of the musicians I never heard of before—among them a trombonist named Albert Wynn, and a trumpeter named Punch Miller who is good but not as good as the characteristically extravagant and confused booklet in the set would make him. Others are men as familiar as Joe Oliver, Albert Nicholas, Barney Bigard, Luis Russell, Pop Foster, Paul Barbarin; and some of them turn up in Set B-1009, "Harlem Jazz 1930," which offers performances that were recorded by four of the famous Negro large bands between 1929 and 1931. The best of these are the Duke Ellington "Jolly Wog" and "Double Check Stomp" (80035) and the Fletcher Henderson "Just Blues" (80037), in which the ensemble scoring leaves plenty of room and freedom for the excellent playing of the soloists; in "Radio Rhythm" the Henderson band goes through a lot of motions without anything really happening; the Luis Russell "Saratoga Drag" (80038) has a good tune, spirited ensemble playing, and one good solo passage by Red Allen and Greeley Walton, but "Case on Dawn" has only its ensemble drive; the Don Redman "Shakin' the African" (80036) is better than "Chant of the Weed," which has only distinctively clever scoring and gets tiring for lack of anything more.

One of the pianists in the "Riverboat Jazz" volume, Alex Hill, contributes two exciting solo performances on one of the records (80034) in Set B-1008, "Barrel House Piano," along with others by Mary Lou Williams (80033), James P. Johnson (80032), and Frank Melrose (Kansas City Frank) (80031). Melrose is the only real barrel house pianist of the four; and the title is used here for several styles of piano-playing that are strong, driving, and filled out. Aside from this they are, of course, different—Mary Lou Williams's, for example, being richly intricate, Johnson's flashily brilliant. All are, however, enjoyable.

Set B-1007, finally, "Chicago Jazz Classics," offers performances recorded in 1928 and 1929 by Benny Goodman with groups assembled for the purpose that included Joe Sullivan, Jimmy McPartland, Wingy Manone, Bud Freeman, Glenn Miller. And what all these men do individually and together, is so bad that it is almost unbelievable.

With Markova out of the company for the remainder of the Ballet Theater's New York season Tudor's "Romeo and Juliet" was given with Nora Kaye as Juliet. Her performance was excellent—and for me surprisingly so; for after her heaviness in "Aleko" I was not prepared for the lightness and delicacy she achieved in "Romeo."

On the same program was Tudor's new ballet "Dim Lustre," to Richard Strauss's Burleske for piano and orchestra, and with scenery and costumes by Motley. The first time one sees Tudor's choreography—say in "Lilac Garden"—one is struck by the distinctiveness of the movements; as one continues to see it in other ballets—"Pillar of Fire," "Romeo and Juliet"—one is struck by the recurrence of these movements, and struck all the more since they are so few and are therefore repeated so much. But in "Pillar of Fire" and in "Romeo" there are also new things—additional movements for the new ideas and situations, providing new contexts for the old movements; whereas in "Dim Lustre" there are new subject (very slight), new scenery (not very good), new costumes (very handsome), for which the choreography is made out of nothing but a few old mannerisms. The dancing of Kaye, Laing, and Hightower was fine.

In contrast to this is Lichine's "Fair at Sorochinsk," to music of Mussorgsky that includes "Night on Bald Mountain," and with scenery and costumes by Remisoff that we have seen many times before. Even the traditional and familiar Russian peasant dance movements are given new twists, an individual style, the impress of an individual mind that is further evident in the manipulation of groups, and in the striking movements that convey the diabolism of Red Coat. Moreover, it is interesting to see how well Lichine uses individual dancers—how he contrives what shows off their strong points and conceals their weaknesses. He gives the peasant boy Gritzko not only the leaps and turns that Eglevsky does so brilliantly but an almost brutal vigor in stance and walk that keeps Eglevsky from falling into his usual lad-with-the-delicate-air attitude when he is not leaping or whirling about. And the sensational movements of Red Coat seem to represent Lichine's perception of what Dolin can and cannot do, after he has watched him do the leaps and turns of "Swan Lake" poorly (but with appeals for applause that bring a thunderous response), and then observed his superb character-dancing in "Bluebeard."

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

The Case of Alton Levy

Dear Sirs: Readers of my article in *The Nation* last winter on the Winfred Lynn case may be interested to know about another Jim Crow-in-uniform case now assuming national importance—the Alton Levy case.

In civilian life Alton I. Levy was an organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. He also wrote songs and skits, a talent he has exercised in the army; his "G. I. Love You" is popular in Western camps. His army record was excellent—he became a sergeant within six months of entering the army, and he had no disciplinary record—until he began to criticize the treatment of Negro soldiers.

Last August Sergeant Levy was tried before a court martial at the Lincoln (Nebraska) air base. He was accused of having made false and malicious statements "with the intent to bring discredit on the military service." There were three charges, two of them alleging that he had made slanderous statements about the commanding officer of the camp, the third that he had complained publicly about the way colored soldiers were treated at the base. Levy denied the first two and admitted, or rather insisted upon, the third.

The evidence came entirely from two girls, one of them a WAC, with whom Levy had had dates. (The WAC, a bush-league Mata Hari, also brought charges against four other soldiers with whom she had had dates.) It was so flimsy, and was so effectively countered by Levy's testimony and other witnesses for the defense, that on the second day of the trial the president of the court stated, *"The court does not believe that the accused is guilty of any of the specifications as drawn."* Nevertheless, after another day of testimony, which involved only one of the three charges, the court reversed itself and found Levy guilty on all three counts. Its sentence was severe: reduction to the rank of private, a fine of $18 a month, and four months' imprisonment at hard labor. Levy is now serving out this term.

Levy had three strikes against him when he went up for trial: he was a Jew, a labor organizer, and a fighter for Negro rights. At the base Negro soldiers were forced to put up with inferior equipment, denied their fair share of passes into town, forced to walk two miles to mess hall, and, according to one of Levy's letters home, "hounded and harassed, yelled at and cursed and insulted, and generally treated abominably." Levy complained about these conditions in staff meetings and in contacts with his superior officers. He had an important administrative post in the Negro section of the camp, and he knew what he was talking about. Sergeant Levy, in a word, was making a nuisance of himself. He had to be "got," and got he was.

This case of a white sergeant, buried away in a remote air base, who had the courage to speak out on military Jim Crow will not be over when Sergeant Levy comes out of the guardhouse a private. There are indications that the army authorities, in reprisal for Levy's allowing the case to become a national issue, are considering another court martial and an even more severe sentence. Full information on the case may be obtained from the Workers' Defense League, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City, which is conducting a campaign to free Al Levy and end Jim Crow in the army.

DWIGHT MACDONALD

New York, October 19

The Question of Sovereignty

Dear Sirs: Questions of sovereignty loom large in discussions of post-war collaboration. It seems certain that isolationists, in the propitious guise of nationalists, will center their fight on an international superstate. It is as well to look the matter over now, to see where we stand.

Our own experience after the Revotion afforded an example pertinent to the present situation. The colonies, having come through extraordinary hardships and hazards in throwing over a superior central power, adopted our first written constitution, the Articles of Confederation, under which each of them was fully sovereign, retaining its "freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States." None could be taxed, and none suffered interference with its domestic affairs. We had thirteen nationalistic interests, often conflicting.

The Continental Congress, w framed the Articles, was a single ch ber in which each state had one and Rhode Island as much powe Massachusetts or Virginia. The Cong could declare war, form treaties, n requisitions for the national exper and so on, but it had no power to force its findings. Thus its powe direct the armed forces was empty cause it could not conscript men for army or navy. It could do no more request money from the states, and ing its last year they contributed than enough to meet the interest on national indebtedness. It could issue rency but could establish no reserve, it emitted script so freely that the ph "not worth a Continental" became of the national idiom. National se ties sold for as little as one-twent of their face value.

The Articles of Confederation did provide for an executive or a judic and there was no regulation of t or industry. The states carried on c mercial wars and erected tariff v against one another. New York le duties on firewood from Connecticut on cabbages from New Jersey.

Veterans of the Revolution went paid and everywhere threatened trou Once they frightened Congress moving from Philadelphia to Prince In Massachusetts Shays's Rebellion led by a man who had fought at Bu Hill, and civil war was narrowly aver Amid the blessings of unrestricted tionalism the young country was "d ing to chaos."

Amid the blessings of unrestri nationalism Europe drifted after First World War into the chaos armed conflict. A League of Nations been set up, but it had no more po to enforce its rulings than the Conti tal Congress. There was a similar p war inflation, and there was a time w the currency of most European s was not worth a Continental.

In such circumstances the Amer colonies realized the imperative need a strong, cooperative national gov ment. The Founding Fathers met sec at Philadelphia "for the sole and press purpose of amending the Art of Confederation," but they did not of the sort. They threw that docun out of the window and erected an i eral republic. If a Napoleon had they did, Arthur Meier Schlesinger is, it would have been branded a d'état.

Philadelphia the states agreed that ntral government could tax them, could maintain a dominant stand-my, and that it could lay embar-and tariffs. They agreed to settle quarrels in federal courts, whereas and is an attribute of sovereignty as sole arbiter of any dispute. consented to the regulation of erce and trade. "In order to form e perfect union," they relinquished ery privileges of sovereignty on they had insisted when they drew e Articles of Confederation.

thout setting up the federal union model for post-war organization Swiss Federation might serve as a model) it is still clear that the utes of sovereignty which the rs surrendered may reconcile us to r concessions in planning for the of the future. If we are guided eir wisdom we need not fear an ational police force, a world court, e judicious regulation of interna-economic affairs. We shall agree, follow their example, to pay our oward the expenses of the inter-ial organization. We would stipu-as the Founding Fathers did, that owers we delegate be limited to rs of common interest and pri-y for the common defense.

other quite recent instance within xperience is instructive. In 1938 an nent was reached at Lima, Peru, which any menace from without y republic in the Western World be considered a threat to all of them call to immediate concerted action. this principle of collective defense iled in Europe," says Dr. Leo S. , "the aggressor nations would have undertaken the subjugation eir neighbors. It is thus clear that the principle of collective defense de effective, no form of world ization will give us either peace or ty. Combined resistance to lawless-nd aggression is the only sure road ordered world."

w when any republic agrees to war if need be in case an allied lic is threatened, it renounces y a part of its sovereignty. It is f the concessions we must make.

notion of sovereignty has plagued vorld since the dawn of history. It ated ancient patriarchs and poten-As an official national policy it rs to have made its appearance first floor of the French National Assembly, during the regime of the third Bonaparte. Word of it reached Napoleon at St. Helena and he took it up with gusto. Thereafter his nephew, the Emperor Louis, denounced it as Bonapartist doctrine. It is a hangover, as the word itself shows, from the days of absolute monarchy. Lord Acton characterizes it as "immoral." In the modern world it is as much an anachronism as the "divine right" of the Stuarts. SILAS BENT

Old Greenwich, Conn., October 24

Mr. Rylski Replies

Dear Sirs: In answer to the letter from Dr. Ehrenpreis, which appeared in last week's issue of *The Nation,* I should like to clarify two points which I discussed in my article.

First, I did not accuse the Polish government and the parties which support it of "expecting a restored Poland to stand against Russia." I freely agree that there are no Polish political leaders who do not desire good relations with Russia, as well as with the rest of Poland's neighbors; they would like to see such relations just as they would like to see the end of all wars, the universal happiness of their nation and of the world, and so on. But all that has nothing to do with politics. The real question in Polish-Russian relations—a question carefully overlooked in Dr. Ehrenpreis's letter—is whether the Polish government is ready to collaborate with Russia *on terms acceptable to the latter,* whether it is prepared to make such collaboration the basis of its policy.

Under the present relation of forces, to declare to Stalin: "We want to cooperate with you, but only *on our terms,*" that is, on the basis of Russia's acceptance of Poland's view concerning its eastern boundaries, means abandoning the policy of collaboration and paving the way for the inevitable rupture. The reason for that is simple. If the Polish "legitimate leaders" take their policy seriously, they must look for some force strong enough, in their opinion, to impose their position upon Russia. Stalin will therefore regard them as a hostile factor. Polish-Russian relations of 1941-43 prove this point conclusively; the Union of Polish Patriots, born in 1943, has nothing to do with that. The essential fact is that on the fundamental question of boundaries there is complete unanimity among the "legitimate leaders" of Polish democratic parties, the Polish government, and the extreme reactionaries, including Colonel Matuszewski: they all insist on the premise of the inviolability of the boundaries of 1939.

The second point concerns Dr. Ehrenpreis's assertion that the Polish people have already made their choice concerning Poland's future policy, and that this choice concurs with the policy of the Polish government in London. This statement is supposedly conclusive because the men who make it are the only "legitimate" representatives of the Polish people. There are, however, all kinds of legitimacy: Otto of Hapsburg bases his claim to legitimacy upon his hereditary rights; the Polish government in London upon the fascist constitution of 1935; Dr. Ehrenpreis and his friends upon their pre-1939 status and the support of their political friends in Poland. The only democratic legitimacy is that based on the will of the majority of the population. Today, under the German occupation, the Polish people cannot express its will. No student of Polish affairs can truly state who, in October, 1943, has the majority in Poland; who will have it at the moment of Poland's liberation from the German oppressor is even more difficult to foretell. Assertions, even if they are as absolute as those of Dr. Ehrenpreis, are not proof. The fight for the soul of the Polish people continues, and nothing is less certain than the triumph of the camp represented by Dr. Ehrenpreis.

MARCIN RYLSKI

New York, October 25

★ CELEBRATE 10th ANNIVERSARY ★
OF AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, MONDAY, NOV. 8th ★ 7:30 P. M.
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HAROLD L. ICKES, Secretary of the Interior
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MAJ. GEN. JAMES A. ULIO, Adjutant General, U.S.A.
CLAUDE PEPPER, United States Senator
R. J. THOMAS, Pres. United Auto Workers
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National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
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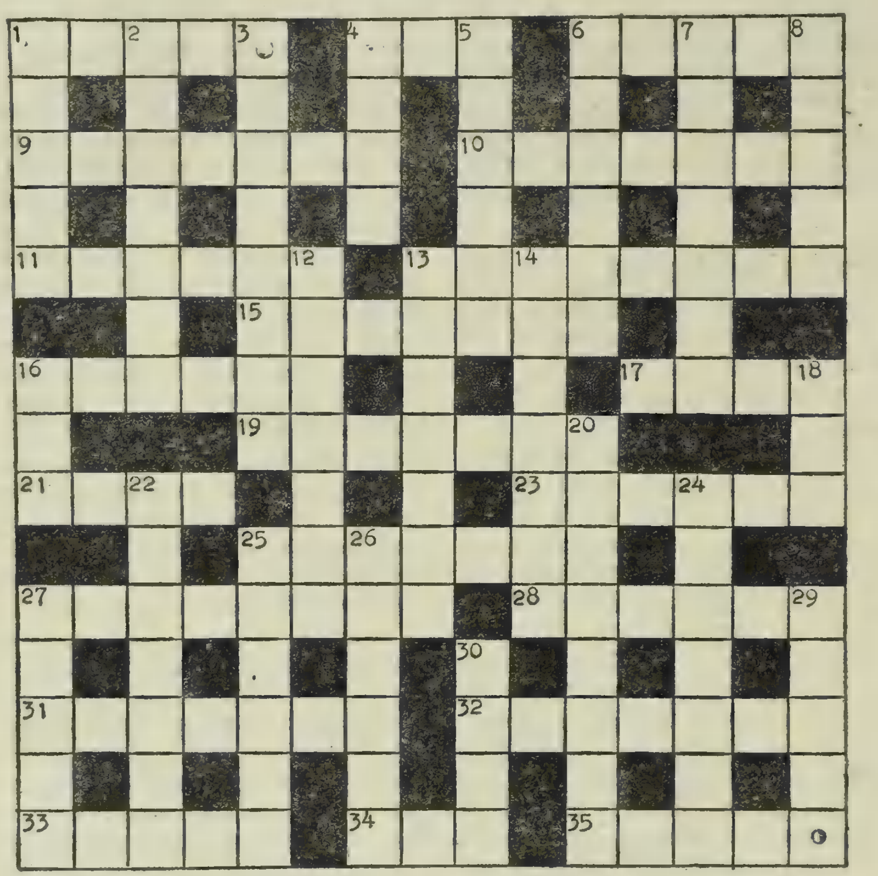
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 37

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Source of oil—and The Invisible Man
4 One of those Nevada girls
6 Is worth its weight in gold
9 What the Fat Boy did
10 This crime against the state has a final motive
11 They fought for possession of the ring in Das Rheingold
13 What with blows and bellows these workshops must be noisy places
15 Masculine name
16 They naturally prefer mounted photographs
17 This cap is never removed when coming indoors
19 You can ship this vegetable
21 Sounds rather a mournful name for a girl
23 Where the absent-minded bookkeeper posted the letter?
25 A child can operate this vehicle(?)
27 Where there's a will there's a this
28 Isolde appears rather the worse for wear
31 Scientist who proved Copernicus to be right
32 Cane ten in a place of refreshment
33 It threw a little light on things in grandfather's day
34 Right for horses
35 The Merry Widow

DOWN

1 Word that's always pronounced wrong
2 Shelter with a drawback
3 Cats rest until something does this to them
4 We're in jug!
5 Responsible for many a good wheeze
6 Ecarte (anag.)
7 A Scot puts an end to a Muscovite
8 Notes should be changed here
12 Is he the guilty one?
13 A loud speaker
14 Frigid eavesdroppers
16 Fast colors don't
18 "For Art may - - -, but Nature cannot miss" (Dryden)
20 Leading ladies
22 The end of the race is near—or is it the end of the cat? (two words, 4 and 3)
24 Did Spanish sailors of old boast of the number of miles they had done on one?
25 No weaver, but he can usually spin a good yarn
26 Black tea with the flavor of green
27 Too little money, or too much drink perhaps
29 Lady of Spain
30 Some nerve, I should say

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 36

ACROSS:—1 FIEND; 4 STAGE; 7 NEAR; 9 TEDIUM; 10 CAIRO; 12 ISLE; 13 TOWN; 15 RISSOLE; 17 HOSIER; 18 EGRESS; 19 PEA; 21 OBSERVE; 23 DYNASTY; 24 THE; 26 DEBRIS; 28 EGGLER; 31 NAPLESS; 32 RARE; 35 NAME; 36 GNASH; 37 TEA-SET; 38 SHOE; 39 SCENT; 40 REELS.

DOWN:—1 FREE; 2 ELIXIR; 3 DEMESNE; 4 SICKLE; 5 ADIT; 6 ENOW; 7 NEIGH; 8 ATLAS; 11 ROWELS; 14 NASTY; 15 REFRAIN; 16 EGG-NOGS; 19 PET; 20 ADE; 21 ORDER; 22 SUBORN; 25 HOLSTER; 27 SACHET; 28 ESTATE; 29 LOATH; 30 REEVE; 33 AGES; 34 EASE; 35 NESS.

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The Shape of Things

UNDER THE GUISE OF "ECONOMY" THE House Appropriations Committee has eliminated or curtailed funds for more than a dozen projects of vital importance not only to the public welfare but to the war effort. The most serious cut from the standpoint of wartime efficiency was the reduction in the amount set aside for defense housing from $200,000,000 to a bare $50,000,000. With a view to rectifying the man-power shortage caused by lack of housing, the National Housing Agency conducted a city-to-city survey of housing needs in war centers. It found that 925,000 units would be needed to house 1,200,000 war workers, and that in the absence of other possibilities the government would have to provide for at least 184,000 of these workers. The $200,000,000 requested meant a subsidy per house of barely $1,000.

*

OTHER CUTS WHICH WILL SURELY INTERFERE with production efficiency included the elimination of $1,000,000 requested by the Public Health Service to provide physicians in areas now deprived of medical services; a $2,000,000 reduction in the funds requested by the War Manpower Commission to pay transportation costs of foreign labor for war plants; a $2,500,000 reduction in the funds requested to train nurses for the war emergency; the elimination of a request for $3,961,000 for emergency teacher training to overcome the present grave shortage of qualified instructors, and of $125,000 for special war work by the Women's Bureau; and the elimination of all funds needed for the enforcement of the child labor laws. In several instances, agencies which have been under fire from Congress for not meeting the full demands that have been placed upon them were denied the funds necessary to carry out their duties. For example, the WMC was denied a badly needed $2,500,000 to improve the efficiency of the United States Employment Service, while the NLRB was refused the $300,000 it requested for enforcement of the Smith-Connally bill. And, most ironic of all, the Budget Bureau was denied $180,000 of the funds it requested for personnel to inquire into legitimate economies that might be made in government expenditures.

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ESCAPING THE DREADED PRUNING KNIFE OF the committee, surprisingly enough, was the budgeted appropriation for the Office of War Information's foreign branch. Psychological warfare is one of those dreamy New Deal notions which cause the purer breed of American Congressmen to see red in more ways than one, and several of the species have been patiently waiting for the chance to cripple Mr. Davis's agency. Imagine their discomfort when testimonials to the OWI's work in Africa and Italy poured in from Generals Marshall, Eisenhower, Patton, and Devers. Imagine their downright embarrassment when they were told what Admiral Cunningham said as the Italian fleet steamed into Malta: "Tell General McClure [in charge of psychological warfare in North Africa] that they've accomplished in one day with propaganda what I've been trying to do for three years with the Navy." In approving the appropriation the majority of the committee reported that "More than 80 per cent of the German and Italian prisoners captured in Sicily admit being impelled to give up by propaganda leaflets and broadcasts." But prejudices and political unscrupulousness die hard in anti-Roosevelt circles, and Republican Representatives Taber, Wigglesworth, Lambertson, and Ditter found it necessary to file a dissent. One had "grave doubts" about the OWI's work, another called the agency a "stench" and let it go at that, while a third charged it with issuing campaign buttons to boost a fourth term. Political warfare abroad may be starry-eyed, but at home it is practical.

*

DESPITE A SHORTAGE OF SUPPLIES HERE, THE National Lead Company shipped 700 tons of titanium to Japan nine months before Pearl Harbor. The purpose, as explained by Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge to the Kilgore committee, was to help the company's Japanese cartel partner evade a British embargo on shipments of titanium from India to Japan. The British imposed the embargo because of I. G. Farben's interest in the Japanese company. I. G.'s partners in this country were National Lead, Dupont, and the Titan Company, Inc. All three were indicted by a grand jury in New York last June but prosecution, in the manner grown customary, has been suspended "in order not to interfere in the war effort." I. G. Farben and Dupont seem to have been the leading figures in this world cartel for the control and exorbitant pricing of titanium, the most valuable and useful of all white pigments for paint. After the war began American partners of I. G. kindly arranged to take over German patents "in trust" for the duration to prevent their seizure by the Alien Property Custodian. This is the familiar cartel pattern. Its importance is that these cartels intend to resume after the war. A few great companies here and abroad figure in most of them; their political influence is enormous and invariably reactionary; their objective a continued scarcity economy. It isn't going to be easy to preserve peace and freedom where and while they operate.

*

CONFIRMED CYNICS ARE REFERRED TO LAST week's issue of the *Saturday Evening Post,* wherein they will find the headiest brew of *Realpolitik* since Machiavelli worked out the recipe. "Power Politics Succeeded in Italy" by Demaree Bess is the contribution we have in mind. Its thesis, briefly, is that we won out in Italy because we rejected all recourse to popular forces. Far from having anything against fascism as such, we tried from the start to bribe Mussolini into breaking with the Axis; having failed in this objective we fought and were ultimately in a position to approach Italy with anti-fascist slogans intended to win over the people. At the same time we instructed AMG officials "to suppress all forms of local political activity"; and with the slogan "Abolish Fascism!" we combined "such a conservative policy otherwise that it amounted to the freezing of the status quo in Sicily, once Mussolini's personal party machine had been destroyed." By this sort of manipulation, writes Mr. Bess admiringly, "the decks were cleared for negotiations with any group inside Italy which could get rid of Mussolini." Accepting Mr. Bess's analysis without his glowing approval, we can see the "power-politics" part of his title, but we are not so sure about the success. The Darlan deal, with which he enthusiastically compares the Badoglio arrangement, has been defended on the ground that it saved lives. But what lives have been saved in our inch-by-inch advance through Italy? "Had the armistice come immediately," Adolfo Omodeo, rector of the University of Naples, told Herbert Matthews, "the Allies could have landed at Genoa, Spezia, and northern ports, and Italy would have been theirs. Now the peninsula is being devastated from south to north." Tragic, but we needed those fifty days for Mr. Bess's power politics.

*

AT A RECEPTION COMMEMORATING THE seventh anniversary of the defense of Madrid, Alvarez del Vayo termed Franco's message to the Filipino traitor, José P. Laurel, "an act of aggression against the United States." That most Americans, even those who formerly treated Franco with the utmost consideration, interpreted the message in a similar manner was indicated by a disapproving editorial in the New York *Times* on November 4. But the congratulatory message is not an isolated proof of Spain's continued servitude to the Axis. Immediately afterwards, the Franco regime was reported by Berlin to have signed a trade agreement with the "government" of Mussolini, and Nazi broadcasts to South America gave it wide publicity. Berlin, evidently, is anxious to convince Ramirez that he is not Hitler's only playmate, in this hour of Germany's gravest military setback, but that Spain, in spite of Portugal's shift to the side of the United Nations, has remained faithful. The Madrid government has denied the story of the agreement, but its word is hardly better than Berlin's.

*

NOT LONG AGO, CORRESPONDENTS AND commentators united in describing the great changes which had taken place in Falangist Spain as a result of recent Allied victories. The smallest detail—the printing of an Allied communique before a German communique—was taken as evidence that Franco was rapidly swinging to the Allies. Evidence to the contrary—the maintenance of the Blue Division on the Russian front, the continuous anti-American propaganda disseminated throughout Latin America, the recent address of Senor Arreses, Falangist leader, which reaffirmed the fight against communism as "the permanent aim of Spanish foreign policy"—all this was dismissed as accidental. As the New York *Times* tearfully pointed out, "this country has been patient with Franco, especially during the Civil War," and it was assumed that Franco would reward that patience by coming over to the Allies once Hitler's prospective defeat made that course expedient. Now comes Franco's double perfidy. The disappointment in certain quarters is bitter. But not bitter enough, it seems, to bring about immediate recall of Ambassador Carlton Hayes, whose mission in Madrid is the greatest diplomatic failure of recent years.

*

THE COAL SETTLEMENT MUST BE REGARDED as a substantial victory for John L. Lewis. Although he did not succeed in getting the full increase of two dollars a day—ten dollars for the five-day week—which he demanded last spring, the weekly increase under the new contract amounts to approximately $11.50 because of overtime pay on Saturdays. From the standpoint of the general public, however, the settlement is not without merit. The working time of the miners has been lengthened by one hour a day in addition to the extension brought about by the introduction of the six-day week. This should mean a considerable increase in the production of coal at a time when every effort must be made to expand output. Moreover, the partial recognition of the principle of portal-to-portal pay must be regarded as justified. When the extra hours and payment for part of the underground travel time are taken into account, the settlement can be fitted within the framework of the "Little Steel" formula. The most serious cause for apprehension in connection with the settlement lies in the fact that it will undoubtedly strengthen Lewis's prestige not only within the United Mine Workers but in the labor movement as a whole. Responsible sections of organized labor may have to pay a heavy price for Mr. Lewis's victory.

Ballot Readings

OFF-YEAR elections are to political analysts what birds' entrails were to Roman seers and what tea leaves are to gypsies. Pick your oracle judiciously and you can get almost any interpretation you want. To Wendell Willkie last week's vote means that "The country is tired, very tired, of the present national administration." Harrison Spangler sees the mystic portent that "The American way is on the march!" To the New York *Daily Mirror* the election of Joe Hanley as Lieutenant Governor makes Thomas E. Dewey the "outstanding symbol of the anti-New Deal forces in the nation," while the more prosaic sybil of the *Times* sees the Hanley triumph as the profound conviction of the people that a Republican governor should have a Republican lieutenant governor. Always the last word in gaudy divination, the *Daily News* thinks the whole election shows that the country wants to forget Hitler for a while and send more planes and men to General MacArthur. And James A. Farley, absolving himself of any responsibility, reads the figures as a warning which he hopes will have "a sobering effect on those who guide the destinies of the states and the nation."

Foregoing our own privilege of reading signs, we prefer to note a few of the factors that may have contributed to the results, which we do not for a moment pretend to find gratifying. The first factor is that "those who guide the destinies of the states and the nation" can now count on Mr. Farley for post-election warnings rather than pre-election assistance. The kind of campaign which the New York State chairman put on for General Haskell was ardent enough to have elected a Democratic sheriff in Mississippi, but hardly more than that. And there is no doubt that many a Democrat, acting on instructions from his ward boss, voted for the discredited Judge Aurelio—on the Republican ticket. Aurelio's name appeared on the machines under both Democratic and Republican labels, but his total Republican vote plus the vote for George Frankenthaler, whom the party unofficially sponsored after repudiating Aurelio, was greater than the vote for Mr. Hanley, the head of the ticket!

Across the Hudson, Boss Hague developed a similar incapacity for delivering the vote, with the result that after an apathetic campaign, Mayor Vincent J. Murphy of Newark was defeated for Governor of New Jersey by Republican Walter E. Edge. Mr. Murphy's excellent record as a labor leader clearly left Hague unenthusiastic if it did not scare him out of his wits.

The defeat of William C. Bullitt for mayor of Philadelphia and the photo-finish race for governor of Kentucky are the other straws which are said to be pointing straight at a New Deal debacle in 1944. But no one in his right mind expected Philadelphia to elect a Democratic mayor, and if that miracle could have been achieved for any Democrat it certainly wasn't the vulnerable Mr. Bullitt. The Republican victory in Kentucky, however, unquestionably reflects a rising tide for the G.O.P. which no one in Washington is likely to ignore.

In a class by itself was the savage mayoralty campaign in Detroit. The primaries were won by Frank FitzGerald, who enjoyed the backing of Detroit's powerful trade unions, of Negroes who resented Mayor Jeffries's wretched handling of the race riots last June, and of chauvinist white elements who resented the Mayor's earlier stand in support of the Negroes' right to share in the Sojourner Truth housing project. Between the primary and election day Jeffries made a shameless—and successful—bid for the anti-Negro vote, talking wildly of a black conspiracy to take over the city. FitzGerald himself was not above attacking Jeffries for favoring "bi-racial housing" but was accepted nevertheless by the Negroes as the sweeter of two lemons. Jeffries won, and Detroit now seethes more than ever.

The defeat of FitzGerald, like that of Murphy in New Jersey, was also a blow at organized labor's political prestige. These two losses, together with the American Labor Party's failure to save Haskell from defeat in New York, are hard pills to swallow, but they are far from fatal, especially since the Labor Party's vote in New York was much larger than expected.

We can accept the fact that more Republicans than Democrats voted in New York, New Jersey, and Kentucky without being convinced that there are more Republicans than Democrats in those states. The war-time shifts of manpower which played so large a part in 1942 are still operative, and the soldier vote, conceded by both sides to be overwhelmingly Democratic, is absent this year as it was last. Should these two powerful elements be adequately represented in the 1944 vote, Mr. Spangler's "way" may turn right around and march back again.

Subsidies or Chaos

NO PRESIDENTIAL message in recent years has covered matters of more immediate concern to the American people than Mr. Roosevelt's recent message on food and food subsidies. Yet there is grave danger that its proposals will be ignored in Congress. It is apparent that the home-front struggle against the insidious and destructive forces of inflation is nearing another of its all too frequent crises. For the first time since the hold-the-line order was issued last spring, the cost of living has shown signs of resuming its advance. Congress has failed miserably in its primary obligation to check through taxation the increase in the amount of surplus or "dangerous" money available for bidding up prices. Seeing the apparent failure of the OPA's roll-back program, labor has once more become restive. The miners have succeeded in wresting a contract from Ickes which gives them even more than the Illinois formula repudiated by the War Labor Board. And the C. I. O. convention in Philadelphia unanimously demanded a scrapping of the "Little Steel" wage formula and pledged support for the wage demands of the Railway Brotherhoods.

In the face of these conflicting pressures the President clearly has no choice but to attempt to bolster his hold-the-line program as set forth last spring. To yield on any front invites disaster. But the demands of labor can only be staved off if the government lives up to its promise and reduces the cost of living to the level at which wages have been pegged. As Mr. Roosevelt points out, organized labor has loyally supported the stabilization program up to now on the clear understanding that the cost of living would be rolled back to a point where it reached a balance with wages. Some reduction in living costs was achieved during the summer months. But owing to the pressure of the farm bloc, no substantial cut in food prices could be achieved without reimbursing either farmer or distributor through subsidies. If food prices are to be brought back to the September 15, 1942, level, further subsidies will be needed.

It is evident that the fight over subsidies is crucial to the entire stabilization program. If Congress supports the recent action of the House Banking and Currency Committee and refuses further subsidies to hold down food costs, it will be impossible to resist labor's demands for a substantial increase in wages. The increase in the miners' wage scale can probably be reconciled with the "Little Steel" formula, but if that formula is scrapped, as the C. I. O. now demands, the entire stabilization program must eventually go with it. It might still be possible to maintain price ceilings on a few key articles in a period of gradually rising prices, but anything like the present over-all regulations, would be administratively impossible. And once the price-wage spiral gets under way, regulation becomes increasingly ineffective.

Although the C. I. O. can hardly be blamed for being angered by the Administration's failure to live up to its promise to reduce the cost of living, it displayed singularly poor statesmanship in issuing its demand for elimination of the "Little Steel" formula just one day after the President sent his subsidy message to Congress. The demand will undoubtedly be used by opponents of the subsidy to buttress their contention that the stabilization program has already broken down. Actually, there is still a fighting chance. Even if Congress rejects the President's plea for subsidies, he may again, as in June, use his veto power. As long as there is a chance, labor should give him its support. For the alternative to subsidies is economic chaos.

The Meaning of Moscow

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AT MOSCOW Hitler suffered his greatest political defeat of the war, a defeat which will do more to bring about the downfall of his regime and the collapse of his military power than any of his recent disastrous defeats in the field. To say that is not to minimize the importance of the armed struggle. On the contrary, the Allied political victory at Moscow could never have been won if the military victories had not preceded it. Let no one forget the Red Army; in the mild person of Foreign Minister Molotov, it attended every session of the Moscow conference.

The political effects of the decisions reached at Moscow have only begun to be felt but every day reveals new ones. Already the promise and challenge to Austria have been answered with anti-Nazi riots and new, brutal repression by the Gestapo. As we go to press, unconfirmed reports announce Finnish peace feelers and a move on the part of Turkey to permit use by the Allies of plane and naval bases. From every occupied or satellite country come stories of aggravated tension and new acts of resistance. For not only Germany, but the anti-Axis world as well, has read the meaning of Moscow. It knows that the three great powers have sealed a pact which guarantees victory. It knows that this long-delayed pledge of union is the thing Hitler has been employing his total armament of propaganda to prevent. The Moscow agreement, quite apart from its terms, is in itself an act of political war. For lack of such an agreement the grand strategy of the United Nations has faltered; indeed until now, as *The Nation* has steadily pointed out, a plan of campaign which ignored, or even rejected, the political demands of the war was no plan at all.

The Moscow meeting accomplished several valuable results: 1. It helped to bridge the dangerous gap of suspicion and fear between Russia and America—a gap which Britain had been trying desperately to straddle. It did this not only by bringing the three powers together, but by creating a European council to continue the political consultations initiated by the Foreign Ministers. 2. It agreed on the early creation of an international organization, initiated by the chief allied powers, including China (a most important inclusion), and open to all other peaceful states. 3. It arrived at a military understanding, undefined but clearly basic to the whole agreement, which will take the place of the confused clamor of demands, promises, excuses, and accusations which have poisoned Allied relations and encouraged Axis hopes. 4. It promised the abolition of fascism in Italy and the establishment of democratic guarantees. (The actual time for instituting this change is left to the decision of the combined chiefs of staff, a precaution which robs the promise of much of its immediate political effect.) 5. It opened a direct political offensive against Nazi power in Central and Eastern Europe by pledging Austria its liberty in return for effective resistance. 6. It agreed to deliver Axis war criminals for punishment to the peoples they have oppressed.

This is much: put together it forms a framework and a promise. It marks a new departure in Allied relations.

For this achievement every democratic critic of America's previous foreign policy must be thankful. Those persons who today are claiming that the Moscow agreement is the logical culmination of a policy slowly and patiently evolved by the President and his Secretary of State can hardly be taken seriously. It is, on the contrary, an effective veto of almost every political measure they had previously enacted.

The man who contemptuously refused to be drawn into discussions of European political problems, declaring that they had no relevance while the war was being fought, has now helped to frame an agreement on just those problems. And the agreement, by all its implications, rules out further dealings with the procession of purchasable fascists and amenable reactionaries who have been used, or encouraged to believe they would be used, as the State Department's Quislings. The victory won at Moscow was a victory for all people everywhere who have bitterly resented the role being played by America in Europe. Perhaps Mr. Hull's chief success lay in his willingness to abandon a discredited policy. This took courage, and the fact that Mr. Hull had no real alternative detracts only a little from the credit due him. He might have refused to undertake the mission; or he might have convinced himself that his previous attitude was still tenable and worth fighting for.

In any case, there is no denying the domestic value of Secretary Hull's participation in the conference. As Mr. Stone points out, his presence in Moscow assured the new pact a friendly reception in Congress. Even the opponents of the Administration's foreign policy have accepted it with satisfaction. I have no doubt that the incorporation in the Connally resolution of the collective-security section of the Moscow agreement, and the prompt and almost unanimous adoption of the amended resolution, are to be attributed largely to Mr. Hull's influence. For this too we should be grateful.

The Russian government has supported democratic resistance in Nazi-occupied Europe for the best of reasons: to help win the war and to buttress its own security after the war. Neither reaction nor revolution would serve its needs when the peace came. The first would offer an open menace. The second would bring the threat of armed intervention and, in any case, make it difficult for Russia to import the equipment needed for a rapid restoration of its industrial power. Russia wants, at least during the first few years after Hitler's defeat, a

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stable Continent and good relations with the West. It wants a workable system of collective security. And it wants the protection of its old boundaries.

The United States and Britain—but especially the United States—have feared the spread of Russian influence in the rest of Europe. They have looked upon all popular movements as likely to produce a break-down of authority and open the way to Communism. While proclaiming democratic aims, they have backed reactionary groups which promised authoritarian if not fascist rule. If they could have continued this policy they would doubtless have been pleased.

But they could not. Russia demanded a hand in political decisions in Europe. It intervened first by favoring de Gaulle. It backed strongly the underground movements, and Communist elements have taken the lead in organizing resistance everywhere. It favored the Partisans in Yugoslavia over the Mikhailovich forces. It encouraged the Greek guerrillas to oppose the King. It criticized AMG in Italy and proposed the creation of the Mediterranean Commission to advise on political policies in that region. Russia's acquiescence in the recognition of Badoglio is now seen to be an act of only limited significance. The section in the Moscow agreement guaranteeing democratic rights to the people of Italy has been described by some writers as an astonishing concession on the part of the Soviet government to its Western allies. The reverse is probably closer to the fact. Russia has been endorsing democratic rights all over Europe; it is the British and ourselves who have backed the elements that suppress them. The Soviet position may be inconsistent with its own internal practices, but Stalin is not a man to let consistency stand in the way of Russia's national interests.

It is those interests which proved decisive at Moscow.

Some Western statesmen, during recent months, may have looked back rather wistfully to the period after the last war when Russia was chaotic, struggling, shorn of vast territories by Germany, fighting for its survival against internal enemies, its old army broken, its new revolutionary forces untrained and unequipped. In those days Russia couldn't intervene in the great decisions regarding Europe. Instead it could safely be harassed and plotted against, its enemies supplied with arms and money, and its borders closed by a ring of hostile states.

Today, twenty-six years after its birth, Soviet Russia is the strongest state in Europe. It is winning victories on a scale that diminish the successes of Britain and the United States to relative insignificance. The days of Russian weakness and dependence can not be brought back. No other nations can carry into effect decisions which run counter to Russia's needs. No federation headed by a hostile Poland can serve today as a new *cordon sanitaire*. Even the attempt of the Western powers to set up little reactionary vassals as a counterpoise to the Soviet Union begins to look impractical. With the Red Army driving toward Berlin, Russia's claims must be considered and Russia's good will won.

So Mr. Hull went to Moscow. The result is not an obvious Soviet triumph. Concessions were made on all sides and the plan which finally emerged offers Russia security without depriving the other parties to the agreement of any advantages they can propely claim. Mr. Hull brings back the promise of a system of collective security based on a free and democratic Europe. That such a promise represents the needs of the Soviet Union is the world's good fortune.

F. D. R.'s Victory

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 4

THE President, in one of his darkest hours, has won one of his greatest victories. Democratic national headquarters are in mourning; the election returns seem to foreshadow a Republican victory in 1944. The OPA, main bastion of the home front, is in deepest gloom; large sections of labor, agriculture, and industry are wilfully insistent on price and wage increases likely to unloose a disastrous inflation. This is the moment at which the President, by consummate strategy, has at last succeeded in leading the United States out of isolationism and into a concert of powers for the preservation of peace. He has used a conservative Southern Democrat to bring about an entente between capitalist America and Communist Russia. And as this is being written tonight there is every indication that the Senate, where Wilson's hopes fondered, will by more than a two-thirds' vote approve the four-power pact at Moscow. This is a historic achievement, the first step toward preventing World War III; and except for a handful of mischief-makers here, there is a general feeling of satisfaction among men of the most diverse views over what the President and Secretary of State Hull have accomplished.

At the State Department, newspapermen who have been critical are being greeted with jubilation. The Moscow pact is felt to be a complete answer to the critics; the critics, for their part, are pleased with the results of the three-power conference—for which, they feel, they can claim some credit. The uproar over the Welles affair had made Secretary Hull exceedingly sensitive to the charge of being anti-Soviet and anxious to prove that he was as good a diplomat as his former subaltern. This was a propitious mood in which to send him off to Moscow. As one of the correspondents who have been most critical of Hull in the past, and will probably be so again in the future, I honor him for his achievement; it was no easy one for a man of his years and views. In White House circles the Moscow pact is regarded as fully justifying the President's action in forcing the resignation of Welles at the price of keeping Hull. To have the Moscow agreement made by the idol of the anti-New Dealers, an irreproachable conservative, is considered to be worth many compromises.

Had the Moscow pact been presented to the Senate some time after the passage of the Connally resolution, the "but" brigade would have taken ample advantage of its vague wording and many loopholes. It is fortunate that the determined group of fourteen Senators led by Pepper and the sponsors of the B2H2 resolution had drawn out the debate and blocked a count on the Connally measure until the Moscow pact was announced. The release of the text in the midst of the debate caught the fence-straddlers and the quasi-isolationists off guard. They were forced to prove that they meant what they said when they claimed to be for international cooperation. All but the extreme isolationists at once claimed the Moscow pact as their own. Connally said "the sentiments therein expressed" were "in substantial conformity" with the terms of his resolution; the Pepper group welcomed the Moscow agreement as "the kind of clear declaration of principle" Pepper and his colleagues had sought to write into the Connally measure. The ignominious Taft thought that "on the whole the Moscow declaration is far more like the Mackinac resolution," and when Connally incorporated language from the Moscow announcement in his resolution, it was Vandenberg who suggested that by unanimous consent these additions be considered a part of the original resolution instead of an amendment. Senator Carter Glass deserves a large share of the credit for this move, which provides all but formal ratification and the force of a treaty to the Moscow agreement.

One of the principal fears expressed during the debate on the Connally resolution was that it might be construed as having approved in advance a treaty later to be negotiated by the Administration. The Washington *Star* quoted unnamed State Department officials as saying that the Moscow declaration had the force of a treaty, though it did not require ratification by the Senate. This evoked a statement from Connally declaring that this anonymous report had been strongly denied by Under Secretary Stettinius. Whatever the value of the denial, and whatever the name applied to the Moscow declaration, it involves far more than a mere statement of generalities. It envisages continuous action through a joint political commission in London; it has already committed the powers to specific action in the case of Austria, and in the case of Italy to a general line of policy in regard to reconquered territory. The declaration involves a great deal more than most treaties, and it is obvious that in it the Administration has found another of its devices to circumvent the Senate on international policy. The passage of the Connally resolution in a form embodying language from the Moscow declaration places the President in a powerful position to carry on under its terms without further reference to the Senate. Mr. Roosevelt has outwitted his opponents again.

The Moscow agreement must be read in the light of the Soviet declaration that Russia's 1941 boundaries were not open to discussion. It is agreed here that nothing short of a successful war against them would lead the Soviets to give up what they consider the boundaries necessary to their security. A small group of Senatorial pseudo-isolationists, led by Reynolds and Wheeler, seemed anxious during the debate on the Connally resolution to lay the basis for just such an armed conflict. I call them pseudo-isolationists because the isolationist position they assumed during Hitler's period of expansion has been exchanged for the most open kind of interventionism against the Soviet Union. In these Senators the Atlantic Charter has found new and strange devotees.

Reynolds, once the hero of the Bundists, seems to have become the chief reliance of the Poles, and he who glossed over Hitler's aggressions now tells the Senate, "If Soviet Russia intends to have and to hold the once-free Baltic republics and parts of Poland . . . that intention must be resisted by force of arms or be permitted to prevail by default. . . . Civilized nations have never been isolationist in their attitude toward international bandits and robbers." Reynolds has also become the champion of the colored peoples. He wants the Four Freedoms guaranteed to "all colors of skin," but instead of starting his reforms in the army—as chairman of the Military Affairs Committee he is reported to be a powerful influence in promoting the segregation policy—he casts a demagogic eye on the British Empire. Wheeler, who excused the partition of Czechoslovakia at Munich, is worried about Soviet designs on Outer Mongolia.

This is the new isolationism. It speaks the language of idealism but parallels the Nazi line for the propagation of dissension among the Allies. The Senate rejected it by a vote of 70 to 15 in turning down the Danaher amendment, but the Senatorial franks will spread the new brand of anti-Soviet poison assiduously. The same breed of men who once asked, "Why die for Danzig?" are now prepared to give their all for Bessarabia.

Relief for 500,000,000

BY BLAIR BOLLES

Washington, November 5

IN A few days the sincerity of the Allies' determination to pursue a united course—the heart of the Moscow declarations—will be put to a hard test at Atlantic City. On November 10 the representatives of forty-four governments will meet there to set up the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration for the distribution of food, clothing, and medical supplies to the hungry, dirty, sick men, women, and children living under the heel of the occupying Nazis and Japanese in territories marked for liberation.

The UNRRA will find 500,000,000 potential clients as the Allied armies advance. It is easy to agree to free these people from the horrors of malnutrition, but it is difficult to make the necessary arrangements. Already there has been interference. When studies were undertaken this year to improve the catch in the Caribbean off Venezuela so that there might be enough fish to feed the Mediterranean peoples, spokesmen for the New England fishing industry protested successfully—though their catch is insufficient to supply those peoples' needs. When Tuskegee technicians were about to set out for French West Africa to try to enlarge the peanut output there, the British objected that they have peanut enterprises on the Gold Coast—though Gold Coast peanuts would not leave a mark on the fats and oils shortage in Europe. When Cuba accepted the American government's proposal that large acreages of sugar cane be turned to rice production to help develop a stockpile for European relief, American owners of Cuban sugar property pricked American rice growers into complaining through their Congressmen.

The UNRRA represents an attempt to take from the United States the trappings of Santa Claus which it assumed through Herbert Hoover's operations after the last war and to permit the nations which will receive relief to keep the self-respect that disappears with charity. The cost of the enterprise is to be shared by all UNRRA members. Some can pay in gold, some in goods. Up to now the United States, through Governor Lehman's Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, and Great Britain, have been sharing the relief burden. Such a burden, however, sometimes has its compensations. Members of the Chicago Board of Trade, for example, profited greatly from the Hoover operations, which stressed the use of wheat and corn from the United States.

The UNRRA agreement creates a number of agencies, and the way they work together will undoubtedly set a pattern for other types of joint agencies which the United Nations may choose to create for dealing with world problems. Policy will be determined by a Council to which each member government will name one delegate, but the Central Committee of the Council "shall when necessary make policy decisions of an important nature" between semi-annual Council sessions. The Central Committee is made up of delegates from the Big Four—the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union. The Council is to subdivide itself into a Committee of the Council for Europe and a Committee of the Council for the Far East; these "shall consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect to relief and rehabilitation in their respective areas."

International food movements today are controlled by the Combined Food Board in Washington, on which only the United States, Great Britain, and Canada are represented. The board allots food to other countries on a strategical basis, to supply the armies. Some of the governments which are about to become members of the UNRRA suspect that the Combined Food Board will take a tough view of relief requests. Forty lesser powers note that the four great ones control the Central Committee, and that two of them control the Combined Food Board.

The line between great and small powers is sharply felt by the governments invited to join the UNRRA. The first draft for the organization, published last June, caused resentment because, as the Dutch government made clear in a protest note to the State Department, it seemed to place all the power in the hands of the Big Four and left the other forty in the position of an unconsulted claque. The draft was revised during the summer to meet the objections of the Dutch and also those of the United States Senate, which notified Cordell Hull informally that the proposed agreement amounted in fact to a treaty and should be submitted to the Senate for its approval. The new draft, published September 23, provided for the two continental committees of the Council; but the Big Four still dominate, and the Combined Food Board remains a problem. The lesser powers see no means of pressing their views upon the board, and they wonder, too, whether the board will protect them from competition in the food-buyers' market.

Whoever distributes the relief will gain political advantage. Three avenues of distribution are being considered before the Atlantic City meeting: the Allied armies; the exiled governments; and the governments of the great powers on a sort of neighborhood basis—Russia for the Balkans and Central Europe, Britain for the coastal countries, and so on. Here is a ticklish problem. The exiled governments are to sign the UNRRA declaration; yet Washington and London doubt whether some of the exiled governments, particularly the Yugoslav government, will be wanted back in their own countries.

The relief planners advocate that the food be produced as near to its consumers as possible. London and Washington relief authorities regret, for instance, that the agriculture of the liberated provinces in Italy, where food is being distributed by the AMG, and of the three Apulian provinces under Marshal Badoglio has not been converted to the production of foods needed for relief. The Allies missed the chance last winter and spring to direct the plantings in North Africa; now American agents are going to help the fruit and vegetable growers, in December sowings, to start a crop more vitally needed in the work of feeding Europe's starving—that is, beans.

Dried beans and peas are destined to become, with flour, the chief elements in food relief. Beans are a fair substitute for meat, which is scarce in Europe. To obtain larger quantities of them the United States is negotiating a contract with Chile for an 80 per cent increase in its bean acreage. One hundred million bushels of wheat for flour are available under the terms of the International Wheat Agreement of June, 1942, in which the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and Argentina pledged to assign their surpluses to foreign relief.

The peoples to be rehabilitated have been given some reason to hope that they will get a variety of food but not large quantities. The OFRRO—now the Division of Liberated Areas of the Office of Foreign Economic Administration—has experimented with a dehydrated vegetable stew of precooked beans and peas; soybean grits, barley, dehydrated diced vegetables, brewer's yeast, and meat seasoning, and with a dehydrated soup powder. A serious attempt is to be made to provide milk in some form for all infants and pregnant and nursing mothers.

Relief needs are tremendous. The exiled governments have submitted estimates, sometimes overdrawn, as in the instance of a request for an amount of lard equal to half the United States stocks. Soap is an urgent item everywhere. Textiles are wanted throughout Nazi-held Europe, where a second suit of underwear may save a man from the plague of typhus.

The textile situation shows how the program to be worked out at Atlantic City will benefit business; those who view it as "globaloney" are shallow thinkers. Textile manufacturers are already worrying about stocks which may be left on their hands after the war—blankets, overcoating, towels, heavy woolen underwear, rayon materials, light underwear, shirts, socks, bedding. The UNRRA may become one of the heaviest purchasers of textiles in the world.

More important, relief and rehabilitation will hasten victory. A starving, unruly population in combat zones would slow down the advance of our troops. Relief need not wait for peace; where the soldiers go, relief must follow. Rehabilitation activities may continue, however, for years; Hoover's job was not done until 1923.

Finally, a well-thought-out rehabilitation program will assist the people of Europe and Asia to revive their own economies so that they will be able to participate in world commerce and thus stabilize world politics.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

AFTER FIFTEEN YEARS of non-recognition, it is curiously moving to see the beginnings of a rapprochement between "these great peoples," as President Roosevelt calls them, "two great republics," as President Kalinin calls them —Russia and the United States. . . . In short, the Bolshevik has come out from behind those whiskers and appears to look about like anybody else, with the important exception that he holds in his hands large contracts for the purchase of American goods.—*November 1, 1933.*

THE VOTERS of New York City have elected Fiorello H. LaGuardia and the majority of the candidates on the Fusion ticket. . . . This is distinctly a popular victory. . . . Philadelphia voters likewise rose en masse and . . . ousted the Vare machine, . . . whose fraudulent election tactics were sufficient to keep Pennsylvania in the Republican column in the last national election. In Bridgeport, Connecticut, a Socialist landslide resulted in the election of Jasper McLevy and thirteen Socialist aldermen out of sixteen. . . . Prohibition received its expected coup de grâce when Utah, Pennsylvania, and Ohio provided the votes needed for repeal.—*November 15, 1933.*

THE PORTRAIT of the old-time banker was that of a shrewd, hard man who would exact the highest interest he could get and foreclose on a defaulting debtor without mercy. But he was personally honest . . . and scrupulous in regarding himself as a trustee for his depositors and stockholders. . . . Since the Coolidge era the portrait . . . has been painted over. . . . The banker has lost the fiduciary capacity. . . . He is no longer a trustee of any but his own interests.—*November 15, 1933.*

COULD ANYTHING be more typical of a certain type of German mind than Hitler's "triumph" in the election just held? You suppress all opposition parties, you lock up in concentration camps your chief political opponents, you control the entire press, the radio, and the stage, you threaten anybody who dares oppose you, you send Brown Shirts to make sure that everybody votes for the only men you have permitted to be nominated for public office, and then when you have thus dragooned the voters into giving you a 92 per cent vote you turn to the rest of the world and say: "See how the entire nation stands behind me!"—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *November 29, 1933.*

Diary of the Future

BY VERNON BARTLETT

[*This is the third instalment of "a cautionary tale . . . a rash attempt to write history before it has happened," by a distinguished British journalist and member of Parliament. The diary begins on June 30, 194–, as Germany is on the point of collapse, and goes on to record a period of intense excitement and confusion as military problems give place to political problems. A fourth instalment will appear next week.*]

III. The Ununited Nations

AUGUST 1. There are now three distinct forms of military control in Europe. There is the army of occupation in Germany—mainly American and British, with "token" contingents from the smaller Allied nations. The Russians have not yet decided whether they will cooperate in this force, and their troops alone are in charge of the area east of the River Oder.

The second military control is in Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, where many of the old officials—in Hungary far too many—have been kept in their jobs. Here the armies have only had to hand over their aircraft and heavy guns and tanks to the Allies and to disband most of the men they had under arms.

The third military control is in the form of "United Nations Auxiliary Police" in the territories of the United Nations formerly occupied by Germany.

August 2. In the old days poor devils of refugees, political or racial, would hide for days in ditches and briar clumps until a chance came to cross the German frontier and to escape from slavery or death. The traffic now flows in the other direction. United Nations frontier guards are always coming across German soldiers or S. S. men trying to escape back into Germany from one or another of the countries they used to occupy.

General von Stülpnagel, the former military governor of Paris, was caught some days ago disguised as an Alsatian peasant. All men so arrested are sent to special concentration camps. As soon as possible they will be examined by the political police of the countries from which they have fled, and many of them will be held as war criminals.

August 4. Debate in the American Senate on the ending of "lend-lease" except for material to be used exclusively against the Japanese. Several speakers dealt with eventual repayment for goods that have been delivered under the system.

Meanwhile the Office of War Information is in trouble again because it has ventured to point out that repayment can only be made in goods, especially since almost all the gold is already in the United States. Sir Walter Layton, who is just back from Washington, sees very little hope of a more liberal policy toward imports. However ready Americans may be to cooperate internationally, the man in Main Street does not yet realize that this involves a freer exchange of goods and thus an increase in American imports.

August 5. Dr. Melville Mackenzie, formerly of the Health Section of the League of Nations, is back in London from a quick tour of Europe. He's very worried about the supply of medical requirements; although he has been working on these problems during the war, they are graver than he had estimated. For one thing, conditions in Eastern Europe are still too unsettled to enable supplies to be distributed, and it's there that typhus and other epidemics are likely to gain their greatest hold. For another, there's a good deal of competition with the military for trains and other transport. The generals, naturally enough, want to enforce order throughout Germany and the liberated countries as soon as they can, and they want a lot of transport for the purpose.

Typhus, according to Mackenzie, will inevitably carry off thousands of older people. Fifty thousand people in Poland are believed to have died of it in the first two and a half years of the war. But he anticipates a terrible lot of malaria as well, and while the Japs still hold out there won't be much quinine available. He confessed that his greatest anxiety of all was the new epidemic of what had been called "Polish influenza." Despite the favorable season of the year, it is already causing many thousands of deaths in Southeastern Europe. Our own forces there have been able to shake off its effects fairly quickly, but the inhabitants are far too undernourished to do so.

August 9. Dateline, Berlin. Very uncomfortable flight as the few priority passengers were squeezed up among great boxes of medical requirements. Charlie Wythe Williams, who is doing a lot of broadcasting, and Bill Hillman, of *Collier's*, were fellow-passengers.

Called at Cologne to land urgent medical supplies. Bill Hillman, Wythe Williams, and I felt very conspicuous, as we are all fat and the Germans aren't—not any more. A few minor German officials about, all horribly obsequious. I almost prefer them in their other mood.

One of the doctors on the airplane told me that conditions in Belgium, where he is stationed, are infinitely worse than in Germany. After the last war most of the kids I saw on my first visit to Essen had rickets, and I have always been amazed by the way in which, thanks very much to the cult of the sun, they grew up brown and fit physically. But they were diseased and warped mentally and so became easily the dupes of Hitler. We shall certainly need a hell of a lot of wisdom if the millions of half-starved kids between Moscow and Madrid are to develop into reasonable and contented human beings. What a job to tackle, and what a lot of people at home and in the States who are unwilling to tackle it!

I found Berlin inexpressibly drab. Our own lack of paint in London has had a melancholy effect. But Berlin was always an ugly city, and is much more so today. The Brandenburger Tor has been destroyed, and so have the Dom and a good many buildings along Unter den Linden. The Inter-Allied Commissioner is established in Hitler's *Reichskanzlerei*—again one is struck by the need for a United Nations flag. It would look swell on the flagstaff where the swastika used to fly.

The Berlin branch of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has taken over a lot of buildings in the Potsdamerstrasse and is besieged by Germans who want to explain to somebody that they always loved the Americans and the British, and would like to help in the organization of food distribution, especially if they could receive some kind of diplomatic protection while doing so. I'm told that some of the highest American and British officials are only too ready to listen to these Germans, especially to the ones who were known in banking or business circles before the war. Too many of these fellows have bobbed up because they are business men and the distribution of food is allegedly a business, and not a political, job. According to Eric Gedye, who has the next room to mine in the hotel, no Social Democrat is given more than the briefest interview, although they did make some effort after the last war to introduce democracy into Germany, and might have been much more successful if they had received any encouragement from the Allies.

Went out to the Rundfunk building to broadcast back to Britain. The broadcasting station has been taken over jointly by the American Office of War Information and the British Political Warfare Executive. Glad to find Wally Carroll, with whom I went to Russia in 1941, and David Woodward, an old newspaper colleague, on the OWI staff.

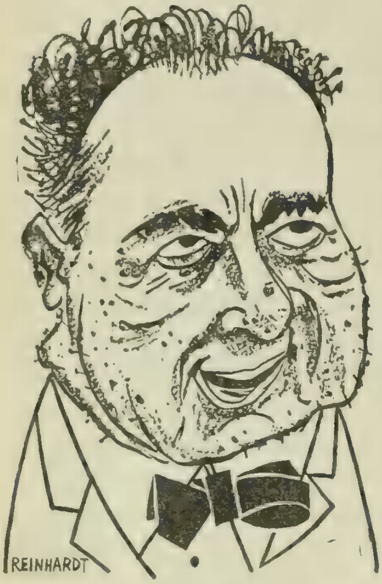
They've not yet been allowed to begin the work of reeducation in the broadcasts to Germans, as there is no agreement between Washington, Moscow, and London about the kind of Germans we want. Their job, therefore, consists mainly of issuing orders on behalf of the Allied Commander-in-Chief or the High Commissioner. There are scores of such orders every day in the absence of any German administration.

August 10. Spent all the morning talking to different people working in the Inter-Allied High Commissariat, now installed in the German Foreign Office in the Wilhelmstrasse, next door to the High Commissioner's official residence. The staff seems to consist of national groups hardly on speaking terms with each other. There is none of that admirable cooperation that General Eisenhower managed to institute between the armies of the United Nations in Tunisia. We are now suffering from the fact that the State Department and the Foreign Office each cultivated different groups of Free Germans, Free Italians, Free Hungarians, and so on, during the war.

Bill Stoneman has turned up on a quick tour that has taken him to Paris, Brussels, Rotterdam, Oslo, and Copenhagen. In each country all the Quislings have been murdered. The revenge has been particularly violent in Norway, where a kindly, peaceful people has been provoked by terrible oppression during the war. He finds the French disappointingly unprepared for a sensible peace. People to whom he talked in Paris were interested only in food, the return of their prisoners of war from Germany, and the establishment of a system of old-type alliances round Germany. The Belgians and the Dutch are in grave danger of famine since they have dense populations and the Germans stole almost their entire livestock. In these countries, and also in Denmark and Norway, he met many people who talked wistfully of becoming members of the British Commonwealth. The American Deputy High Commissioner for Western Europe told him he believed this to be the result of British propaganda.

Bill Stoneman is extremely depressed by the amount of Anglo-American friction he has found in each one of the countries he has visited. This confirms everything I hear from every newspaper colleague. In the Prime Minister's desire to do nothing which could possibly offend President Roosevelt or add to his task of keeping the American people interested in Europe, the British are held to have acquiesced in an American policy which is extremely unpopular throughout Europe. Despite statements made in Washington, it does seem to be true that many American officials of the UNRRA are—against the will of Governor Lehman—coupling relief supplies with political conditions. Stoneman is very angry with the British, who have so much more experience of Europe than the Americans, for making so little protest against a policy which may, in his view, embitter Europe against the Anglo-Saxons and increase rivalries inside Europe for a generation to come. Philip Jordan, who is in Budapest, happened to telephone while Bill was still with me, and they exchanged views with a frankness which must have caused a lot of worry to the military censor.

Philip says that the situation in Budapest is scandalous. Both British and American officials are "appeasing" as hard as they can. The British deputy commissioner used to stay with aristocratic Hungarian families for the shooting—in the old days when one shot animals and not men—and is all amiability to any of these aristocrats who happen not to have cooperated actively and openly with the Nazis. When Philip expostulated about this, the reply he got was that we had to work in with these people because there weren't any others. In other words, since 40 per cent of the land belongs to a few hundred families and most of the peasants have less than one acre of their own, there is no middle class. And since there is no middle class or highly organized working class, we must see that one doesn't develop; therefore we are bolstering up an aristocracy that managed to avoid a land reform even after the last war.



Dieckhoff

By playing in with these aristocrats we are confirming all Russian suspicions of our motives, especially as governments run by these aristocrats had sent armies to fight side by side with the Germans on Russian soil. The Soviet Ambassador has already brought this matter up several times in his talks with Anthony Eden, but no improvement has followed.

Just before I left London, Ridsdale and the other lads in the Foreign Office News Department were very worried about Russia's silence regarding Poland. Stoneman suggested that the Soviet Union would go on receiving, and publicizing, requests from all kinds of organizations in Poland to be incorporated as a state in the Soviet Union, at least until the British and Americans had made it clear that their own policy was not to encourage people in Hungary or elsewhere who must be prejudiced, for class as well as national reasons, against the Russians.

August 11. Had a very embarrassing meeting with Dieckhoff, former ambassador at Washington and Madrid. In the old days I always found him much more reasonable and entertaining than most German officials, and he was certainly well aware that Hitler, encouraged by Ribbentrop, was leading his country to war.

I met Dieckhoff as I was walking across the Tiergarten. We saw each other simultaneously, and we each quite obviously wondered whether we should recognize each other. It seemed stupid not to; so we sat on a bench and talked. He was so anxious to excuse himself for continuing in the diplomatic service despite the actions of his government that I concluded his conscience was giving him trouble. But it was just the behavior of these people who knew the difference between right and wrong but who never had the guts to stand up for the right which enabled thugs to run Europe.

When Dieckhoff got up to go, a man on a nearby bench also arose. I wondered who he was, and Dieckhoff explained that he was under a kind of open arrest as he was on the C list of war criminals—a list of men who had not been Nazis but had held responsible posts under the Nazi regime. He was therefore—and quite rightly—under constant surveillance.

Spent the afternoon on a prolonged walk through Berlin. Prostitution is already growing very rapidly, and I imagine quite half the girls on the Kurfürstendamm were new at the business. Any of them would rather have a cake of soap than a bunch of Reichsmarks.

I would hazard the forecast that even if no harsh terms are imposed upon Germany at all—and they certainly will be—the German people will not recover for generations to come. Two world wars and world defeats in a generation, one period of inflation and the prospect of another, the terrific casualties on the eastern front, and the knowledge that they have won the hatred of the whole world have utterly demoralized them. Worst of all, the labor movement has been so effectively wiped out that the people see no alternative to the kind of authoritarian government that Hitler gave them. It looks as if perhaps for years to come the United Nations would have to run Germany.

There is still a great hesitation about using Germans who have come out of the concentration camps. The excuse is that many internees were Nazis who happened to have quarreled with more important Nazis and to have been shut up for doing so. But there remains the fact that the Nazis only polled one-third of all the votes at the last free elections ever held—in November, 1932—and that in the first three years of Hitler's domination it was found necessary to sentence a quarter of a million people to imprisonment, in addition to the far greater number shut up in concentration camps with no trial at all. It's impossible to tell how many genuine "safe" Germans are still alive and in decent health; the disquieting fact is that no effort is being made to find out. Very reluctantly I am driven more and more to believe that neither the British nor the American government wants to have anything to do with such people, because both these governments still refuse to face the fact that, for the ordinary man in the street, the war was rather against a dominating and selfish class of men who are to be found everywhere but were particularly strong in Germany than against all Germans. For us it was a war against dictatorships; for our governments it was a war against a rival nation.

Water Has Gone to War

BY RICHARD W. ABBOTT

AFTER winging their way for hours over occupied territory the men huddled in the nineteen Lancasters knew that in a matter of seconds their objective would be reached. Slowly at first and then with increasing speed the bombers bore down on their targets until only fifty feet separated them from the water below. Now the target was dead ahead, and the bombardiers let loose their big 1,500-pound mines. Some exploded in the water with ear-shattering noise and little other effect. Others landed fairly on their target—the dams in the Ruhr valley.

Almost half of the big Lancasters did not see England again, but the damage they caused that night was worth the loss. Three big dams in Westphalia were shattered—the Mohne dam, the Eder dam, and the Sorpe dam. The industrial loss was tremendous. Thousands of workers were rendered homeless, and power stations were made useless for at least a year—until the damage could be repaired and the huge reservoirs refilled.

There was great elation in Allied headquarters when the full results of the raid were learned from reconnaissance photographs. The Berlin radio called it typical of the work of the R. A. F., with the destruction confined as usual to schools, churches, hospitals, and homes.

Soon, however, the Berlin radio was reporting the news of another flood—this time with high glee. Floods were sweeping across the American Middle West, and the German propagandists made the most of them. Fertile bottom land had been seeded to corn, wheat, and other crops which were expected to fill America's and the world's bread basket for the coming year—the year when demands upon American farmers would be heavier than they had ever been before, the year when occupied Europe might once again be free and clamoring for American food. Farmers were in despair as the water rose in the river banks and then spilled over in a roaring flood which devastated their fields. War factories were forced to close. At Weldon Springs, Missouri, the water inched its way into a TNT plant and also cut off the supply of raw materials. Three other war plants in the same area were flooded, and the story was the same up and down the valleys of the rivers.

When the waters went down, the damage was totaled as 21 dead, 160,000 homeless, 2,000,000 seeded acres of farm land lost to food production, innumerable war plants stopped or slowed down, and an incalculable number of man-hours lost. The Big Inch pipe line was broken in Arkansas by flood waters, and the flow of oil to the east was reduced at a time when reserves were being stored for the invasion of Sicily and Italy.

John Hughes, an Illinois farmer, was a typical flood victim. Like most farmers, Hughes had been struggling all the year against the shortage of labor, of farm-machinery parts, and of seed and fertilizer. By herculean efforts he had managed to get his 160 acres of bottom land seeded, in between rains. He watched the waters ruin his fields, drown part of his livestock and poultry, and flood his home. Hughes has two sons in the army and was eager to replant his acres. But the seed scarcity and the lateness of the season were almost insuperable obstacles.

The most appalling thing about the flood was that it could have been prevented—even though our earlier flood-control programs have not worked, as a glance at the record makes clear. Take the Upper Mississippi flood-control project, for example. Some years ago, after the disastrous 1933 flood, Congress authorized the army engineers to build a series of flood-control dams on the Mississippi River between St. Paul and St. Louis. Twenty-six dams were proposed, and at the time of Pearl Harbor approximately three-quarters of them had been completed. Yet they were of little help this spring. Alton, Illinois, which is situated twenty miles north of St. Louis, above the mouth of the Missouri River, is the site of Dam No. 26. Flood waters at Alton this spring were the second highest since the city was founded in 1814.

Another count against huge dams of this kind is the fact that even if they were effective in controlling floods their period of usefulness would be limited by the silting up of the reservoir area. Silting occurs when the current slows down as it comes into the backwater of the dam and deposits the soil which it has carried along with it. This fact seems to have been ignored by the army engineers in their dam-construction work for flood control. Congress too has been primarily interested in construction rather than maintenance, since the letting of contracts for building the dams offers excellent opportunities for pork-barrel politics.

At the present time Congress is considering the appropriation of $100,000,000 to enable the War Department to meet the most urgent flood-control needs. In addition, the War Department is planning gigantic post-war flood-control projects. If these are along the same old lines, the money will be wasted and the consequences may be tragic. Recent studies carried on in Texas have shown that the average life of a flood-control dam is between twenty and forty years when no erosion-control work is done on the watershed of the river system. At the end of that time silt has so filled up the reservoirs that they no longer serve their purpose. Can we afford to have another disastrous flood in, say, thirty years, when America may again be at war for its existence?

Because the estimated damage to the railroads from floods this year was over $10,000,000, the Association of American Railroads is seeking money from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to relocate roadbeds. C. P. Couch, chairman of the board of the Kansas City and Southern and the Louisiana and Arkansas railroads, said before a Senate committee, "Steps must be taken to protect the nation's railroads from these recurring interruptions. They're acts of God over which we have no control." What Mr. Couch should have said is that rainfall is an act of God over which we have no control—not floods. By using our intelligence and forgetting pork-barrel politics, we *can* prevent floods. But we must not rely on dams and levees on the big rivers. We must tackle the problem at its source—back on the watersheds where the small streams rise.

A river system should be thought of as a network of streams flowing down from every hill and ravine. It is in the hills that floods start, and it is there that they should be controlled. The Tennessee Valley Authority has effectively demonstrated this principle. On the streams feeding into the Tennessee River it has constructed dams at strategic locations to form reservoir areas in times of heavy rainfall. Farther back in the ravines and along the small creeks it has built "check" dams. These may be nothing more than log or earth barriers which individually impound only a small amount of water, but collectively they impound huge amounts.

However, building dams, large or small, is only part of the job of flood control. As a nation we have been exceedingly extravagant with our soil and forest resources. At first thought this may seem to have little significance in flood prevention. But consider that a pound of humus material in the soil will hold nine pounds of water and the relationship can be clearly seen. When top soil is eroded, when forests are overcut or burned, precious humus is lost. With effective forest-fire control and regulated cutting the amount of water draining off in flood times could be materially reduced.

Soil-conservation work is also important in flood control. Terracing, strip cropping, and contour plowing are big aids in slowing down water runoff. Such work is essential if silting up of even small reservoirs is to be prevented.

To sum up: floods must be controlled not by building huge dams and levees on the main river systems but by the use of small dams at strategic locations on the tributary streams. Check dams should be built on the small creeks flowing into these tributaries. Adequate forest-fire control must be accomplished, and proper cutting methods of timber must be not only encouraged but made mandatory. Soil conservation work should be expanded to reach every farm.

In time of war or peace America is no richer than its soil and water resources. We must see that they are used wisely and well.

In the Wind

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE: "Flip Quiz," a children's game manufactured by Selchow and Righter, New York, includes the question, "Who commanded the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War?" The answer provided is "General Franco." The manufacturer has no explanation of how the mistake was made, and reports that there have been no complaints thus far. . . . One of the definitions in a recent cross-word puzzle published by the New York *Times* was "Famous Ukrainian patriot." The patriot was Petlura, who with German help fought the Bolsheviks in 1918.

DR. ALFRED BAAKE of Chicago, a spokesman for the National Civic Federation, comes out for collective bargaining: "It is to the interest of organized labor for business to have the right to bargain with labor without interference of government."

THE *RUBICON*, an Italian-American news letter, offers this explanation of the destruction in Italy: "The civilizing work of two thousand years, which was only scratched by the various invaders of Italy who were supposed to have been uncivilized, has been destroyed in great part by the military machine of civilized nations that were fighting for democracy against autocracy."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Many reports from France tell of patriots writing "Vive De Gaulle!" in public places. There has been no report thus far that anyone has written "Vive Giraud!" . . . German-language underground newspapers are circulating among Germans in Norway. . . . Since the Norwegians have had to give up all their firearms, the bears, wolves, foxes, and wolverines in their country have been increasing at an alarming rate. And the wild animals no longer show any fear of man. . . . A Nazi paper in Prague explains the military situation with this quotation from Clausewitz: "Defense is the more effective form of warfare for insuring the defeat of the enemy."

CORRECTION: It was stated in this column on October 23 that Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein's draft classification was 4-c, the category of refugees who want to defeat Hitler but don't want to shoot Germans. This was an error, for which we apologize. The Prince, a pre-Pearl Harbor father, is in Classification 3-a.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The Swiss Barometer

BY MAX MANDELLAUB

THE last twenty-five years have witnessed the progressive degeneration of the classic conception of neutrality as defined by international law. Still, the oldest European republic, with a deeply imbedded tradition of neutrality that has withstood centuries of wars and revolutions, has again succeeded, at least technically, in maintaining its status as a neutral country.

Though Swiss neutrality today undoubtedly lacks many of the constituents formerly regarded as essential, it cannot be denied that the homeland of the legendary William Tell preserves at least some aspects of its independence: Swiss and not German soldiers control the sources of the Rhine; Swiss and not German soldiers watch the most important mountain pass linking Germany and Italy. The Swiss militiaman, with his modern equipment and good training, is ready behind his wall of Alpine granite.

Hitler prefers Swiss neutrality to guerrilla warfare in the Alps and the blowing up of the St. Gotthard tunnel. Of course, German-Swiss relations and commercial clearing agreements contain an imperious "give and take," and Hitler takes more than he gives. The latest British black list contains the names of many Swiss firms reliably reported to be cooperating extensively with the enemy. The big Swiss armament company, Gebrüder Sulzer, one of the world's foremost manufacturers of Diesel engines, as been added to the list of "hostile firms." The wner of this newly blacklisted concern is Dr. Hans Sulzer, former Swiss Minister in Washington, who last year headed a commercial delegation from the Swiss Confederation negotiating for a softening of the British lockade. The Swiss people themselves, however, watch losely those among them who do business with Hitler, whether it is in machine tools or apples, electricity or heese, anti-aircraft guns or cows.

On the eve of World War II all Swiss political parties ade the solemn promise that if Switzerland once more ucceeded in staying out of the war, the suffering of bleeding world should not be a source of enrichment. ow there is again a good deal of talk about Swiss corporations making huge war profits. "The pay of excesive dividends is social dynamite," warns a liberal paper n Basel. Even the cautious *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* has aid that many enterprises are again earning huge profits nd paying high dividends, but it added, "After all, this s a time of prosperity for industry."

In spite of a continuous and insidious Nazi propaganda there are relatively few fascist sympathizers among the Swiss people, though the number has varied with Hitler's victories or failures. Intellectuals—students, lawyers, physicians, journalists, and civil-service employees—have been less resistant to fascist poison than the peasant or worker. Fascists are more militant in the French part of Switzerland than in the German and Italian parts.

The sudden collapse of the French Republic revealed the intimate relationship existing between Swiss neutrality and a strong independent France. With the establishment of the Vichy government, the political picture at Berne showed the influence of Pétain and Laval. By midsummer, 1940, M. Pilet-Golaz, head of the Swiss State Department, made a speech which was taken by the people as an abdication of Swiss neutrality and as such bitterly resented. Semi-official Swiss newspapers expressed admiration for the military skill of the German Panzer divisions, praised the realism of French collaborationists, and hoped for a privileged position in Hitler's New Europe. Colonel H. K. Sonderegger, a deputy from Basel-Land, "in agreement with a certain foreign power" proposed to several high politicians the overthrow of democracy and the establishment of a new government composed of Frontists (Swiss Nazis) and other elements sympathetic to Berlin.

Only after the surrender of Italy was much publicity given to the activities of the Swiss fascists. Two deputies, MM. Gadient and Bratschi, who were involved in the Nazi conspiracy, tried to divert public attention by violently attacking "unpatriotic" elements among the Swiss liberals. Strangely enough, the Colonel and his supporters were never brought to trial, though the Colonel was politely invited to hand in his resignation as deputy four months before his term expired. A few months ago it was stated officially that Deputy Sonderegger could not be punished for high treason, ". . . since he had not succeeded in carrying out his intentions."

The progressive parties are now much encouraged by the defeat of Italian fascism and the certitude of Hitler's eventual fall. A few months ago *Die Tat,* the organ of an aggressive independent politician, M. Duttweiler, demanded a radical change in Swiss foreign policy and stated that the head of the Swiss Department of State, "as a friend and protector of the Frontist-Nazi traitors," was no longer an acceptable leader of his country.

Such are the conditions under which the general elections to the National Council (Swiss Parliament) and in

BURLINGAME

WHO WAS RIGHT?

For two years this section has maintained that Franco and his Falange were 100 per cent pro-Axis and that they were aiding the enemies of the United Nations by every means in their power. We denounced as the most unrealistic form of appeasement a policy based upon the expectation that Franco would come over to our side as soon as he felt free to do so. Many persons, including Archbishop Spellman, thought otherwise. The Archbishop, in his famous article in Collier's, *spoke of Franco in terms of warmest approval. In view of the congratulations which Franco has recently offered the Filipino traitor Laurel, we think we are entitled to inquire—Who was right?*

many cantons to the Council of State (Swiss Senate) took place on October 30 and 31 of this year.

In 1939 the Swiss people elected a Parliament composed of 187 members. The strongest party, the Liberals, obtained 49 seats. Closely following them came the Socialists with 45 seats and the Catholic Conservatives with 43. The other parties shared the rest of the seats. During the life of this outgoing Parliament certain political changes took place. An important and militant group of the Swiss labor movement headed by Léon Nicole was outlawed and its parliamentary representation annulled by a majority vote of the House. This procedure was anti-constitutional, but political, not juridical, reasons prevailed. Nazi hegemony in Europe was behind this suppression of the strongest party in Geneva.

Throughout his entire political career Nicole had been an ardent anti-fascist. In his newspaper *Le Travail* he had exposed the subversive activities of many Swiss reactionaries long before the collapse of France brought definite proof of their treason. It was therefore bewildering when a well-known Swiss liberal, William E. Rappard, instead of protesting against such an open violation of the Swiss Bill of Rights, used the opportunity to enter Parliament.

But outlawing a progressive movement does not necessarily mean destroying its impetus. The military setbacks of Nazi Germany in 1942 and 1943 and the ever-increasing social tension in Switzerland have changed the political tone of the Swiss Socialist Party. In 1941 only a few Socialist leaders opposed the proscription of Nicole's party and its widely read daily newspaper. Now the pressure of the masses has become so strong that the Labor Congress held in September voted almost unanimously for a resolution advocating the legalizing of the prohibited group. Many bourgeois liberals have also taken up its cause; ten thousand signed a petition urging "the repeal of an untenable violation of democratic rights." Thereupon Nicole and his son were put in jail, accused of illegal communistic activity.

In May, 1943, in the municipal election in Geneva newly founded labor party obtained the largest numbe of mandates, twenty-six, the Liberal Party coming ne with nineteen. The authorities could prevent the trad tional Socialist Party in Geneva from participating in th vote, but they could not hinder the election of a "labo list" presented, in spite of many difficulties, by Swis citizens inspired by a sense of responsibility which tha old Swiss newspaper the *Berner Tagwacht* called "th will of a social Stalingrad" against reaction at home. I the industrial center of Schaffhausen, only a few yard from the German border, the Socialist candidate, Bringolf, gathered 45 per cent of the votes cast in an electio for the Senate. In the canton of Vaud an opposition candidate almost succeeded in replacing the reactionary incumbent. In Zurich the Independent Party headed b M. Duttweiler and the Socialists made good progress i the cantonal elections. In Basel the progressive movemen proved its strength in several plebiscites.

The elections of two weeks ago determined the political make-up of the new Swiss Parliament. The Socialist made gains almost everywhere and are now for the firs time the strongest political faction in the National Council; their 56 seats represent an increase of nearly 25 pe cent over 1939. The so-called Liberal Party lost two seat and now ranks second with 47 deputies. The Catholi Conservatives maintained an unchanged representatio of 43. The smaller parties together have 48. However the coalition in power did not lose its majority, and th Swiss Senate was little affected by the new political trend The question of Socialist participation in the federal government will be the main issue of the coming months an may lead to a bitter controversy among labor leaders.

Vast changes have taken place in the past four years but they will probably seem unimportant beside the developments of the future. The Swiss people are marching forward. They demand full employment with decent wages and the living democracy promised by the Swiss constitution. Their hope lies in the fighting peoples of the United Nations. If a poll were taken today to determine whether the Swiss people want a victory of the Anglo-Americans or of the Germans, 95 per cent would be in favor of the United States and Great Britain. If they were asked whether they wanted a victory of Soviet Russia or of Germany, an overwhelming majority would still be against Germany.

Switzerland was not defeated by Hitler, but the defeat of France disclosed Swiss Pétains and Lavals. Switzerland was not looted by Hitler, but the looting of Nazi-controlled Europe had its equivalent in Switzerland in Nazi "clearing dictates." Swiss democracy was not crushed by the Gestapo, but the crushing of democracy in Europe forced legal labor movements to go underground. No Hapsburg, no Franco, no Darlan looms as potential head of a post-war Switzerland, but the inevitability of a revoutionary situation in Europe is not accepted without pprehension. Geographic and political frontiers have ost their meaning. In the pulse of the Swiss people ounds the heartbeat of the people of Europe fighting or the promised century of the common man.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE city of Hanover was heavily bombed at the end of September and again in the second week of ctober. On October 14 the newspapers contained a umber of decrees issued by the Gauleiter of the prov-nce, Lauterbacher. One of them ran:

> I have reasons for repeating emphatically the decree issued after the previous raid—namely, that offices handling assistance for persons whose homes have been destroyed or damaged by bombs must keep open even after office hours. All office hours are suspended. This applies not only to the city of Hanover but to all districts and communes which have received évacués. Moreover, I request party and state offices under all circumstances to help people even if they are not directly under their jurisdiction. It must be remembered that Hanoverians have spent trying nights and that a great many of them have been obliged to make great sacrifices. They are entitled to attention and polite treatment. I expect swift action, with no bureaucratic delays, in all cases.

A second decree granted the inhabitants an extra eek's rations—two ounces of coffee, half a bottle of randy, one-quarter of a pound of bread, and three-uarters of a pound of meat. A third was worth noting, the first place, for its heading, "Hanover Will Be eld." It went on to forbid the more important state d party offices to move away.

> The housing shortage caused by the September and October raids necessitates the removal of some offices to other places in the district. But I hereby issue a drastic precautionary order that the responsible main offices are to remain in the capital of the district and province. No exceptions will be allowed. Hanover will be held under all circumstances!

The problem of "holding" Hanover—an expression stomarily applied only to a besieged town or sector of e front—must be a difficult one, for two days before ese decrees Gauleiter Lauterbacher had published an-ther, entitled "Hanoverians, Listen!" describing the avest danger of the moment. "After heavy air raids the emy tries to undermine the population's fortitude by rculating lying rumors through broadcasts and agents. ch efforts must be opposed energetically and unitedly." nd then he announced how they were to be opposed: every person was given the right to arrest any other erson; everybody was to be his own policeman. "I there-re order and authorize every citizen to arrest all rumormongers and take them to the nearest party or state office. Whoever fails to do this makes himself an accomplice and will be treated accordingly."

"Armament plants in general cannot count on obtaining many new workers. Therefore more efficient employment of the man-power now available is a matter of the gravest interest." This was the comment of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of October 20 on the establishment of a new branch in the already gigantic bureaucracy of war industries.

The head of the new bureau bears the title of "Reich Engineer for Labor Utilization." Under him work thirty-four "district engineers for labor utilization," and under these are five thousand "factory engineers for labor utilization." All factories employing as many as three hundred workers come under the jurisdiction of this office, which is to introduce "far-reaching changes in the utilization of labor," over the heads of the factory managers and other officers. Many of these far-reaching changes will of course be technical, but not all. Reforms in the art of "handling people" are also on the program. "Willingness to work is as important as manual or mental skill." In short, the new bureau was created to "overcome inertia, which is often very stubborn."

"If we trace the most idiotic and mischievous rumors to their source," declared the Gauleiter of Salzburg at a meeting on October 8, "we never find that they originate with the common people, who are doing their work heroically and with an exemplary sense of duty. They come invariably from quite different strata, from people who do not share the common burdens and sacrifices. But we will get at them!"

Behind the tactic of representing "the better people" as the only oppositionists is the desire to arouse suspicion of the opposition in the mind of the masses, as well as the Nazis' real fear of what they call "the reaction." Once before, at the time of Stalingrad, this theme was worked furiously. Then Goebbels gradually let it lapse. But since the appointment of Himmler as Minister of the Interior it has again been intensively cultivated, and not merely rhetorically. Of late quite a number of "the better people" have been executed.

Some cases have been mentioned in this column. D. N. B., the official German news service, announced the latest with a certain enjoyment. For the first time in Germany a bank director had been brought to the scaffold and beheaded. It was only a banker from the medium-sized city of Hindenburg in Schlesien, but others may follow. The crime of the fifty-six-year-old George Miethe was "persistently to spread treacherous and seditious rumors among his employees. His behavior was especially reprehensible because he misused his position as leader of an enterprise."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

China's Revolutionary Tradition

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By Tsui Chi. With a Preface by Laurence Binyon. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $4.

WHEN a modern Chinese sets out to write the history of his country for use in powerful Western countries with records of racial prejudice and national aggression, he might be expected to coat its weaknesses with a liberal layer of whitewash. He might also be expected to become lost in the maze of an ancient civilization that stretches from the first legendary beginnings in 2697 B.C., or earlier, down to the living present. Mr. Tsui Chi, an erudite Chinese scholar, has avoided both pitfalls and has produced a relatively short, graphic, and most interesting volume. Only in the later chapters about modern China and Chinese personalities does he apply whitewash, and even then he tries to be objective.

The first thing that Americans complain about, in books on China, is the names of Chinese cities and towns, and of Chinese personages. However, the Chinese, like Americans, have names, and their use can't be helped. Such names abound here, but it is not necessary to remember more than a few of them, for this book deals not merely with the rise and fall of dynasties, wars and more wars, and revolutions upon revolutions that overthrew decaying and corrupt dynasties; it is primarily a record of Chinese thought and China's civilized achievements in philosophy, literature, art, and science. A sparkling stream of folklore, mingled with social awareness, enlivens the book, bringing it close to the common reader and at times making it as fascinating as a novel. On the social side the book reveals the common man of China rising throughout history to destroy oppression and corruption. This revolutionary basis of Chinese history is not confined to the ancient past but also holds today, and modern Chinese history must be considered in its light. Instead of scaring Americans to death, it ought to bring China closer to us and our own history and illuminate for us the democratic nature of the Chinese people. The words of an ancient historian who explained the downfall of the great Han dynasty in 220 A.D. might be legitimately applied to the present: "When the footpaths of the rich ran across every field and the benefits of streams and mountains were monopolized by them, the poor hadn't enough ground on which to rest the end of an awl."

Mr. Tsui not only justifies the doctrine of Confucianism as necessary during times of decay but also analyzes it for what it is: a feudal, social philosophy of conservatism, heavy with formalism, exaggerated ceremony and ritual, which was fought by the great natural, equalitarian philosophies of Lao-tze and Mo-tze. In brief graphic passages the author also analyzes the social philosophies of other thinkers, such as Hanfei, who advocated a reign of law and the equality of all men before the law.

People interested in the development of painting, pottery, sculpture, and early Chinese inventions such as printin paper-making, the compass, and gunpowder, will find th book of great interest. The rise and influence of Buddhis upon China, and the liberality with which Chinese rule received and welcomed the first Christian priests, are pregnant with meaning. China had no prejudices against Chri tianity until a Papal Bull attempted to tell Chinese Christia how to conduct themselves. The first Jesuit priests to Chin were welcomed as the bearers of Western sciences such a astronomy, arithmetic, and cartography. But the impact o Christianity upon China in the eighteenth and nineteent centuries became intricately mingled with foreign commercial aggression. The early Western business men trading wit China were half-pirate, and their true nature was revealed i the British opium wars which forced opium upon China The unequal treaties which followed gave foreign missionaries special rights and privileges. Had Christianity been a non-aggressive as Buddhism, its influence on the Far Eas might have been entirely different.

Americans may disregard many of the countless Chines names in this book, but not that of Wang An-shih, th great reformer, Premier under one of the Sung emperors Wang An-shih was a man so modern that he might hav lived in the present. One century after the founding of th Sung dynasty in 960 A.D., the dynasty was tottering under burden of decay, with luxury and corruption underminin the country. A powerful landlord class had again risen, an the peasants groaned under fearful burdens, including usurious debts and heavy taxation. There were foreign wars an social uprisings. The story of the rise of the people is preserved for us in the famous Shui Hu tales which Pearl Buc has translated in "All Men Are Brothers." The Sung cour turned to religion and pleaded with heaven to save it.

Instead of turning to heaven, Premier Wang tried t introduce courageous and sweeping reforms, such as a national budget, a just taxation system, and the granting o generous loans at low rates of interest to the peasants. H cut down the unwieldy army and created a smaller powerful body of crack troops, and also a universal militia system.

The reforms of Wang An-shih have a modern ring. To hi banner flocked all the progressives of his day—young men opposed to Confucian conservatism as well as to the corruption and injustice of the prevailing system—and out of thei struggle came the great natural painting and literature of th day. But the conservatives fought Wang, much as American reactionaries fought the New Deal; and they branded him and his supporters as the Chinese equivalent of "visionaries" and "starry-eyed dreamers." Premier Wang happened to have a backbone, however, and he met his opponents head-on. Mr. Tsui says that Premier Wang was too energetic and aggressive and wanted progress too quickly, whereas the Chinese are "by nature conservative." In this respect he takes the view of the ruling class, not of the Chinese common people generally, who most assuredly welcomed every energetic reform which Wang An-shih introduced. But the conservatives of the time triumphed and Wang fell from favor; his sovereign soon thereafter died. Reactionaries came to power, and Wang and his supporters dared not raise their heads for many years. By that time, however, social decay had gone so far that they were recalled to power, but too late. The Mongol hordes were already advancing into China, and soon the Sung dynasty was destroyed and the foreign barbarians established the Yuan dynasty until another peasant revolution uprooted it and brought the Mings to power. The Mings in turn degenerated, and in 1621 A.D. fell before the invading Manchus, who ruled until they were overthrown by the followers of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1911.

The fate of the Chinese Republic is now known to many: years of civil war, in which all the great powers had a finger, each of them supporting any war lord who served their commercial interests. The Kuomintang as the progressive nationalist party became, after 1927, the party of the new ruling class, with the ubiquitous landlord, merchant, and modern banker taking possession and repeating a historical process. This led to the rise of the Chinese Red Army. Mr. Tsui is, I believe, utterly wrong in making a distinction between the Kuomintang and the plutocracy of modern times. They are identical.

Mr. Tsui perhaps throws a sop to America when he says that China's modern army was reorganized and trained by "Europeans and Americans." It was reorganized and trained by German military advisers, one of whom, General von Seeckt, designed the main military campaigns against the Chinese Red Army—which was another peasant revolution. Until Japan forced Hitler to withdraw the German advisers in 1938, General von Falkenhausen was the head of the German military mission. Von Falkenhausen was until recently the Nazi military dictator of the Low Countries. The Soviet Russians took the place of the Germans until recent months, when Americans have had a finger in the Chinese pie.

The description of the New Life movement as given by Mr. Tsui is also beside the point. This is a semi-fascist movement modeled on the similar organization of one Signor Mussolini. Mr. Tsui has tried to walk a tight rope in regard to recent events and personalities, but he makes a mistake when he describes Madame Chiang Kai-shek as the "mother of every wounded soldier in China."

> Madame Chiang is a woman of sincere, unpretentious character, and although she learned to admire the American political and educational system, was never captivated by the luxury and superficial brilliance of modern New York. She dresses like a simple and modest Chinese wife, and as one of the leaders of the New Life movement, she has given an example to the women of China to dress plainly, live frugally, and abjure those new-fangled frivolities which are quite out of keeping with their dignified Chinese traditions.

Mr. Tsui perhaps gets his Soong sisters mixed up. That description might apply to Madame Sun Yat-sen, but never to Madame Chiang. The paragraph was perhaps written before Madame Chiang's visit to this country with a retinue of relatives and retainers. Jade and diamonds, mink and sables, silks and satins, do not constitute frugal and plain living, and are totally out of harmony with the bitter lives of the soldiers and the common people of China.

Discounting Mr. Tsui's account of such incidents and personalities, this book is nevertheless well worth reading.

AGNES SMEDLEY

What to Do with Germany

THE HIDDEN ENEMY. By Heinz Pol. Julian Messner. $3.

HEINZ POL, a liberal, democratic German journalist, presents in this book the thesis that it would be equally catastrophic for the peace of the world if either one of two current theories about Germany were made the basis of postwar policy. One theory is "that the Nazis cannot be distinguished from the German people and that Germany as a whole is an aggressor nation." The other is "that only the Nazis are the culprits and that in order to build a new and better Germany it will be sufficient to get rid of Hitler and his crowd."

As against these two inadequate theories Mr. Pol contends that the pan-Germanism of the old military aristocracy represents a greater threat to the peace of Europe than Nazism does. He traces the rise and development of pan-Germanism in interesting historical chapters which are worth the reader's attention not only because of the immediately relevant conclusions drawn from them but also because of the light they throw upon German history.

The discriminating judgments of this book are of the greatest value at this particular juncture of history, when the passions of war and the exigencies of military strategy tend to obscure the realities of the German scene and to make a wise disposition of the German problem difficult. The passions of war invariably tempt nations to picture the foe in terms of total depravity. Vansittartism is an inevitable concomitant of conflict. Vansittart's theory is a rationalized form of the vindictiveness which always expresses itself as an overtone in war-time emotion. It leads to silly miscalculations of the complex political factors with which we must deal. It would be foolish to fight a war for democracy and fail to claim as allies the very considerable democratic elements in an enemy nation, elements which were the first to defy tyranny and to pay the price of their defiance. Some of them tried in vain to persuade the democratic world of the peril which Hitlerism represented for it as well as for Germany, and of the necessity of meeting this threat with outside as well as inside resistance. The outside resistance did not materialize until after the internal resistance was crushed. A tragic and ironic note is added to history by the fact that some of the appeasers of yesterday are the proponents today of the idea that there are no democrats in Germany.

On the other hand, military strategy may easily tempt us into the opposite peril. Democratic opposition has been crushed so thoroughly in Germany that the first crack in the Nazi structure must come through tension between the Nazi Party and the army leadership. This situation will undoubtedly give the old Junker leadership of the army the chance to offer itself as the representative of a decent Germany with which the democracies can and ought to make peace.

HITLER'S "NEUTRAL" ALLY

IN THE EYES of our State Department Franco is neutral, but *The Nation* has insisted from the first that he is a fascist and an ally of Hitler and Mussolini. His latest actions—signing a trade pact with Mussolini and congratulating Japan's puppet President of the Philippines on his inauguration—indicate that *The Nation* is right.

In next week's issue J. Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Minister of the last freely elected government of Spain, now editor of the Political War Section of *The Nation,* will discuss conditions in Spain today, Spanish-American relations, and the meaning of current political moves in both countries.

Even now, in November, 1943, after the Moscow Conference, Franco helps Hitler and the United States helps Franco. For a clear explanation of this curious state of affairs, read Dr. Del Vayo's article in next week's issue of

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Military strategy will make it necessary for the Allied co
mand to deal with the army leadership; and the conservati
elements in the democratic world will seek to extend t
immediate necessity of military strategy into a settled politic
policy, calculated to prevent radical revolution. The handlin
of the Badoglio palace revolution in Italy is a perfect dre
rehearsal of what we may expect when the German collap
comes. The danger contained in such a policy toward Ge
many is all the greater because there are indications th
Russia favors it. The Russian propaganda for a "free Ge
many" is still ambiguous; but it may mean willingness
deal with the German army rather than desire for a Co
munist revolution.

A peace which established the Junkers in power would
as catastrophic as a peace based upon the theory of the tot
depravity of Germany. Mr. Pol proves conclusively that
the political objectives of the Nazis were preached by t
pan-Germans long before the Nazis were heard of. As
matter of fact, Nazism is in some respects merely a low
middle-class version of the creed of the German aristocrat
It adds certain corrupt religious overtones to their progra
compounds internal tyranny with a predatory internation
policy, and spices the theory of racial supremacy with t
specific poison of anti-Semitism. The people who worry abo
whether Germany can ever be cured of Nazism direct the
anxiety to the wrong peril. Nazism is too corrupt to win t
soul of any people permanently. But the predatory creed
German militarists is sufficiently diluted with private decen
and "Christian" tradition to give it a more lasting qualit
There lies the real danger.

Mr. Pol is on the right track. Nevertheless, he has giv
his thesis a slightly too narrow content by his emphasis up
the history of the Pan-German League and its importance
German life. The creed of pan-Germanism is undoubted
the most specific symptom of the dangerous political orient
tion of the German military caste. But fully to understan
the pathetic political inadequacy of modern Germany o
would have to study the whole history of the German cla
structure with particular reference to the inability of t
bourgeois and proletarian democratic forces to break t
power of this military caste. Should the so-called democrat
world give this caste another lease of life, our era would ad
a crowning folly to an age already overwhelmed by trag
futilities.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

"A New Man"

THE AMERICAN: THE MAKING OF A NEW MA

By James Truslow Adams. Charles Scribner's Sons. $

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS attempts to describe and
define "a new man," the American. By "the American
he means neither the genius nor the caricature but the averag
John Doe. The fashioning process requires historical trea
ment, but the book is not narrative history. The author
conception of the American man is stated in terms of t
American dream. But the American dream itself is not
single unchanging vision: it is as complex, as contradictor
as life. In my opinion—which Mr. Adams does not share-
the historian returns baffled from the quest. But a pleasa

IT CAN BE DONE!

Simply by opening its doors Sweden saved the Jewish population of nearby Denmark. Simply by opening the gates of Palestine thousands of Jews from nearby countries will save themselves.

The Germans finally "lost patience" with Denmark . . . y a few weeks ago. After years of occupation, the Nazis ved in with their harshest iron fist, with firing squads, icentration camps, martial law.

As always, the first Nazi victims were the Jews. The zis at once planned to deport the ENTIRE Danish vish population to Poland for annihilation.

JT THE JEWS WERE SAVED!

They were saved because one small government took im- diate and vigorous action. Sweden directly protested the rder-program for the Danish Jews. Sweden warned the zis of "serious consequences." Sweden made known that is ready to receive and to shelter all the Jews of Denmark.

IIS WAS ENOUGH TO SAVE THE JEWS!

n spite of the fact that Denmark is a little country, under viest military domination, in spite of every "insurmount- e" obstacle, the bulk of the Jews in Denmark escaped to ety in nearby Sweden.

They are safe because of one reason—the doors of a ghboring country were unlocked. And because of *that* t, the escaping Jews found superhuman resources and rgy and vitality to reach these doors of safety.

Not only this alone, but the German terror in Denmark abated because of the Danish and Swedish reaction. The rman propaganda passed to the *defensive,* explaining and logizing at length why Germany was "compelled" to in- urate the terror campaign against the Jews in Denmark. e German propagandists in their new, unprecedented, apolo- ic campaign tried even to argue that the measures against Jews were not a result of political or racial considerations only undertaken from a purely military point of view.

This is the great and historic service that Sweden and nmark rendered to humanity and to a martyred people. ey destroyed completely the legend that "nothing can be ie." They have proven irrefutably that, with good will, Jews can be saved even in the most precarious and most gerous circumstances.

FATEFUL CHALLENGE

When will the great and mighty democracies learn from living and shining example of small Sweden? When will eat Britain declare that all the Jews who can escape the th trap of the Balkans and reach nearby Palestine will l an *open door* there?

For Palestine is the nearest and most practical haven. It be reached through Turkey by train or bus. Palestine is further from Bulgaria than Miami is from New York. Only its doors need be opened for masses of Jews to save themselves.

And other doors could be opened temporarily: the nearby island of Cyprus, the vast territories of North Africa, where the doomed Jews of Europe can find immediate temporary asylum.

This is a fateful challenge.

Through the action of Great Britain, hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of human lives will be saved. It is up to Great Britain to make known to the world, to the terror-stricken Nazi satellites and to the Godless enemy, her firm determintion to save the Jews. Salvation will follow immediately.

WE HAVE FAITH IN AMERICA

We know that the conscience and humanity of Americans will not accept a policy of inaction in a matter of life and death to millions of other human beings. We have faith that the force of your indignation will enable us to carry out plans for the rescue of European Jews before it is too late.

In this faith, we intend to carry on the struggle to get action on the part of the Governments of the United Nations.

Not only is this Committee trying to move the Governments through direct negotiations in Washington, London, Palestine and Turkey, where it has its committees or representatives, but it is also organzing sustained mass action. The pilgrimage of 500 United States orthodox rabbis to Washington, and the Week of Compassion observed by six thousand Christian churches, marked the inaugural of a petition campaign. This petition is addressed to President Roosevelt and to the Congress of the United States demanding that immediate and effective measures be taken; that a special Inter-Governmental Agency to Save the Jewish People of Europe with powers and means to act at once, and on a large scale, be created immediately.

Add your name to the millions of signatures that will make this petition a powerful instrument of public opinion.

With the active help of all humane and public-spirited Americans we shall not fail. We must not fail. The lives of millions of human beings are at stake. Democratic governments cannot resist forever the pressure of an outraged public opinion. Ultimately they must yield.

This campaign is strictly a race against time and death. Your immediate financial help will determine its scope and speed . . . and thus the rescue of a martyred people.

Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe

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By a ruling of the Treasury Department, contributions to this Committee are tax exempt.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE N
TO SAVE THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE
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I hereby join your efforts to obtain immediate United Nations action to save the Jewish people of Europe. I enclose my contribution to enable you to carry out this tremendous task in the sum of

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Please make checks payable to Mrs. JOHN GUNTHER, Treasurer

stroll through our brief past is not time wasted, even though we should come back empty-handed. On every period Mr. Adams has shrewd and informative things to say, and he says them with that engaging, eager evenness of tone which has made him a veritable Dale Carnegie among historical writers. He is too well bred ever to challenge a cherished tradition. His mind is perfectly attuned to his own conception of "the American": the book, although not egocentric, might be considered a self-portrait. So Mr. Adams moves with naturalness and gusto in the realm of the accepted. The method breaks down only when he touches upon foreign problems. His few references to Europe seem to me painfully "safe and sound" in the worst sense of the terms: the safe almost empty, and the sound chiefly sound.

I fully agree with Mr. Adams that in order to describe "the American" you will have to heap up contradictions. The problem is whether an accumulation of antinomies can be accepted as a definition. The Americans, to begin with, are "in fundamentals more like the British than they are like any other people." In my opinion this is a popular delusion, due to the use of a common language. England is caste-bound; our first tenet is equality. England "loves understatement" (*cf.* Shakespeare, Milton, Dickens, Carlyle, Kipling, *et al.*); we love exaggeration. English life is leisurely, ours trepidating. The language obstacle once conquered, it has been my experience that Americans get along more easily with average Frenchmen, Germans, Russians than with the English. The Continentals are *people,* and even *folk;* the British are peculiar.

The great Anglo-Saxon principle of "liberty under the law" is an essential element in our character. But Mr. Ada
neatly explodes that fallacy. We have at the same time t
cult of the law and the cult of lawlessness; that is why
have so many prosperous lawyers. "Thus in one way
another—smuggling, lawmaking chicanery, or just absolu
non-observance with no penalty—the American develop
the deep instinctive belief that he need not obey any la
he did not approve of. . . ."

DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON

MAXIM LITVINOFF

By ARTHUR UPHAM POPE

[L. B. Fischer Publishing Corp., $3.50]

In the *N. Y. Journal American,* BENJAMIN DE CASSERES writes:

"One of the most obsequious and nauseating biographies I, as an American ever read. . . . Fellow-Americans, if you need a quick emetic, this is your book."

But There Is a Contrary Opinion!

Former Ambassador JOSEPH E. DAVIES in the *Washington Post* says:

" 'MAXIM LITVINOFF' is one of the most important books of the day. It is a definite contribution to the creation of an intelligent public opinion, which is needed to create and sustain a firm working arrangement for the future."

WALTER DURANTY in the *N. Y. Times* says:

". . . a remarkable feat of scholarship and research as well as a vivid and interesting picture of a man who has played a singularly important role in world affairs of the last twenty-five years."

LAWRENCE DAME in the *Boston Herald* says:

"It cannot fail to be read with interest and profit in these days when we must try to understand Russia. . . ."

STERLING NORTH in the *N. Y. Post* says:

"This is a serious study of a major character in the current international drama. . . . It should do much in cementing American-Soviet relations and in dissipating the Red bogey."

Next among Anglo-Saxon "racial" gifts is the capacity
compromise. Yes, but Henry IV, Frenchiest of the Frenc
was compromise incarnate. In the two major crises of o
history, the issues of independence and slavery, compromi
was conceivable. America was offered the equivalent
dominion status, and the slaves could have been redeem
over a period of years at a handsome price. In both cas
the "Anglo-Saxon" preferred the arbitrament of the swor

And so it goes: American sternness, American goo
nature; American shrewdness, American naivete; Americ
crusading spirit, America's attachment to the main chan
and the profit motive; America's rugged individualism, a
the desire of every American—a born "joiner," a passiona
conformist—to be an individualist of the standard typ
an individualist exactly like everybody else. No wonder i
in that confusion, we find many excellent Americans wl
consider the activities of the Dies committee the perfect pa
tern of un-Americanism.

The period type—itself a will-o'-the-wisp—is more re
than the national. Mr. Adams shows that *at one time* adve
ture, grab, hurry, display could be accepted as characteristi
of "the American." But these traits did not belong to Wasl
ington, Jefferson, or Lincoln; they aptly describe the Frenc
Second Empire.

I believe Mr. Adams is right in regarding not the Amer
can man but the American dream as the deeper reality. B
that dream—honest work, freedom, and peace—is commo
to untold millions in Europe. In America most of the ol
stacles to the attainment of that dream did not exist, or ha
been removed. For two centuries America was a tangib
Utopia. We have a special responsibility in making the un
versal dream come true; we have the freest chance, and n
valid alibi.

"The New Man" hailed by that excellent "American
Crèvecœur in 1792, is not a new national product, a loc
type like "the Italian" or "the Swede." He is "the commo
man": men freely uniting on the basis of their commo
humanity. This, I have always believed, is the America
ideal, from Jefferson, through Lincoln, to Ruggles of Re
Gap and Henry Wallace. Washington proudly called hin
self "a citizen of the great Republic of Humanity at large.
On the pedestal of William Lloyd Garrison's statue I rea
"My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind.
Walt Whitman sang, "O America, because you build fo
mankind, I build for you." America cannot be reduced to th
status of a "nation" like the snarling packs of yesterday i
Europe. America remains the hope of the world, because
transcends the "sacred egoism" of the tribes. The one accep
able conception of "the new man," "the American," wa
expressed by Terence in his *Homo Sum.* Nothing less will d
To reduce "the American" to a national type would be
confession of failure.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

In Defense of Liberalism

REE MINDS: JOHN MORLEY AND HIS FRIENDS. By Frances Wentworth Knickerbocker. Harvard University Press. $3.

CLERICALISM was the target of nineteenth-century liberalism, and liberalism became the scapegoat of the wentieth century. Fascism-Nazism attacked it on one side, nd reaction, euphemistically termed "conservativism," on he other, taking no account of the fact that neither the rench Revolution nor liberalism is the villain in the histori-al drama but only a new form of man's eternal struggle for more freedom. Any effort to rehabilitate the often maligned deology of the past is therefore timely and welcome.

In portraying Morley and his friends Leslie Stephen and red Harrison, and in analyzing Morley's literary works Mrs. Knickerbocker displays not only an amazingly compre-ensive—I am almost tempted to say too extensive—reading, ut an intensive grasp of the controversy of our age. Perhaps is an overstatement to say that "these Victorians belonged . . to the happiest class of the happiest country in the appiest period of the world," but T. S. Eliot's description f it as "an age of bustle . . . which improved nothing, an ge of progressive degeneration" is not justified either. We ay make allowances for Eliot's Anglo-Catholicism which uts him under the ban of the Syllabus of Pope Pius IX xcommunicating liberalism. As for the attack launched by totalitarians," these foes of freedom could never have as-umed power without the tolerance granted by the suicidal nterpretation of liberty.

Morley himself is the leading figure in Mrs. Knicker-ocker's book as he was in that literary circle which rallied ound the *Fortnightly*. A group of American liberals cen-ered round *The Nation*, to which, incidentally, one of the Morley group, Leslie Stephen, was a frequent contributor. he author convincingly disproves various current accusa-ons against Victorian liberalism. These rationalists and dicals, in spite of having cast off dogma, had kept a eligious attitude. "Their humanism, their belief in the dig-ity of human nature, was rooted in their fathers' faith that an is the child of God." It is a misstatement that the Vic-rians favored hypocrisy. Nor did they approve of the xploitation created by the freedom of competition. J. S. Mill thlessly exposed the insincerities of his age, and in Mor-y's "Recollections" liberalism "stands for pursuit of social ood against class interests and for the dignity of the indi-dual." It may be true, as the author puts it, that nineteenth-ntury liberalism "had failed to humanize the industrial der out of which it grew," but those who reproach lib-alism because of this failure seem to forget that the moral ecepts of the Sermon on the Mount, too, have thus far iled to become realities.

Just now when reactionaries are anxious to exorcise the scist Satan by employing that Beelzebub which Thomas . Masaryk termed Caesaropapism, Mrs. Knickerbocker's holarly work should be made compulsory reading in some the Allied chancelleries, whose representatives apparently ve forgotten that "history itself is the story of liberty." It a gracefully written book, although the enviable literary

Chicago

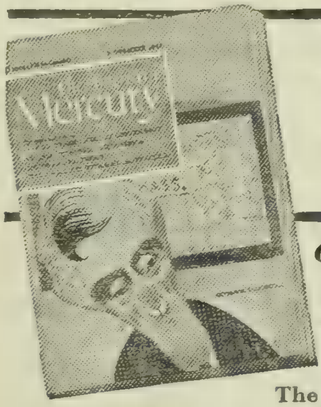
The MUNICH of America . . .

Chicago, most paradoxical of American big cities, has now become the national sorehead center, home of asorted hates . . . Here the people who hate Roosevelt, Russia, Britain, Jews—more than they hate Hitler—still carry on . . . The rabble rousers, and the relics of the Klan, the Bund, the Christian Front, the various Colored Shirt groups . . . who propagandize, solicit members, and in open meetings are addressed by Congressmen, Senators and other prominent "respectables."

This amazing story has been written by two Chicago newspaper men, who name names, mention meeting places . . . In the November issue of The American Mercury—and not to be missed!

The Camouflaged Communist Press

More dangerous than the Communist press is the press that pretends not to be but is—"The Camouflaged Communist Press." Frederick Woltman, who has specialized in exposing false-front Communist organizations, reveals the facts through a case study of one of the most cleverly disguised, "In Fact," which has won large readership as a courageous periodical among decent liberals and even conservatives who fail to recognize it for what it is.



The American
MERCURY
for November

Opinion that gets action!

In its circulation, The Mercury is small compared with mass-popular publications. But in its content, The Mercury carries much that makes Mercury readers make up their minds . . . want to start or stop doing something. And as Mercury readers include no mean portion of opinion makers . . . three thousand editors, reporters and writers, for instance . . . it isn't hard to understand why important opinion in The Mercury so often initiates effective action.

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erudition of the author sometimes leads to digressions at the expense of easy readability. Yet "Free Minds" will never weary the reader because, like Morley himself, the author has "learned the biographer's art of letting his subject speak and act."

RUSTEM VAMBERY

What's the Answer?

WHICH KIND OF REVOLUTION? By W. D. Herridge. Little, Brown and Company. $1.75.

TOWARD the end of his term of office, when the depression was in its mid-gloom, the Canadian Prime Minister, R. B. Bennett, quite suddenly began to speak in the mellifluent fireside tones of the New Deal. His tory friends were greatly shocked, for Mr. Bennett was the soundest of right-thinking Canadians. The rest of Canada received the stirring summons to reform with a startled incredulity. Had they been more convinced, Mr. Bennett might still be Prime Minister instead of in the British House of Lords, and W. D. Herridge might well be in the Canadian Cabinet. For afterward it was freely rumored that Mr. Herridge, Canadian Minister to Washington from 1931 to 1935, was the source and inspiration of Mr. Bennett's "New Deal."

After reading his testament of faith we may believe almost anything of Mr. Herridge as a political heretic. "Which Kind of Revolution?" is a slashing attack on the frailties, the stupidities, the hypocrisy, and the reaction of what he terms "English-speaking Democracy." Too weak and unconvinced before the war to stop fascism, even now it "is fighting for the kind of freedom which will permit the old order to perpetuate its failure. Democracy is fighting a war of restoration. We are not trying to build. We are exhuming something which by all the laws of science and morality is long since dead." Worse than that, English-speaking democracy is drifting into a neo-fascism as a result of its fear and hatred of communism. Many have already made up their minds that the Third World War against the Soviet Union is in the making, a point of view partly confirmed by certain attitudes and actions of the British Foreign Office and the American State Department. For in England and in America reaction is in control. "Mr. Churchill fights his war on restoration with the social consciousness of a Marlborough and the political assurance of the hero of Blenheim." As for Mr. Roosevelt, in the brightest days of the New Deal his high aim was to streamline the old order. Now, even that is changed; the hopeful young men are gone, and in their place, as close advisers, are tired and aging reactionaries.

All this is stout, outspoken criticism of conservative leadership and policies. We suspect that Mr. Herridge knows the score but is a little frightened by his addition. He begins by demanding that we set out to build a new order and break ourselves of the vicious habit of administering palliatives. The magic formula for the new order is "the total use of resources." The outstanding condemnation of the old system is that it artificially perpetuates the economy of scarcity. A revolutionary change is needed because "there is no evolutionary way for limited use of total use." It develops, however, that Mr. Herridge is opposed to socialist measures and to anything resembling government planning. He thinks that war-time controls and regulations have few lessons that we can carry over into the post-war period. In fact, it turns out that Mr. Herridge has an old-fashioned devotion to free enterprise which should be given another chance to show what it can do in making total use of resources. We never do learn very much about Mr. Herridge's revolution.

Something else is very strange about Mr. Herridge. He talks a lot about Democracy, usually with a capital D, and usually in terms of reproach unless accompanied by "New." For communism, on the other hand, he has a curious and fearful awe. Take this astonishing sequence: "When, in the English-speaking world, the state goes Fascist, the common man goes Communist. This is the complementary action, automatic and inevitable. For the common man of Democracy will not fight for fascism against communism. This means that communism would destroy fascism. Then the flag of imperialist communism might fly in every capital." Now this is sheer nonsense. For the only sections of the world where the common man has showed any inclination to go Communist have been those sections where democracy has been peculiarly backward. In the English-speaking world there is a fairly healthy tradition that when tyrants—fascist or otherwise—show their ugly heads, the common man fights, as a democrat, for his liberties—for democracy. It seems to us that Mr. Herridge has fallen into the mistake which both fascists and Communists have made in the past, and of which they are now repenting, the mistake of underestimating the toughness and guts of democracy. Mr. Herridge would have done better to build more on the resources of democracy and less on magic formulas and bogyman fantasies.

J. KING GORDON

AMUSEMENTS

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BOOK

THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM
By JOHN PUTNAM

179 PAGES — CLOTH BINDING — $1.50

THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM includes all of the sound older arguments as well as a number of significant new arguments for Socialism. It makes use of the best of Marxian theory and also utilizes the theory of monopolistic competition. It points out that Socialism is inevitable not only because of the technological changes so brilliantly described by Marx and Engels, but also because of the increased economic strain which modern war imposes upon Capitalism. The gross wastes due to competition and private initiative are described separately for each of the major industries.

The author of this book was an Associate Professor of Economics at a large state university and is now an economist with a Government War agency. He writes under a pen name.

Ask your dealer for the book, or order from the publisher.

MEADOR PUBLISHING COMPANY
324 NEWBURY STREET, BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

IN BRIEF

IGINS OF THE AMERICAN EVOLUTION. By John C. Miller. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. ittle, Brown and Company. $3.50.

is history by the author of "Sam ams, Pioneer of Propaganda," is tten afresh from a wide field of rce material and gets to the bottom the political developments in Britain America which led to the Revolu- n. Although it makes it quite clear t the Revolution was essentially a l war, it disposes of the theory that tish opinion was not back of the and that the Revolution in this ntry was not essentially a demo- ic movement. Though learned, it is ly.

RK TWAIN: MAN AND LEG- ND. By DeLancey Ferguson. The obbs-Merrill Company. $3.

h learning and skill Professor Fer- on links the experiences of Mark ain's life to his works—including autobiographical works, where de- were sometimes inaccurately rec- cted. A very solid, picturesque, hu- book results.

BERT BURNS: HIS ASSOCIATES ND CONTEMPORARIES. The rain, Grierson, Young, and Hope anuscripts, Edited, with an Intro- uction, by Robert T. Fitzhugh, with he Journal of the Border Tour, dited by DeLancey Ferguson. Uni- ersity of North Carolina Press. $3.

elegant and scholarly trifle forms easant appendix to Professor Fer- n's great edition of the Letters of ert Burns and his study of the poet d "Pride and Passion."

FILMS

UADALCANAL DIARY," an adaptation of the Richard Tre- is book, is unusually serious, sim- and honest, as far as it goes; but uld be a shame and worse if those made or will see it got the idea it is a remotely adequate image of irst months on that island. The pic- is worth talking about at some h, and I hope to do that when is space. Meanwhile I think it is e rather respected, and recom- led, but with very qualified enthu- h.

"We Will Come Back," a furious and very entertaining Russian melodrama about guerrillas and a Nazi spy, is as phony in its way as "The North Star." But it can tell you even more about the Russians than "The North Star" can tell you about Americans, with about a hundredth the tedium and chagrin. It can tell you a good deal, for that matter, which the Russian war record films cannot: for as a piece of popular entertainment it is as intensely and internally Russian as a small, florid, vociferous opera company might be Italian. What you see inferred in it is violent, hysterical, innocent, reckless, and realistic almost beyond our comprehension. (Watch especially the guerrilla leader, the girl, and the two leading Nazis.) I was particularly interested to see the almost slapstick scorn with which a dying German is treated (good, I infer, for howls of laughter), and the attitude toward religion. God is repeatedly scratched behind the ears as He passes and slapped affectionately on the rump to make it stick; and toward the end, in a clear bid for applause, an old priest grabs a Nazi soldier and bashes his skull in with a rock. It looks as if Cherkassov in "The Calling of Dan Matthews" were only a question of a very short time.

"Old Acquaintance" is a typical woman's duet on the standard musical saws favored by any housewives' magazine (the tune is "Love Is the Sweetest Thing but We Have No Bananas Today"). What perplexes me is that I could sit through it with some interest. The two chief characters seem to represent, between them, all that a suburban housewife at her worst likes to think she is and thanks God she is not (honorable, realistic, and self-denying, like Bette Davis), and all that she thanks God she is not, but is (Miriam Hopkins as a frenzied tea-cosy sheltering the opposite characteristics). Miss Davis loses two lovers for the sake of Miss Hopkins and her daughter; Miss Hopkins loses everything except Miss Davis. Miss Davis is noble enough and Miss Hopkins ignoble enough to make it unnecessary for any housewife to take the morality play personally, beyond comfortably checking on what she knew already, that virtue's peculiar rewards are hardly worth the candle. The odd thing is that the two ladies and Vincent Sherman, directing, make the whole business look fairly intelligent, detailed, and plausible; and that on the screen such trash can seem, even, mature and adventurous.

JAMES AGEE

ART

CHARLES BURCHFIELD: Water Colors, at Frank Rehn Galleries until November 13. *MILTON AVERY:* Water Colors, at Paul Rosenberg's until November 15. *EUGENE BERMAN:* Oils and Drawings, at Julien Levy Gallery until November 30.

BURCHFIELD'S kind of painting is a staple of contemporary American art. A cautious acquaintance with nineteenth-century French painting, the example of Winslow Homer, and one or two small but valid sensations give a semblance of animation to a style otherwise academic and dull. Eight over-size water colors on cardboard, painted dryly and with a heaviness uncharacteristic of the medium, organize in a routine way details such as hundreds of other water colorists in this country note every week and organize in much the same manner. One subject that rouses Burchfield's talent is the frame-house neighborhood gone to seed. "Winter," with its weather-worn house slouching in the loom of a black factory, is the picture of this show. Burchfield felt that house

Avery is a "light" modern who in oil can produce offspring of Marie Laurencin and Matisse that are empty and sweet, with nice flat areas of color. For water color he goes to school with Marin, and his art becomes as period American as Burchfield's, if much more delicate and elegant. The painting is almost faultless within its limitations, but it has been seen before—the reticent color, the hinted and the actual black-and-whites, the tactful emotions about nature. They are the ingredients of a uniquely American contribution to landscape art; only Marin has summed it up already, at least in this vein.

Eugene Berman, Neo-Romantic, is, I suppose, a painter. But we can save trouble by taking him as simple specialist in *frissons* for the cocktail hour. Given that he has discovered essentially nothing about his art that Raphael didn't know, he is very dextrous. That is, he can paint any way he wants to, provided the way has already been discovered by someone else. The prescription for Berman's thrill this year, and thrill it is, is to take a Florentine master, clean him thoroughly, rearrange the figures, reheat and remix the subject, and then freshen up everything with Böcklin syrup. Piquancy is also gained by doing the canvas without ground or underpainting while yet striving after the same effect. There is an effect, a wonderful-rich effect, but it belongs to journalism and mode. It is as if Time Inc. were rewriting and simultaneously imitating the Harvard Classics. Berman's pictures, crowded as they are into a relatively small space, are too overpowering, too decadent, too spurious, and, really, too well done to be dealt with in measured words. If this is art, the age is doomed.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

MUSIC

HAYDN'S Symphony No. 104, which Toscanini played with the N. B. C. Symphony at his first broadcast, is a marvelous example of the Haydn method and its results. "The essential character of Haydn's form is dramatic surprise at the moment," says Tovey; and "nothing in Haydn is difficult to follow, but almost everything is unexpected"—which means, of course, that it must be listened to with close attention. The slow introduction to the first movement of No. 104 begins with a majestic, brilliant, radiant opening call in the key of D by the entire orchestra—after which comes the dramatic surprise of the dark D minor whisper of the strings in a deeply affecting passage that brings further surprises. Twice again the brilliant call of the entire orchestra is heard, each time with a new surprise in the whispered answer, and with newly startling details as these answers continue. The method is the same in fast tempo: in the *Allegro* portion of the movement the development section (beginning of side 2 of the Fischer or Beecham recorded performance) is concerned at first with two measures, of which each repetition brings an unexpected and expressive alteration—in harmony, then in phrase length with new harmonic progressions, then in instrumental color with the introduction of dark cellos and basses, then contrasting flute and oboe, and so on.

You come to realize that the Haydn method is a constant playing with the hearer's mind, and that it isn't only great emotional and technical powers but also sheer high spirits which produce those astounding details in that breath-taking succession: he is delighting in his use of his powers to amuse himself by writing today what will startle his hearers and move or delight them next week. This is most obvious in the bit of musical fooling at the end of the minuet of No. 104—the silence where you are expecting another trill, and then *piano* where you expert *forte.* But even when he is writing serious music you sense at times his amusement in contriving surprises like those of the introduction, or the one in the slow second movement: you think the movement is about over, when it goes off on wide-ranging and wonderful digressions.

With Haydn's symphony on Toscanini's program were two other works full of gaiety and humor—Mozart's Overture to "The Magic Flute" and Beethoven's Symphony No. 8. Surprise produces some of the humor in Beethoven's symphony: the surprise of the opening theme of the finale coasting along *pp* and colliding suddenly with the *ff* C sharp; the unexpected play with that C sharp in the coda, ending in the unexpected change of tonality; the two places where the full orchestra *ff* breaks off, and first the flutes and strings *p,* then the bassoon and kettledrum *pp* go chortling on. This last trick is one which orchestra and bassoon go through a couple of times in the first movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.453, a delightful piece of high comedy by another composer with a love of fun and the powers with which to indulge it—producing, for example, the last comic stroke in the coda of the finale of K.453, where you expect the theme of the movement to reappear in the context in which it appeared before, and it doesn't reappear, and the movement bustles along and seem to be coming to the end, and suddenly not only the theme jumps out at you from the piano but with it a startlingly unexpected and hilarious extension of it from horns and woodwinds. In the Overture to "The Magic Flute" there is also a surprise—of the chattering *Allegro* after the solemn introduction.

There is little to say about the performances: only that the inflection of phrase, the clarity of texture, the rhythmic and plastic continuity, and the musicality that produced them were again things to marvel at. There is, however, something to say about the way the concert was broadcast. The N. B. C. Symphony series has acquired a commercial sponsor—General Motors—which presumably wishes to secure the good will of the people who listen to the broadcasts. It might have begun with the announcement, "General Motors presents a concert by the N. B. C. Symphony under the direction of Arturo Toscanini"; it might have said after the Mozart overture, "The next work to be performed by Arturo T canini and the N. B. C. Symphony this concert presented by General M tors is Haydn's Symphony No. 104 it might have ended with the statem that the concert had been presented General Motors; and it would have h the good will of those who care ab hearing Toscanini's performances w the N. B. C. Symphony. What it d after the Haydn symphony, was to p sent Mr. Kettering of General Moto who talked and talked and TALK and TALKED for nearly ten minut and at the end the last minute Beethoven's symphony was cut off fo concluding commercial announceme And I can report that in this way earned the intense ill will of everyo I talked to who had listened to t concert.

The Budapest Quartet's concerts the Library of Congress were not broa cast last spring, and will not be broa cast this fall. What C. B. S. give C. B. S. can take away. On the oth hand there is the great news that t concerts of the New Friends of Mu will be broadcast in their entirety WQXR under the commercial sponsc ship of the Book-of-the-Month Club. will be possible to listen to one of t great works of Beethoven and not listen to something like the Quint Opus 16; it will be possible to listen the Budapest Quartet and not to listen the Busch; and above all it will possible to listen undisturbed by t New Friends of Music audience, whi sits motionless, silent, and rapt only the New Friends publicity stories.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Ridiculous!

Dear Sirs: One can be quite sure that here are no farmers on the board of ditors of *The Nation* or the review of dward H. Faulkner's "Plowman's Folly" by Russell Lord would never ave slipped through. I have not read Mr. Faulkner's book and am not prepared to comment upon that, but I have ead the ridiculous review of it by Mr. Lord and have plenty to say about that.

As a great majority of the readers of *The Nation* are city dwellers they will probably get the impression that Mr. Faulkner's book contains a revelation that will revolutionize farming and also et the impression that at least a half dozen generations of American farmers ave been damned fools.

No one will claim that the farmers ave been 100 per cent perfect in the se of the soil or that none of their methods have been wrong and are in no need of correction. In fact even the rackpot ideas of Mr. Lord have their alue if they do nothing more than rouse an interest among farmers and get them thinking about better methods f getting the most *out* of the soil.

The thing which struck me the most in the whole review was Mr. Lord's philosophizing about the major operation of a blunt instrument of major urgery, "turning and rending a living body, soil," and appealing to the reader's reason to accept his idea that this can't happen to the soil and still have t remain healthy. The only trouble with uch a statement is that it ignores entirely the whole purpose of the soil, which is to raise crops. Mr. Lord spoke of the luxuriant growth of grass along he Illinois Central's right of way and he baked out, burned out, farmed out ields beyond which looked bleak and thin. Yet Mr. Lord probably never topped to think that these same burned out, farmed out, baked out, bleak, thin ields would be producing from 30 to 60 bushels of corn per acre or an equivalent in other crops every year to add o the food of the nation but that the ground along the Illinois Central would be producing absolutely nothing.

One will agree perfectly that if the end purpose in the world were to create a perfect soil the ideal method of doing it would be the one which he described on the right of way of the I. C. There year after year the entire growth of vegetation is allowed to fall upon the earth and to accumulate year after year. Unquestionably this would build up a soil very rich in humus, nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and all the other things necessary for plant life, and enable the native grass to grow luxuriantly.

Unfortunately that isn't the end purpose to which we must put the soil of the world. Even Mr. Lord might find more nourishment in a good meal raised from the bleak, farmed-out fields than he would in feasting his mind upon the wonderful soil which had been produced by years and years of allowing all that grew upon the land to fall down and enrich the soil. We cannot have our cake and eat it. We cannot put everything that grows on the soil back into it and still raise enough food to feed the people of the country.

CLARENCE ARMSTRONG
Baltimore, October 8

Shocking!

Dear Sirs: Mr. Armstrong ought to read the book in question. His rugged assumption that our American methods of clean culture can not have been in general damned foolish will not stand. The simplest verticle measurements of the remaining top soil, even on the so-called flat lands of Illinois, show farmers farming themselves out of a farm in fifty years or less. The corn yields he cites —thirty to sixty bushels to the acre— are disgracefully low yields on land recently so fertile. When he says that you can't have your cake and eat it too he denies as a farmer the possibility of arriving at a permanent agriculture. This denial is quite in line with the soil-mining tradition of our past, but in the light of world experience it is absurd; and to come upon such thoughts arrayed in the civilized guise of a letter to *The Nation* is shocking.

RUSSELL LORD
Athens, Ga., October 1

More to the Point

Dear Sirs: In an age like ours when trade journalism is so blandly accepted as literature one can justify one's surprise at seeing such a title as "On Creative Imagination" set in large type on the cover of even such a magazine as *The Nation*. The practical reader who may object to such a consideration when so many tremendous events are in the making is just as wrong as our professional educationists who insist on method almost to the exclusion of substance. Through studies that might be written in extension of Mr. Humphries's essay one conceivably could learn far more about what goes on in these heads of ours than from reading blow-by-blow accounts of the battles between Pegler and labor or whoever and the New Deal.

PRIVATE
Somewhere in Missouri, November 1

A Curious Distinction

Dear Sirs: As a reader I wish to thank you for Lionel Trilling's piece on Eliot's Kipling.

As for Mr. Eliot's attitude to Jews and Judaism, I can refer Mr. Trilling— if he has not read it—to the curious remark in the first lecture of "After Strange Gods." It is difficult to obtain a copy of the book in these environs, but I remember that passage well enough to transmit its sense: that "too many free-thinking Jews" would be a distrusting element in a traditional American community. The qualifying words intrigued me, and Mr. Eliot never explained why pious Jews would be more acceptable.

CHAPLAIN JULIUS KRAVETZ
Camp Adair, Ore., November 1

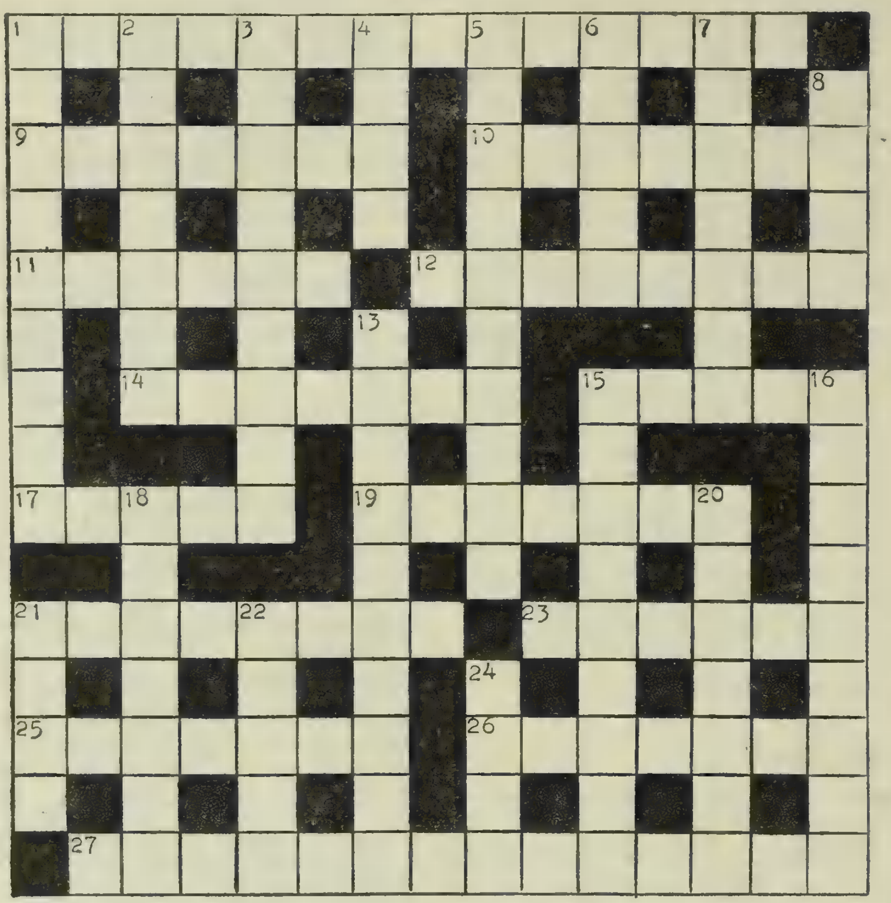
Is This Coddling?

Dear Sirs: Justice Franklin Taylor of the Kings County Court recently attacked the present city administration for coddling criminals by granting them public assistance. Although I am not a supporter of the present mayor and have always been a registered Democrat, I feel that I should answer this outburst.

I have been employed by the Department of Welfare of the City of New York as a social investigator for many years. Most families that I have investigated for relief have no criminal records and were compelled to apply for relief because of conditions beyond their control. At the present time there are no able-bodied persons receiving relief— except women with small children. Most, if not all, of the persons receiving relief have been examined by our doctors

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 38

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Useful mental attribute during an air raid, though absence of body might be better (three words, 8, 2 and 4)
9 Cordial
10 Mondays make all the difference to these machines
11 Fawn
12 Relief for the metal-worker
14 Apple of the eye, and golfers are required to keep the first part on the second
15 John Wesley said he was always in this, but never in a hurry
17 It covers a multitude of (feminine) shins
19 Where an extrovert should turn his gaze occasionally
21 Manx dog unlikely to win in the neighborhood of London
23 Quentin Reynolds told us the story of this in "Dress Rehearsal"
25 Wine god (anag.)
26 You can do this to a document, and a document can do this to you.
27 Not a good slogan for a candidate seeking re-election . . . his opponent might twist it into "Tired and rusty" (three words, 5, 3 and 6)

DOWN

1 Cook's mate?
2 He is always upset by queries
3 Sheridan described a circulating library as an --------- tree of diabolical knowledge
4 Foot barometer
5 Not even men are as numerous in the summer as in the winter—in society, of course!
6 Fruit that gives a fellow energy
7 Ultimately overtakes the evil-doer
8 A slave may be seen here
13 A frail coin appears in such a state
15 "Primrose, first-born child of Ver, Merry springtime's ---------"
16 Both perpetual motion, and the search for its secret, go on thus
18 Arundel (anag.)
20 Soda jerkers
21 How fifty can make a noise
22 North-west European married in the South-east
24 This set stands for a very determined attempt

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 37

ACROSS:—1 WELLS; 4 EVA; 6 CARAT; 9 OVERATE; 10 TREASON; 11 GIANTS; 13 SMITHIES; 15 EUSTACE; 16 RIDERS; 17 KNEE; 19 SPINACH; 21 NELL; 23 LEDGER; 25 SCOOTER; 27 TESTATOR; 28 SOILED; 31 GALILEO; 32 CANTEEN; 33 TAPER; 34 GEE; 35 SONIA.

DOWN:—1 WRONG; 2 LEEWARD; 3 SCATTERS; 4 EWER; 5 ASTHMA; 6 CREATE; 7 RUSSIAN; 8 TONES; 12 SUSPECT; 13 STENTOR; 14 ICICLES; 16 RUN; 18 ERR; 20 HEROINES; 22 LAST LAP; 24 GALLEON; 25 SAILOR; 26 OOLONG; 27 TIGHT; 29 DONNA; 30 ACHE.

or at a clinic. At present relief allowances are not sufficient to provide a adequate diet. If Judge Taylor and Mr Taylor decided to retire on a home-relie allowance, they would receive a total o $57.90 per month. If they were eligibl for an old-age-assistance grant, the would receive $60.50 per month fo both. These allowances are a far cr from the $25,000 per year that th judge receives.

Might I recommend that the learne jurist obtain the facts before airing hi prejudices? He also should note tha there, but for the grace of God, goes he

J. S.

Brooklyn, N. Y., October 10

Inconsistent

Dear Sirs: Miss Kirchwey's clear recognition of the pro-democratic nature o the Soviets' foreign policy (the Mosco Conference, *The Nation,* October 30 was marred by one inconsistency. Sh says "just once has the Soviet government deviated from its support of th democratic forces, when it joined wit Britain and America in accepting a co-belligerents the present regime."

One wonders what else the Sovie government could have done in the fac of Mr. Churchill's speech of September 21. It seems to me that the onl wise course was to insist upon the creation of the machinery through which the Soviet government could raise thes points in fruitful fashion. It did so. I had unofficially expressed its dissen from Anglo-American policy by charging the AMG with maintaining Fascist in office and with being too concerne with capitalist interests. Officially i proposed the setting up of the Mediterranean Commission, and it requeste a place on it for the French, thus proving that it had virtually recognized th French committee as a provisional government.

And looking at the results, for Italian democracy, of the Moscow pact one i bound to consider the Soviet course a wise one. If one contrasts our past policy with the Soviets' it is hardly to be doubted that the improvement is due t two things—the Italian people's refusal to accept the Badoglio regime as it was and the Soviets' political influence in the councils of the United Nations. I think the published agreements prove, as Miss Kirchwey later suggested, that Stalin had *formally* acquiesced as the only means of furthering a modification.

RALPH BATES

New York, November 3

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

BY COURAGE, OBSTINACY, AND A GENUINE belief in democratic rule, the people of Italy are slowly winning their political battle. Step by step they have forced the "ex"-Fascists now in power to yield ground, and have circumvented the attempts of the Allied military control to buttress the status quo. The latest victory is Badoglio's promise to resign as Premier as soon as Rome has been freed. Behind this obvious admission of failure lies a series of events that show the growing strength of the democratic opposition. Chief among them was Count Sforza's refusal to head a Cabinet under the King. Sforza has steadily insisted that the King's abdication is a prerequisite for any effective government. His position was strengthened by the more drastic demands embodied in a manifesto issued by the Rome Committee of Liberation. This important group called for a government representing only those elements that have a record of steady opposition to Fascism and the war. In lieu of any satisfactory solution, Badoglio has created a Cabinet of "technical experts" to carry on until Rome falls—and he with it. But this is an obvious stop-gap and nothing more. Real power is passing to the people and nothing can check it.

*

PROBABLY TO HELP PUT A DAMPER ON THE rampant over-optimism concerning the duration of the war, the Office of War Information now reveals that Hitler's speech of last week was not quite so despairing as at first reported. Referring to the corrected text, the New York *Times* cites the Führer's boast that while losses have been sustained this year, the "ring of encirclement" which existed at the start of the war has been destroyed "with powerful history-making blows." And it points out that while Hitler did in fact remark that "if the German people despair, they will deserve no better than they get," his speech did not end on that note, as reported, but on the contrary with the "fanatic

NEXT WEEK—
"EMPLOYMENT AFTER THE WAR"
By THOMAS R. AMLIE
A SPECIAL NATION SUPPLEMENT

belief that nothing can exist for us but our victory." Noting these changes, and also reports that the speech was well received in Germany, we still cannot shake the impression that it was essentially the words of a man who, knowing himself doomed, is determined to sell his life dearly. The braggart who two years ago announced that "never was a great empire smashed and destroyed in shorter time than was Soviet Russia this time" and who last year proclaimed "Stalingrad firmly in German hands" was reduced to assuring his people that the Allies would find an invasion of Western Europe harder than landing in Sicily. Both Stalin and Churchill emphasized in the same week that much sacrifice and hardship lie ahead and warned against the slightest relaxation in the Allied countries. But their words, ringing with confidence, contrasted strongly with the Führer's assurance that whatever might happen he would not go crazy.

*

THE APPOINTMENT OF LORD WOOLTON AS British Minister of Reconstruction provides a perfect illustration of that British Tory flexibility which Freda Kirchwey refers to in her article on page 581. Mr. Churchill's inclination has been to keep post-war problems in the background. The present British government, he said in a recent speech, had no right "except with a very general measure of agreement" to go beyond "the one function by which its continued existence is justified—the prosecution of the war." His aim has been to sidetrack political controversies which might endanger the party truce. But as the London *Times* has pointed out, a policy of doing nothing is also controversial. The British people know that they have to face economic and social readjustments which will tax all their imagination, energy, and genius for compromise. They do not want to be as unprepared for peace as they were for war. After resisting this public mood for a long time, the Prime Minister has recognized its strength by an appointment likely to meet general acclaim. As Minister of Food since April, 1940, Lord Woolton has achieved several near miracles. He has maintained an adequate supply of food and distributed it fairly, he has greatly improved the nutritional standards of the poorer classes and so contributed to the excellent health record of Britain throughout the war, he has kept prices on an even keel, and he has made rationing popular. New Deal baiters might note that he has been both a teacher of economics and a social worker. He entered the business world as personnel manager for an important chain of department stores, where he carried out an enlightened employment policy with such success that he was promoted to general manager and eventually chairman. With his experience in both government and industry, his belief in planning, and his social consciousness, he seems a "natural" for his new job.

ONLY THOSE WITH SHORT MEMORIES WILL be shocked at the long-distance flirtation between Lieutenant Colonel Philip F. La Follette and Colonel Robert R. McCormick. Hardly more than a fellow-traveler of the New Deal at its inception, the former governor of Wisconsin soon turned into a determined opponent. Not content with the negative role of sniping from the sidelines, he blossomed forth in 1938 with his National Progressives of America, a curious political creation which attempted to harness the effective demagogic devices of fascism to avowedly democratic purposes. But the Roosevelt strength was not as far gone as La Follette thought, and the deepening crisis abroad served to enhance the President's position. La Follette thereupon laid aside his pretty flags with their cross-and-circle symbol and plumped for America First. Now, in the South Pacific, he continues to follow the prescribed path of the good America Firster. Attached to General MacArthur's staff, he is widely regarded as the liaison man between the General and the MacArthur-for-President forces in this country. It is the General's candidacy in fact which has brought this holder of a name revered in liberal circles to terms of bubbling cordiality with the publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*. ". . . the way you have stood up, taken it on the chin, and kept coming back to give 'em some more during the last year is grand," La Follette wrote McCormick a few weeks ago. "Perhaps some day some of us over here can put our oar in back home and lend a helping hand." Is the notorious *Tribune* just another device with which La Follette hopes to achieve a purer democracy?

*

THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRIAL WAR COUNCIL, refusing to take the emphatic "noes" of the OPA and the Economic Stabilization Director for an answer, is now lobbying Congress to obtain a boost in crude oil prices. No doubt it can count on support from the delegations of the leading oil-producing states, and probably it hopes for a deal with the farm bloc, which is also out to exploit a sellers' market to the limit. The big oil companies which dominate the Council can hardly claim that present prices are ruining them, for their published accounts show that they are making handsome profits. They rely, therefore, on the argument that the present price of crude is too low to compensate for the risks involved in sinking new wells. The result, they assert, is that the discovery of new reserves is lagging far behind current production. It appears, however, that the big oil companies, while reluctant to invest money in exploration, are quite willing to buy proved oil reserves at speculative prices. According to the *Wall Street Journal* of November 9, major companies have been buying wells from East Texas independents at prices which meant paying from $1 to $1.25 a barrel for oil *in the ground*. A normal valuation would be 15 to 50 cents a barrel. The present OPA ceiling for crude in this district is $1.25; so that buyers of wells at these fancy rates are discounting a sharp upward revision of the price of crude. The implied confidence in Congressional willingness to break the opposition of the government agencies charged with "holding the line" will, we hope, spur consumers to make their voices heard on Capitol Hill. The extra 35 cents a barrel which the oil companies have demanded will cost the public at least a cool half-billion dollars.

*

SENATOR REYNOLDS AND THE DEMOCRATIC machine of North Carolina have come to a parting of the ways. In his twelve years of Senatorial service Reynolds has compiled a record so distinguished that today he is opposed by 93 of the state's 100 Democratic county chairmen, its entire delegation in the House of Representatives, the Governor, and practically all the press of North Carolina. In the light of this remarkable achievement perhaps it is not altogether coincidental that Mr. Reynolds now finds himself too busy to run for renomination. His burdens as a Senator, he says, are too heavy to permit him to take time off for campaigning, and he must consequently choose between the "service of my state and nation, or the furtherance of my own personal, political ambition." Ever the slave to duty, the Senator, whose "service" includes rabid isolationism, clowning, race-baiting in all its forms, and general rabble-rousing, intends to "continue in public life" the fight for those principles which have marked his legislative career. A foretaste of the rich public life that lies ahead for "Our Bob," as he is affectionately billed by his publicity staff, is the letter written a month ago to Gerald Winrod, the Kansas Streicher, and printed by the New York *Post*. "These character assassins," Reynolds wrote, referring to critics of the "Jayhawk Nazi," who is now under indictment for sedition, "are still at large but the day of reckoning will arrive and is on its way. With assurances of my highest esteem," etc. Our congratulations to North Carolina.

*

IN VOTING TO EXTEND QUEZON'S TERM AS Chief Executive of the Philippine Commonwealth, Congress was undoubtedly motivated by a desire to make the utmost use of Quezon's very considerable prestige as leader of Filipino resistance. A substantial minority in the House quite properly raised the question whether the desire to capitalize on Quezon's prestige was worth overriding the explicit provisions of the Philippine Constitution under which the Vice President would have succeeded him upon the expiration of his term. The question is practical as well as legal since Vice President Osmena is probably more popular in the Philippines than Quezon. A much more effective move to offset Japan's recent declaration of "independence" for the Philippines would have been the adoption by Congress of the President's proposal that the date for the liberation of the islands be advanced from 1946, as provided under the present law. Reports from reliable sources indicate that the Japannese are having greater success than is ordinarily realized in obtaining cooperation from the Filipino population. While some guerrilla warfare contines, particularly in the south, the United States is not, at the moment, winning the political battle in the islands. Nothing short of a declaration of complete independence, with economic guarantees, will serve to reverse the trend.

Britain's Contribution

THE President's message on reverse lend-lease and the White Paper released simultaneously in London and Washington by the British government provide the best of answers to those who think we have somehow been victimized by the British in this war. The first thing that strikes one in comparing these documents with the President's last report on lend-lease in August is that British cash purchases in this country have actually been greater than lend-lease exports. The White Paper discloses for the first time that these cash purchases amounted to $6,000,000,000, as compared with total lend-lease exports to the United Kingdom on June 30 last of somewhat less than $4,500,000,000. This $4,500,000,000 must be regarded as a protective payment on our part to keep Britain in the war as our transatlantic bulwark against Nazism. For as the White Paper says of the $6,000,000,000 in cash earlier spent here for supplies, Britain's liquid financial resources were becoming exhausted, and it was faced with the danger that the flow of munitions and food would be reduced through its inability to pay.

No balance sheet can ever encompass the greater price paid by Britain in property and lives in the war against the Axis. If a balance must be struck, this $4,500,000,000 is offset by reverse lend-lease on June 30 last of $871,000,000 from the United Kingdom. Our last lend-lease report showed total lend-lease exports to China, India, Australia, and New Zealand of $1,133,000,000. The figures were lumped together, probably in order to hide the minute measure of our aid to China. Against this we must offset $300,000,000 in reverse lend-lease from Australia, New Zealand, and India. This does not measure the full extent of the British Commonwealth's contribution to "mutual aid," as lend-lease is called in Britain. For Canada has made a $1,000,000,000 gift of aid to the mother country, and is making another $1,000,000,000 gift to others of the United Nations, a far greater per capita lend-lease expenditure than our own. Nor does it take into account British contributions to others of the United Nations.

In addition to reverse lend-lease to our own country, Britain supplied $716,000,000 worth of supplies to the Soviet Union and $750,000,000 worth to other allies. Britain's total payments to the United Nations in excess of the amounts received from them amount to $9,000,000,000. How enormous this amount is may be seen by comparing it with the total of our own lend-lease exports to all United Nations on June 30. The total was $9,882,000,000. One must also consider that costs here are about 50 per cent higher than in Britain, so that an expenditure of $1.50 here is the equivalent of not much more than $1 there. It may also be recalled that the United Kingdom's population is about one-third ours.

Australia with its 7,000,000 people and New Zealand with its 1,600,000 have made huge per capita contributions to reverse lend-lease. This is especially striking in the case of foodstuffs. They have supplied the bulk of the requirements for the American forces in the South and Southwest Pacific. We have never made public detailed figures on our lend-lease of foodstuffs, which is considerably below our food exports in the last war. But a few figures are available. Our total exports of butter in the first half of this year were 8,100,000 pounds. Australia by June 30 had contributed 6,628,000 pounds to our troops and New Zealand 12,550,000 more of butter and cheese. We shipped 45,400,000 pounds of beef under lend-lease during the first six months of this year. Reverse lend-lease of meat by Australia on June 30 totaled 61,480,000 pounds, while New Zealand's contribution by that date was 49,650,000 pounds of fresh meat and another 21,600,000 of canned meat. These figures are not comparable, but they provide a good idea of the magnitude of the contributions made by these British Commonwealth countries.

Finally we may note that while lend-lease is about 12 per cent of our war expenditures, mutual aid is about 10 per cent of Britain's. When we consider the greater sacrifices made by Britain in the war, and the part that lend-lease has played in helping other people to fight our battles as well as their own, Britain's is an excellent record. We do not cite these figures to disparage our own contribution but to shame the mean-minded and the Anglophobes. There are entirely too many of them, though they are still a minority, in Congress and the press.

Opportunities in Algiers

NOTHING could more clearly demonstrate the failure of our policy toward the Fighting French than the reorganization of the Committee of National Liberation which has just taken place in Algiers. We who chose in turn Pétain, Darlan, and Giraud in preference to General de Gaulle now witness De Gaulle's complete political triumph. With the withdrawal of Giraud and all but two of his appointees from the committee, De Gaulle, whose prestige we tried by every device, open and not so open, to undermine, becomes the recognized leader not only of free Frenchmen throughout the world but of those Frenchmen who constitute the spearhead of resistance in France itself.

One of the principal items in our stock of rationalizations concerning De Gaulle was that he lacked popular support. But the chief significance of the political shift in the committee last week is that the shakeup was forced by representatives of the resistance movements, who have been arriving in Algiers in increasing numbers. According to these active fighters, De Gaulle is more popular in France today than he has ever been, and he has American diplomacy, at least in part, to thank for it. At first many Frenchmen were taken in by German propaganda which took the tack that De Gaulle was a tool of the Western powers. "But," one of them reports, "as soon as we saw that it was Giraud and not De Gaulle who was invited to the United States, we knew that the enemy propaganda was wrong."

However at variance this end-result may be from our diplomats' intentions, we could accept it as a fortunate outcome were it not for the deep distrust that has naturally been sown in the process. Instead of confronting a French power grown strong with our aid and encouragement, we confront one that has grown strong despite us. In terms of diplomacy that is a compounded failure. We must now contend with a coolness and a national sensitivity which are in good part of our own making.

This sensitivity was all too plain in the tart reaction of the committee to the Moscow agreement. The fate of Germany, the committee said bluntly, could not be dedecided without France; since France was not represented at the Moscow conference, it could hardly be bound by any decisions reached there. The fact that this acid reminder was addressed to the Soviet Union as well as to Britain and America, coupled with the absence of Communist representation on the reorganized committee, tend to disprove the hoary charge that the De Gaullists are under Communist, or even Russian, domination. Both circumstances, on the contrary, add evidence to the truth that the source of Gaullist strength is in France itself, and that if this strength rests on any "ism" at all, it is nationalism.

This circumstance throws light on the refusal of the committee to grant complete immediate independence to the Lebanese. The Allies have been extremely careful to reject the notion that the committee constitutes a government. As Churchill put it, they "are not the owners but the trustees of the title deeds of France." It is hard to see how the trustees for a people rendered acutely sensitive to their world standing could surrender any of those "title deeds" under duress. De Gaulle is in far less favorable a position to preside at the liquidation of the French Empire than is Churchill to perform that function for Britain.

Regardless of whether or not it was feasible for the committee to be represented at Moscow, there are moves that can be made now to assure the French of our good faith. General de Gaulle points out that so far no arrangements have been made for cooperation between the French committee and Allied military authorities concerning the invasion of France. A move in this direction would not only help to avoid political embarrassment in the future but would go far toward eliminating the suspicions which have so corroded Anglo-American relations with the French. At Moscow our representatives had the courage and good sense to abandon a policy which would ultimately have led to a clash with Russia. Developments in Algiers now afford us an opportunity to reverse an equally bankrupt policy, which can only end in the hostility of a resurgent France.

China's Role in the War

HOPES for more effective Chinese participation in the war have been raised by the recent and apparently successful consultations between Chiang Kai-shek, Lord Louis Mountbatten, and Lieutenant General Stilwell, and by China's rather unexpected participation in the Moscow conference. But these favorable developments should not blind us to the serious difficultes that must still be overcome before China can become an effective partner in the coming offensive against Japan. Recent information from China suggests that these difficulties are probably greater today than at any time in the past despite the recent successes at Chungking and Moscow.

Officially, there has been no hint that relations between China and the other United Nations have not been of the most cordial and cooperative nature. There is no reason to believe that if Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek met around a table they would have any great difficulty in reaching an agreement on most of the main issues in the field of war strategy and peace plans for the Far East. The problems that have arisen concern the practical working relations between the British and American armies on one side and the Chinese on the other. They concern also China's internal strains and stresses, its capacity to mobilize its resources for an all-out military effort.

A great part of the difficulty on the American side derives from the fact that the Chinese war effort has been oversold to the American public. Our soldiers and technicians in China have suffered an unhealthy disillusionment when confronted with the harsh realities of the Chinese situation. Some of this was perhaps inevitable, but a large part of it could have been avoided by more careful preparation by our military educational authorities. American and Chinese military methods have little in common. In some respects the Chinese methods are probably better adapted to Chinese conditions, in others they are perhaps inferior; but the practical problems of working out cooperation could have been eased if the Americans had known what to expect before being sent on the job. This preliminary education might well have included some inkling of how primitive life is in the interior of China, of its background of warlordism, its semi-legalized traditions of "squeeze" among officials, in both high and low places, together with some information regarding the effects of internal dissension on the military effort. With such preparation there might not be so much grumbling to the effect that China is not carrying its share of the load.

Although the danger of civil strife between the Kuomintang and the Communists seems to have been averted for the present, internal political dissension still has a paralyzing effect on the country's military and economic effort. The suspicion and open antagonism between these two factions are only a small part of the picture. Owing to the rivalry of cliques within the Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek's power often is little more than nominal. Orders from the local war lord in a provincial capital are often far more influential than those issued by the Generalissimo. On the economic front the war effort has sagged badly, owing partly to profiteering and speculation and partly to the destructive effects of the inflation. At first, rising prices tended to stimulate both industrial and farm production, but the inflationary cycle has now reached such an advanced stage that producers find it almost impossible to operate under government contracts. The resultant slackening of production has naturally placed a heavier burder on the United States and Britain, for it means that shipments must be greatly increased before China can play a decisive role in the war.

Problems of this kind undoubtedly place a great strain on our American military leaders, whose one interest is to get on with the war. It is only natural that some of them should be tempted to write China off as an effective ally and think of the war as primarily an Anglo-American undertaking. A far more constructive approach, in view of China's strategic geographical position and tremendous potentialities in man-power and resources, would be to seek agreements with the Chinese designed to minimize the difficulties. Perhaps the best way to make sure that civil war is not brought on by "incidents" in the border areas of the northwest, for example, would be for American military posts to be set up there just as in the areas under direct Central Government control. There is every reason to believe that if more American aid were sent to these areas, the tempo of guerrilla warfare could be greatly stepped up. In the economic field

BURLINGAME

the United States could undoubtedly utilize its gold resources in checking the inflation, provided the Chinese government took effective steps to curb profiteering and stimulate production. Because China is rightly sensitive regarding foreign interference in its internal affairs, agreements of this kind may not be easy to arrange. But the Moscow conference has shown the world that when the stakes are high, the most difficult problems can be resolved. Someone with real authority should go to Chungking and seek a settlement while there is yet time.

A Nation of Cry-Babies

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 11

PRICE and wage stabilization is complicated business. You start with the simple concept of a ceiling, and you end by analyzing the hind quarters of a steer to make sure that price control isn't circumvented by substituting an inferior cut of meat for a better. You insert a control at one point in your war economy and find you have twenty problems for each one you have solved. The present shenanigans of the corn-hog ratio may serve to illustrate the complexities. If the price of hogs gets too far ahead of the price of corn, it pays farmers better to feed their corn to their hogs and sell it as pork than to put the corn on the market *in persona propria.* The ratio at this time, though narrower than a year ago, is still too wide. Chicago stockyards are glutted with hogs, while the shortage of corn is hampering other branches of agriculture (dairies, poultry, cattle) which also need corn for feed, and many sections of war industry, which use it in making alcohol (converted in turn into smokeless powder and synthetic rubber), plastics, paper, and other materials.

Because so much corn grunts its way to Chicago as pork, scarce tankers must be used to bring molasses from the Caribbean for alcohol, and Great Lakes steamers needed for iron ore must be diverted to bring wheat from Canada for Northeastern livestock. Politics doesn't make the situation any simpler. The Department of Agriculture, largely responsible for this disarranged corn-hog ratio, has always been orientated toward the Midwest and is as Republican-minded, even under Democratic Administrations, as the corn belt. While booming farm prices haven't made the Midwest any less Republican—it turns slightly Democratic only in adversity—the chief sufferers from the march of relatively low-priced corn into decidedly high-priced hogs have been Northeastern dairy and poultry farmers and Southwestern cattle raisers. The latter are Democrats by tradition, the former occasionally Democrats by persuasion. Neither tradition nor persuasion is likely to hold them in line in the absence of plentiful feed supplies, and the 1944 election cannot be won without them.

On this, as on other sectors of the crumbling anti-inflation front, the Administration is trying to cushion the producer's feed-supply difficulties with a subsidy, instead, for example, of raising the price of milk. One virtue of this approach, as that excellent little farm paper *Spade* pointed out recently, is its economy: it would take a $2 price increase to put an equivalent $1 in the pocket of the farmer. It is cheaper to do it directly, by a subsidy, which has the added merit of holding down the cost of living. This virtue of the subsidy is its chief defect in the eyes of the distributor and the middleman. And if the truth be told, it does not appeal greatly to the farmer, whom the vagaries of nature have made a gambler. His hankering as a debtor for the roulette of inflation has haunted American politics for several generations, and like every other class and group in our country he is much quicker to see his immediate profit advantage as a producer than his ultimate fate in a general débâcle. Far more serious than the corn-hog ratio is the hog-patriot ratio, which has never in our history been wider. In Congress the voices of moderation find it hard to be heard, and good men are stampeded—Voorhis and Pepper, for example, on citrus fruits—by the greedy squeals. All the great lobbies in action against price control and subsidies—oil, meat, citrus, milk—have been fattened by the war, but each feels a sense of grievance because his neighbor at the trough seems to be getting more swill.

With the exception of some low-paid workers—the canners and food processors in the so-called farm bloc are among the worst offenders—and a stratum of white-collar workers with fixed incomes, there is not a class or a group in this country which has not benefited by the war, which is not eating better—yes, eating better—and living better than it did before. Anyone who spends a few days covering the present price-control fight comes away with the impression that we are the world's greatest nation of cry-babies. It is a paradox of which we should feel ashamed that the weakest spot today in the United Nations is not among the poor battered Chinese, or the bombed and blasted British, or the Russians, heroic and virile amid their country's devastation, but on the home front of our own country, the one that has suffered least and benefited most and occupies the softest spot in the greatest war of human history. This is no reflection on our good men at the front, but only upon the snivelers at home, where everybody wants the cost of living held down, but everybody also wants his own income pushed up. This mathematical miracle would be too much for an Einstein, certainly for a Roosevelt.

I believe that were the President vigorously to roll back prices, he might yet save the country and himself, but his ability to do so without Congressional approval is constitutionally dubious and would be politically possible only in an atmosphere of crisis. At the bottom of the situation is the general feeling that the Russians will soon defeat Hitler, and then help us take care of the Japs. If this is correct, a general loosening of the line on wages and prices, the easiest course for the Administration and the one it will probably adopt, may do little harm. But if the Germans extricate enough of their men from the Russian front to put up a real fight in Western Europe, and the war lasts until the winter of 1944-45, the inflationary spiral will get out of control and the war may be lost on the home front. An inflation, at the very least, would lay the foundations for terrible economic maladjustments after the war and a strong fascist movement based on an impoverished middle class.

Never before has our democratic system seemed so clearly a wrangle of pressure groups rather than a voicing of the general will on the general welfare. Never before was it so necessary for the leaders of each group to forget the coming elections—political and trade union—and tell a few unpleasant economic truths to their own people. Our task is to do so on the labor front, where the cowardly surrender to Lewis has penalized the bulk of labor leadership, which better than any other group has helped hold the line. What needs to be said to labor, as steel prepares to follow coal, automobiles to follow steel, is that three or four billions more in the pay envelopes of our workers will be worse than meaningless, since (1) there just aren't the goods to buy with it, and (2) it will only help push up other prices. Ultimately none will suffer more than labor if wages and prices begin chasing themselves around and up the inflationary Maypole. I know the main offender is the farm bloc and its processor allies. I know huge profits are being made in war industry. I know the Administration has been unable to keep its pledges regarding prices. I still say that a general rise in wages except for low-paid and fixed-pay workers is an illusion. It is unfortunate but it is true that the only course open to labor is to put up a fight to hold the cost-of-living line. Better to wage a slowly losing battle on that front than to kid ourselves into disaster.

> *Pressure on our limited space has made it necessary to hold over the fourth instalment of Vernon Bartlett's Diary of the Future. It will appear in next week's* Nation.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation

NO ELECTION in the country was ever attended by so much fraud as the one we have just gone through. In this state, of course, the natural home of chicane and boundless rascality, the fattening-place of the corruptest of all American politicians, every variety of cheating has been practiced. . . . In Brooklyn, in open defiance of law, the officials whose duty it was to count the vote deliberately announced their intention of performing their functions in secret with closed doors. This in order to make the majority as large as might be needed.—*November 5, 1868.*

THE MOST INTERESTING FEATURE of the *Riverside Magazine* for November is not the opening fable by Hans Christian Andersen. . . . The first place is rather to be assigned to the "Negro fables," . . . which are a positive contribution to the literature, if it may be so called, of the American Africans. They were taken down as they are reproduced, verbatim, from the lips of slaves or freedmen. . . . So far as we know, the Rabbit is the Reynard of all. . . . —*November 5, 1868.*

THE EFFECT OF THE ELECTIONS, so far as we can yet judge, seems to have been everywhere tranquilizing. A very large proportion of the Democratic Party is undoubtedly well pleased with the result, and is trying . . . to make out that Grant is a Democrat. . . . From the South there is little news, and that little is mainly good news. The result of the election has apparently had the sobering and soothing effect that was hoped. . . . We have heard of no assassination or rioting since a week ago Tuesday.—*November 12, 1868.*

THE READERS of *The Nation,* who are interested in all good things, will perhaps like to hear a word of Mr. Emerson's new course of lectures now going on in Boston. . . . We know perfectly well what we are to hear from Mr. Emerson, and yet what he says always penetrates and stirs us, as is apt to be the case with genius, in a very unlooked-for fashion.—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *November 12, 1868.*

"SMOKING AND DRINKING," by James Parton. . . . The three articles before us—Does It Pay to Smoke? Will the Coming Man Drink Wine? and Inebriate Asylums—belong in the front rank of things readable.—*November 12, 1868.*

GENERAL GRANT . . . has ordered all applications for office to be burned without being shown to him.—*November 19, 1868.*

THE ERIE RAILROAD COMPANY . . . is a striking example of the evils resulting from a large bonded debt upon any railroad property. . . . The sudden appearance . . . of the newly issued certificates led to an official inquiry on the part of the New York Stock Exchange, which was met on the part of the president of the company by a brazen-faced acknowledgment of the entire fraudulent issue, accompanied by a disguised threat that still further fraudulent issues were in preparation.—*November 26, 1868.*

Spain's Mounting Crisis

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

SPAIN is once more in the spotlight of international events, and will remain there until the crisis which has overtaken the Franco regime has been resolved once and for all. Until the beginning of this year it was generally supposed that Franco would fall immediately after the collapse of Hitler's New Order. Today many people in a position to know believe that he may fall before that. A shrewd and important American business man in Spain made the guess that Franco would not last another six months. That was in September.

Franco's regime began to crumble with the first serious Axis defeats. It received its initial shock when American troops landed in North Africa and the Nazi theory of the impregnability of Fortress Europe was proved false. The second great shock was the Battle of Stalingrad, when the Nazi theory of the invincibility of the German *Wehrmacht* was shattered. Then followed a succession of Axis defeats: one month the failure of the Axis submarine war; the next month the irreparable weakening of the Luftwaffe; in the summer the fall of Mussolini, the hardest blow for Franco from the political point of view; in the autumn the collapse of the German eastern front. The current history of Spain is the history of German military reverses, and the process which is sealing the doom of the Axis is preparing the same fate for Franco.

It was inevitable that a dictator who had been put into power by Hitler and Mussolini should suffer the consequences of their defeats. But the crisis might not have developed so rapidly had Franco succeeded in creating an efficient governmental machine. He has created nothing—nothing but the gallows and an espionage system to serve the interests of Hitler in Spain. He has not even built up a strong fascist party to discipline political thought should a day of reckoning come.

The Phalanx, under the control of veteran agents of the Gestapo, is useful in the Western Hemisphere. Inside Spain it is weak. Corruption and lack of a clear ideology have made it a mere tool of terrorism; it has not known how to use the power it could have enjoyed as the only political party in Spain. The Phalanx is breaking. Thousands and thousands of people within its ranks are on our side; they are waiting for their chance to give it the final *coup de grâce*.

Even more serious than the Franquist inability to establish a national political machine has been the failure of the government to organize the economic life of the country. No one will deny that in 1939 production was gravely affected by three years of warfare. Nevertheless, between 1939 and 1943 there was ample time for Spain, benefiting like Portugal from its formal neutrality, to repair at least in part the ravages which the war had wrought. But the critical food situation could hardly have been alleviated by the methods which were applied to it. Every American who has passed through Spain since the fall of France has described the appalling spectacle of a restaurant menu offering a magnificent dinner for 150 pesetas ($14) while in the streets children fought over a crust of bread thrown to a dog. While olive oil, one of Spain's basic sources of nutrition, filled the cellars of one province, a hundred miles away people could not obtain an ounce. Inefficiency beyond description, immorality, *estraperlo* (the classic Spanish word for racketeering) have turned against Franco a great section of the middle class, which supported him during the war.

The same lack of capacity has been evident in the conduct of foreign affairs. Franco's servitude to the Axis has prevented him from exercising the initiative and aggressiveness usual in a young totalitarian state. Glorious dreams of empire cannot be brought to fruition by a little puppet regime. Except for the sudden seizure of Tangier—the British could have ejected Franco long ago if they had wanted to—not one of the "imperial" claims of the Blue Empire has ever been implemented. Even the great crusade for Gibraltar dwindled to a noisy Phalangist demonstration in Madrid on the day that Franco's great admirer, Sir Samuel Hoare, presented his credentials to the Spanish government.

In South America Franco's foreign policy has proved all but catastrophic. By siding first with Castillo, then with Ramirez, he has earned the unanimous dislike of the South American people, beginning with the populace of Argentina. Franco's foreign policy has finally been reduced to such acts as the infamous message of congratulation sent to the Philippine Quisling Laurel and the humiliating, confused, stupid note of explanation, describing this message to an enemy of the United Nations as "an act of courtesy."

While Franco rapidly loses ground inside Spain and sees the impending defeat of his only strong ally in Europe, Nazi Germany, a new injection of hope comes from an unexpected source. The most insolent "neutral" in Europe sees himself permitted to behave toward the victorious coalition in a manner which would not be tolerated from anyone else.

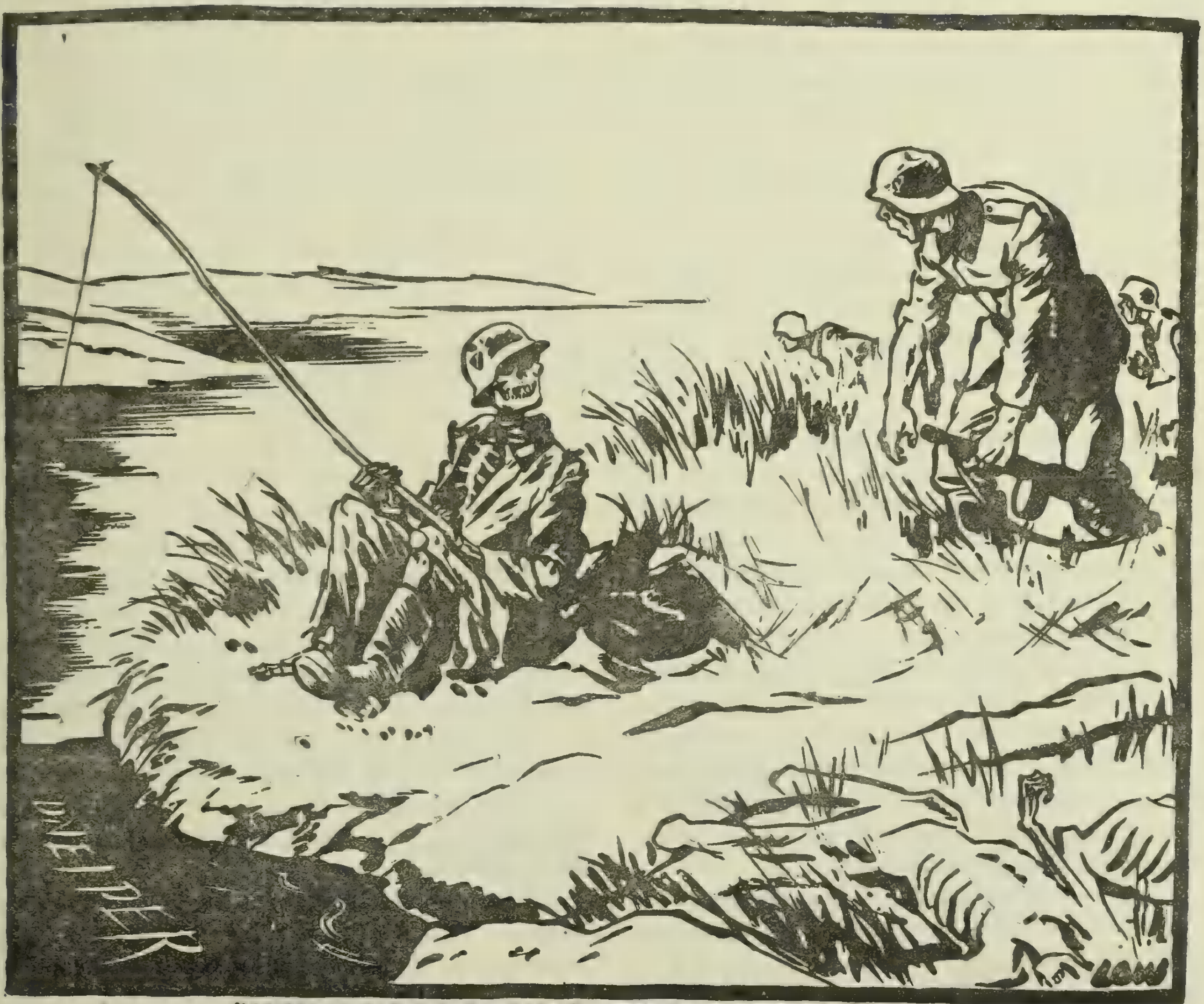
We shall not record here the list of Franco's insults and hostile acts. It could never be complete. Even while this article goes to press a new impertinence may be reported from Madrid. A day or two before the publication of the ludicrous note about the message to Laurel, the United Press described a letter which Franco had sent his men in the Blue Division "advising" them to join the German army. Naturally the Spanish embassy in Washington denied the story. It has become accepted practice in Spain for the government, the radio, and the press to act and speak against the Allies, while at the same time the ambassador in Washington issues denials even of information which has passed the official censorship in Madrid—a most unworthy game for the great powers that tolerate it.

Since the situation in the Mediterranean no longer offer an ostensible excuse for the toleration of Franco by the United Nations, he must have the conviction that he has been chosen as the instrument of a subtle Allied political scheme. He may be correct in that assumption. At the moment his doom was certain, at the very moment of reckoning, Franco was favored by a maneuver of diversion contrived chiefly in London. Between the hard-pressed dictator and his enemy, the Spanish people, the heirs to the Non-Intervention Committee interposed the silhouette of Don Juan.

It is true that Franco has shown a growing disinclination to see the monarchy restored. His reactions to the plan have been contradictory and confused. They correspond to the increasing weakness of his position. Just as he congratulates Laurel one day and another day pretends to apologize to the State Department, so he opposes the monarchy on Monday and on Friday sees as the best possible way out of his difficulties the restoration of Don Juan, with himself as a new Primo de Rivera.

On the whole he has benefited by these monarchist intrigues. He must see in them a stubborn determination to prevent the full victory of the Spanish people. He can easily deduce that there are men in London and Washington who dislike the thought that such "premature" anti-fascists as the Spanish Republicans may govern Spain during the political reshaping of Europe.

The idea of restoration is pure insanity. Except for a small group of the old nobility, the big landowners, who hated the agrarian reforms of the Republic, and the Catholic hierarchy, the monarchy has no popular support.



"HULLO, BACK AGAIN? HAVE A GOOD TIME?"

Two years ago it might have been different. When the road to an Allied victory was still long, the hunger great, and the repression equal to Himmler's, there may have been people in Spain who would have welcomed a regime which would have granted an amnesty and distributed a little bread. Today, with victory certain, people everywhere are turning against the concept of monarchy—in Italy, in Yugoslavia, in Greece. To imagine that there is any possibility of reestablishing the Bourbon throne in Spain is, at best, naive. Naive, but most dangerous. In opening the Third Congress of the Free World Association, I declared that any move to establish the monarchy in Spain would lead to civil war. I repeat that warning here.

Division among Republicans, especially those in exile, is often used as a pretext for this reactionary maneuver. To impute such importance to those differences is to be ignorant of the political tradition of Spain. Division among Republicans has always existed. It was abundant in 1931, but it did not prevent the Republicans from ousting the King and bringing the Republic into being. Division was still greater in July, 1936, on the eve of the Franco revolt, but it did not prevent the Republicans from putting up a magnificent fight against fascism. Divisions which may exist now did not prevent Spanish Republican leaders, of all parties, from denying with one voice the other day the absurd assertion—made in *Español,* a Phalangist paper in Madrid—that some of them were plotting to bring back the King.

This time there is no way to divert the popular will. Allied diplomacy, after having missed so many opportunities to learn by experience, might at least learn now from the recent example of Giraud. It must accept the fact that there is only one solution for Spain—the reestablishment of the Spanish Republican constitutional legality.

I think that Americans who sympathize with the cause of the Spanish people should be told specifically what we mean by reestablishing Spain's constitutional legality. Acceptance of this thesis implies, first, recognition that the constitution of December 8, 1931, remains in force, and, second, acknowledgment of and respect for the legitimacy of the three political institutions on which the constitutional structure of the Republic is based. These three institutions are the Presidency, the Cortes (Parliament), and the Government. Recognition of the fact that these constitutional entities are legitimate and that they must remain in force would firmly establish what might be termed "democratic legitimism" as the keystone of Republican policy in exile.

Since the end of the Spanish War a controversy has been carried on between those persons who base their political attitude on a belief in the continued validity of the Cortes and those who maintain that the only legal institution still remaining in force is the Government which at the last meeting of the Cortes, held at Figueras just before the overthrow of the Republic, received a unanimous vote of confidence. The second point of view has recently been elaborated in a study made by one of Spain's leading jurists, Señor Pablo de Azcárate, who for many years was joint secretary general of the League of Nations and after the outbreak of the Spanish War served as the Republican ambassador in London.

In regard to the Presidency, it will be recalled that the exiled Republic has been unhappily deprived of its President, who personified the nation as a whole. Don Manuel Azaña, who was elected President in May, 1936, relinquished his high office in Paris in February, 1939. The president of the Cortes, Señor Martínez Barrio, who was obliged under the constitution to deputize as President until a new presidential election could be held, declined to take over the responsibilities of the post left vacant by Señor Azaña's resignation.

So much for the Presidency. In regard to the Cortes, in order to decide whether it is still to be considered valid, one must refer to Article 53 of the constitution. That article establishes four years as the duration of the parliamentary mandate; thus the term of the deputies elected in February, 1936, expired automatically in February, 1940. But that by itself would not resolve the question, since Article 59 of the constitution could be quoted in support of the opposite view. By virtue of this article, the dissolved Cortes shall meet again, automatically regaining its authority as a legitimate power of state, unless elections for a fresh Cortes have been held within the constitutional period—which was not the case as regards the Parliament elected in February, 1936. And if it is granted that the Republican constitutional regime was not legally abolished, but only suspended by an act of military rebellion, it is possible to argue that all parliamentary mandates must be considered in suspension from the moment that the Republican institutions ceased to function on national territory.

Now about the Government: in determining its legitimacy it is essential to take into account the terms of Article 75 of the constitution, which provides that "the President of the Republic shall appoint and be free to dismiss the Prime Minister and, on proposal of the latter, other ministers." The basic principle of parliamentary rule, which assumes that the Government must also enjoy the confidence of the Parliament, is incorporated in the same article. The last paragraph stipulates that the President of the Republic must necessarily dismiss the ministers "in the event of the Cortes explicitly withdrawing their confidence."

In the light of these provisions and with the Presidency of the Republic vacant, the Government, although it has no one to whom it can formally present its resignation, would consider its powers legitimately revoked as soon as it had received from the Cortes a vote of censure adopted in accordance with the terms of Article 64 of the constitution. Conversely, it must be recognized that so long as this vote of censure is not adopted, the government which was in power when in March, 1939, Republican institutions ceased to function on national territory has not only the right to be recognized by all Spaniards as the one legitimate and constitutional government of Spain but also the strict and imperious obligation of claiming and defending such a right at all times and in all circumstances. Article 64, which concerned itself with votes of censure against the government, stipulates first that these shall be proposed in writing and signed by fifty deputies, that they shall be communicated to all deputies, and that they shall not be discussed or voted on until at least five days after their presentation. It adds the following significant sentence: "Neither the government nor the ministers shall feel forced to resign unless a vote of censure is approved by an absolute majority of deputies of the chamber." The dispersion of the membership of the Cortes in many lands obviously renders impossible any action by that body in conformity with this provision of the constitution.

The great logical and political force of the thesis of the restoration of constitutional legality lies in the democratic purity of its origin. The attitude of Spanish Republicans will be all the stronger as regards both themselves and others if they attempt no more than the reestablishment, without distinctions, additions, or suppressions, of the constitutional organisms which were functioning in Spain when the Republic ceased to exist on Spanish soil. If unfortunate circumstances have made it materially impossible to reestablish some of these, there is no excuse for not restoring the rest. To make changes, to lay down exceptions, to recognize this and refuse to recognize the other, would endanger the cause of liberty and the independence of Spain.

Spanish Republicans must learn to restrain their impatience, not only the impatience caused by partisan passions, but that inspired by high and noble motives. The time will come when they can revise everything that needs revision; but this will not be until the Spanish people have recovered their liberty and are once again in possession of those means of expressing their will with which they were endowed by the Republican constitution. For it is this will and no other which must determine political institutions and the future destiny of the Spanish nation.

It is therefore not necessary to improvise solutions for Spain. The Spanish Republican government is a reality. It is a government with a much more solid constitutional basis than some other governments which have been recognized by the United Nations. The government's task is precise: to see the Spanish Republic reestablished, to return to Spain and render the Spanish people an accounting of the last phase of the war and of its own activities in exile, and to call for elections. These elections will give the people the right to choose a President of the Republic and to elect a Cortes and the future government of Spain.

Charleston Contra Mundum

BY ENID EWING

DOWN in the Carolina lowlands, unknown to the rest of the nation save a few army and navy officers and a handful of housing administrators in Washington, a war is being waged on home soil. Like its worldwide contemporary, this bitter little war is one of attrition and of nerves, and it is being fought to preserve a way of life. The battleground is historic Charleston. The combatants are some 35,000 land-proud, tradition-bound Charlestonians and an invading host of migrant laborers, service men, and their families.

The invaders, 100,000 strong and still coming, have been pouring in for the past two and a half years, the majority of them lured by the well-paid jobs to be obtained in the Charleston Navy Yard and the Charleston Shipbuilding and Drydock Company. War-time pay rolls in the shipyards approximating $100,000,000 a year have increased department-store sales 56 per cent, so that Charleston stores recently led the nation in percentage increase in trade. The transportation of war workers has become a nightmare; the 6,000,000 paying passengers carried on Charleston buses in 1940 have become more than 25,000,000 this year.

Are the Charlestonians merrily riding this tide of expansion? They are not! Fighting the weight of numbers, they have managed so far to harry their foe with a passive resistance that would delight the All-India Congress. Their weapons are exorbitant rents charged for bad and inadequate housing, hotel-dining-room prices for hash-house meals, and complete lack of recreational facilities, except for a few theaters with fuzzy acoustics.

Hoisting Yankee dollars on an ancient pulley line to his cashier, a Charleston dry-goods merchant, front-row Kiwanian, and member of the oldest chamber of commerce in the nation warned me, "Don't imagine these new people will stay here. It would be foolish for merchants to expand to meet this temporary need, even if they could. Why turn the town upside down for a lot of migrants who will go back to Arkansas and Texas when they can't make the wages they're making now? What's more, money's in the wrong hands today. These people don't know how to spend it, and we'll probably have to fill their gas tanks when it's all over to get them out of town. [More than 90 per cent of the workmen at the Charleston Navy Yard are investing more than 10 per cent of their pay in war bonds.] Hell, these laborers don't even pay local taxes."

Another merchant growled that his business had grown so that he had been obliged to instal a cash register and none of his employees knew how to use it!

Newcomers chuckle over a hoary quip likening Charlestonians to the Chinese: they live on rice and worship their ancestors. There is another point of resemblance: Charlestonians have repeatedly thwarted their would-be conquerors. Since their arrival from Barbados in 1670 they have battled the Indians, the French, the Spanish, and the Yankees to preserve the attitudes of a landed aristocracy. They have, to their way of thinking, survived two Yankee invasions—Sherman's soldiers and the millionaires of the twenties in search of picturesque estates. They are now combating a third.

"You won't like Charleston," the bus driver said to me. "Even Southerners don't like it."

"Why not?"

"Because Charlestonians don't take kindly to foreigners."

"Foreigner? I'm from New York!"

"Sure, but you're a foreigner to Charlestonians." He chuckled softly. "They say if the South had been successful in seceding from the Union, South Carolina would have seceded from the South, Charleston would have seceded from South Carolina, and South of Broad would have seceded from Charleston."

"South of Broad?"

"Yep. You'll hear a lot about that in Charleston. Most of the people that live south of Broad Street, along the Cooper River, are descendants of the old plantation owners who raised rice and cotton in the back country until they lost slave labor. They still own Charleston. Matter of fact, they *are* Charleston."

With this warning I arrived at the last outpost of feudalism in America—part of the third Yankee invasion. As a war wife I joined an army of women searching for almost non-existent one-room-kitchen-and-bath apartments. The one sizable apartment house in town has a "no vacancy" sign set in concrete, and the only other possible quarters are rooms in private dwellings. A number of enterprising Charlestonians accept "guests" in the name of patriotism, but their rents, as one victim complained, are "damned unpatriotic." Many families of two or three persons continue to occupy the whole of ten- and twelve-room houses.

A friend in New York turned the trick that enabled my husband and me to enjoy the debatable distinction of living "south of Broad." This section is within the walls of the original city. The stones have long since crumbled, but the walls of thought built up through many generations are still impenetrable. Charlestonians ask only to be left alone. Any attempt to exchange ideas meets an eloquent silence. You are a welcome guest at the dinner table of a Charlestonian just so long as you partake heartily both of his food and of his thinking.

The essence of Charleston is found in its three "charitable" organizations—the South Carolina Society, the St. Andrew's Society, and the St. Cecilia Society. Membership is hereditary and male. The St. Cecilia, the first social club in North America, is the most exclusive, divorced men and actors being barred. Twice a year its members, their wives, and their unmarried daughters attend the St. Cecilia Ball. Rich Northerners may have bought the beautiful wrought-iron gates and balconies of venerable Charleston homes, but they have never been able to buy an invitation to the St. Cecilia Ball. The press is not admitted. An intrepid girl reporter who once managed to crash the gate described it as a drunken brawl.

When Rear Admiral William Glassford, since detached, became commandant of the Sixth Naval District and of the Charleston Navy Yard, Charlestonians had someone to reckon with. For the salt-water admiral took one look at the housing predicament and general discontent and began to do something about it. He discovered that the men on whom the navy depends for a fair proportion of its destroyers and sea-going tugs were living, except for a few in government-financed housing projects, in trailers and abandoned PWA huts or in dismal rooming-houses, many sleeping by shifts in "hot" beds shared with fellow-workers. Hundreds were living—and still are—in inland towns from fifty to seventy-five miles from the Navy Yard, commuting in privately owned buses. Navy Yard officials estimated that the Charleston housing shortage was costing the nation one destroyer a month, and until recently both army and navy men believed that the war effort in this section could be stepped up 100 per cent with sufficient housing, more cooperation from Charlestonians, and better recreational facilities.

Cooperation? This past summer, with an estimated 2,000 new residents arriving monthly, many a Charlestonian pulled the shades of his three-story house, covered the furniture, and hied himself to cooler climes.

The first inkling of the Charlestonians that peacetime rights were one thing, war-time needs another, came when the United States Housing Administration opened a rent-control office in Charleston and clapped ceilings on rents. The housing authorities could not abolish the practice of charging from $50 to $90 a month for single rooms, but they could keep landlords from boosting the rent with each new tenant. That they meant to get even tougher became apparent when they had a house-to-house survey made to determine existing housing facilities. This so-called infringement of personal rights brought screams of protest. John B. Blandford, national housing administrator, did nothing to cushion the blow when he said the government would offer to lease homes and buildings for use by civilian war workers, but if this did not "yield a sufficient amount of necessary housing in time," the NHA would "be forced to recommend the compulsory use of available private facilities through billeting, commandeering, requisitioning, and similar devices."

To date it has not been necessary to commandeer or requisition private facilities. Sweating housing authorities, for the army, the navy, and the Housing Administration, have obtained incredible results in the past year, after disentangling themselves from the red tape that thwarted earlier efforts. More than 4,000 federal-financed housing units have been completed for civilian workers, and 1,950 more are being built for workers yet to come. But army and navy personnel, not billeted, is still at the mercy of Charlestonians.

All this does not impress Charleston. Despite the changes forced upon the city, despite federal spending, despite the admonitions of fuming Washington "bureaucrats" to fall in line, Charleston still flaunts the recalcitrant, imperturbable air it has worn since it was founded. It intends—come fire, flood, or conquest—to preserve the way of life that has always obtained "south of Broad" and to remain Charleston *contra mundum.*

Britain Between the Acts

IV. THE MOOD OF THE LEFT

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AS I have suggested in earlier articles of this series, the British worker is today a man of inner conflicts. He is loyal, determined, hard-working, tired, anxious about his future, uneasy about the peace, cynical, and devoted. If you think that is too many things to be at once, look into your own heart. His state mirrors in sharper outline the state of the country as a whole, and there would be no point in singling out the worker for special attention if I did not believe that the future of Britain lies in his hands.

I believe that. And I consider the slow but evident stirring of doubt in the minds of the common people in Britain a sign of health. The time has passed for the surrender of mind and body, the tension, the closing of ranks that carried the country through the terrible year after Dunkirk. The time for dispersion, for sharp political cleavage and militant opposition has not yet come. Today—with the shape of the peace emerging while the war is still being fought, with the problems of the future forcing their way across the needs of the present—today is a time when normal men and women inwardly begin their own post-war planning, their process of reconversion. Consciously and unconsciously they are preparing to meet the demands of a world at peace that will be far less simple and certain and organized—even less satisfying in many ways—than the world of war.

Today they are looking for some assurance that what lies the other side of the struggle will be profoundly different from what led into it. They are looking for a faith. They are looking for leaders. All they see now is uncertainty. The medley of reports and programs so far ground out by individuals and private or public agencies is no source of satisfaction. You do not endure weariness and great effort, you do not fight and watch your comrades die, in order to achieve a program. The peace-time substitute for blood and sweat and tears must be comparably moving. It must fulfil the hopes men fear to put into words.

Englishmen are notoriously bad at putting high hopes into words. All they will tell you is that they want jobs after the war; that they want security in case jobs fail, and no more dole. They want the people who run the country to see to those things, whatever it may mean. But under this prosaic, rather inglorious demand is a realization, dim in some minds but clear and exact in others, that it will take a new organization of society to provide men with those basic necessities which they have come to regard as rights. Jobs and security, and the other aspects of civilized living that are within reach when those have been won, are understood by most Britons to call for a revolutionary change from all that existed in the inter-war. The Britain of Chamberlain and Baldwin

—and of Ramsay MacDonald, too—failed to provide the vision necessary to satisfy even the most primitive needs of an advanced and industrious people. Those men and their backers failed as the ruling groups in America and on the Continent also failed. Where the social structure was less stable than in Britain, that failure brought fascism; to the whole world it brought war.

Will the dismal process be repeated again? Will there be new Chamberlains and Baldwins, concerned with the preservation of the old England and the old Empire—which means a system already bankrupt and class privileges no longer supported by vigor and stability? Will there be new MacDonalds, warily avoiding the responsibility of power? Will there be a new collapse of courage and the capacity to plan and execute, so that Britain will again stumble from boom to slump, forewarned but helpless?

Those questions lie behind the uneasy, skeptical, wary mood of the ordinary men and women of Britain. Mr. Churchill is right to warn the people against premature optimism and a relaxation of effort, to remind them that months of bloody fighting lie ahead. But when he demands the same sense of "urgency and crisis," the same unity, that controlled the minds of men during the time when the nation's existence hung in precarious balance, he asks the impossible. The people will work and fight. But they will still ask questions. And this Mr. Churchill knows, too, for in the very speech from which those words were taken he asserted that it was "a definite part of the duty and responsibility of this National Government" to "set about a vast and practical scheme to make sure that in the years immediately following the war there will be food, work, and homes for all."

That is a good promise, but I believe it will be received with reserve by a large part of the British people. Very few with whom I talked expect vast and practical post-war schemes from the present coalition government.

Who can provide them? What men, what parties? What political alignment will emerge from the war to convert the old economy to new conditions and new demands? As I have said before, many intelligent persons expect little change either in control or program. They believe the present ruling groups will again exhibit that zero-hour flexibility which has saved so many critical situations in Britain's history. The big-business forces have already recognized, far more clearly than the same elements in this country have done, the need for government control. They are ready to accept the state as a partner in order to save themselves from liquidation. The end of laissez faire is proclaimed by most of its old devotees—even among the strongest private interests. The new setup will be the existing one, with many of the controls established during the war perpetuated in the peace to make possible a planned, or partly planned, economy. Official labor will be encouraged to share, as it now shares, the responsibility for running the show. Business will make profits; the workers will keep their jobs; reforms will be put through—more social security, more housing, better schools—and the power relationships will remain essentially unchanged. The persons who elaborate this picture of post-war Britain believe it will work, at least for a time. They see it as a successful, polite form of semi-fascism, which will prove acceptable to the key people in each group. They have absolutely no faith in the will of the workers to demand more, or in the intention of their leaders to cut loose and organize a fight for power.

I give this view only to disagree with it. I believe the attempt to create such a system will be made; that the first post-war election may result in a new coalition to meet the immediate problems of demobilization and reconstruction and industrial conversion. But I do not believe the Labor Party or the trade-union movement will accept permanently the role of junior partner in a national government. I talked with a lot of labor men in and out of office; with Morrison and Bevin and Cripps, with Laski and Aneurin Bevan and George R. Strauss, with leaders in various constituencies. I discussed plans and programs with people outside the party leadership such as Wintringham and Mackay of Common Wealth, Warbey of the Socialist Clarity Group, and many others. I spent an hour with Harry Pollitt, leader of the Communist Party.

Among them, as you can see, are bitter critics of the Labor Party. Some oppose the truce, believing Labor should have remained in opposition during the war, free either to back or to fight government measures. Some believe that the predominantly trade-union control of the party is a fatal obstacle in the way of its winning majority support in the country. Some think the leadership in the party and the trade unions has become too inflexible and bureaucratic, too jealous of its present small area of control, to undertake the hazards of a genuine fight for power and social change. All of them agree that Labor's voluntary surrender of independent action during the war had brought about a dangerous, if temporary, loss of contact between rank and file and leaders. But only one or two of the men actively engaged in political action on the left consider the situation beyond repair. Labor may go into the first post-war election without adequate time for rebuilding its machinery and putting forward a platform. That handicap, the majority believe, is a temporary one. By the second election Labor will be prepared to fight.

My own view is more hopeful than this narrow concensus of left opinion. I could see everywhere the ill effects of the political truce. The whole left movement has suffered greatly in the interests of unity. The sacrifice was necessary, but it should not be minimized. It accounts for much of the suspicion and worry that afflict the rank and file. I recognize, too, the need for modification in the structure and control of the Labor Party to give it a broader popular appeal; and I think such modification will be hard to bring about. Nor have I any faith that minor groups can challenge successfully the dominance of the party; the chief value of the Common Wealth, for example, is its effect as an irritant. And, at least in the near future, even the Communists will serve chiefly as a goad.

The hope of change in British political life lies in the Labor Party. And the hope of a more militant, effective Labor Party lies in the revolutionary situation that lurks beyond the horizon of the war.

I am certain that many Labor men who today loyally accept and apologize for the decisions of the National Government are prepared to lead their party in a bid for power tomorrow. No one who has met Herbert Morrison and heard or even read his speeches can doubt that he intends to be Prime Minister in a Labor government. He will not consent to serve in a long-drawn-out coalition. Nor will Bevin. Nor will the best of the other Labor functionaries. They want more than office; they want power. And unlike Ramsay MacDonald they are not afraid of the implications of power.

Whether they realize how profound must be the changes a Labor government would be called upon to put into effect, I don't know. Most of them are "practical" men, inclined to act on a rather narrow pragmatic basis. But ahead lies a challenge that will be hard to ignore. Both men and political machines will adapt themselves to the demands of the post-war world or be replaced by others.

If this sounds vague and threatening, I will try to be more exact, though no one but Vernon Bartlett would dare pin the future down to a succession of concrete events! Those people who like to look upon revolution as an unhappy by-product of war have reversed the facts. This vast catastrophe of war is, instead, an incident of a much greater revolution. The growth of fascist power which preceded it was another incident of the same revolution. The next phase can develop on a wide scale only when fascist power has been exterminated; though it is already beginning to appear here and there on every continent. The next phase is the rebuilding of the social and economic structure. That this can be accomplished through the agency of those groups that held power before the war, and still hold the balance of power, I do not believe. The job of rebuilding calls for a genuine shift of power. One might wish that stronger men and a more militant party stood ready to take command in Britain. But the British left at least has the machinery of power in its hands. It has achieved a high degree of political maturity. It has some good leaders with experience in the mechanics of government. Both men and organizations are so far ahead of anything this country has yet produced that an American observer is inclined to optimism. British Socialists and independent progressives can control the political destiny of their country as soon as they decide to do so. And events are conspiring to sweep away the hesitations and compromises which proved disastrous in the years before 1939.

In the Wind

A COLUMN BY JOSEPH KAUFMAN, the Weekly Round Table, appeared until recently every Sunday in the Lynn, Massachusetts, *Telegram-News*. It consisted of imaginary conversations on politics by characters with such names as Mr. New Dealer, Mr. Conservative, Mr. Liberal, and Mr. Isolationist. The local Knights of Columbus didn't like the column. They said it contained statements too favorable to Russia. They sent a delegation to see the editor of the paper. The column no longer appears.

DR. THOMAS B. MOORE, prior of St. Augustine's Benedictine Monastery in Washington and a practicing psychiatrist, was the government's final witness in the Post Office obscenity hearings on *Esquire*. According to the Washington *Star*, Father Moore testified that he had never heard of the following contributors to the magazine: Sholem Asch, John Dos Passos, Theodore Dreiser, Ernest Hemingway, D. H. Lawrence, Maurice Maeterlinck, André Maurois, Thomas Wolfe, and John Steinbeck. He said he had heard of Thomas Mann but didn't know who he was.

ROY ACUFF, hillbilly fiddler star of the radio program known as Grand Ole Opry, has entered the race for nomination as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Tennessee.

FROM THE ANNOUNCEMENT of a Southern Medical Society meeting in Cincinnati: "White physicians who are members of their county and state medical societies will receive a most cordial welcome at Cincinnati. Calling All Doctors!"

BEN GREER, who reads comic strips aloud on Station KSAL, Salina, Kansas, has added something new. Sunday morning listeners can now hear some of the strips dramatized by high-school students.

FESTUNG EUROPA: Dutch children are now forbidden to fly kites. Parents whose children violate the new law are subject to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 300 guilders (about $160).

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Japan's Gloomy Home Front

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

DURING the last few months unmistakable signs of internal strain have appeared repeatedly in Japanese home and empire broadcasts. This is not to say that the morale of the Japanese people is about to crack or that the Japanese economy is collapsing. Our victories so far have been minor; our forces are still too many thousands of miles away from Japan proper to offer any real hope of a military victory before a year or two years of hard fighting. And the heavy industries of Japan's inner fortress are still virtually untouched by the war. Nevertheless, Japan's leaders evidently realize that their chances of ultimate victory over the United Nations are rapidly fading away. And their utterances, together with the defensive military strategy they are pursuing, must have produced the beginnings of disillusionment among the people.

The first important sign of internal dissension occurred last June, just after the fall of Attu. At that time, according to Federal Communications Commission analyses made available by the Office of War Information, Bin Akao of the Japanese Diet was dismissed from the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society, which runs the Diet, for making a speech critical of the regime. Three Diet members followed him out. One of them was Seigo Nakano, head of the fascist Tohokai and a strong exponent of Japanese imperialism in Southeast Asia, who committed hara-kiri on October 27.

At about the same time the head of the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan, Hiroshi Shimomura, made this startling comment: "Not only in our nation but throughout the world, I think, many are complaining now that the war is too greatly prolonged and that our living conditions are exposed to menace, inconvenience, difficulties; they say that we have had enough of war and that the war should be stopped."

In September, when Premier Tojo announced his latest program for "total war mobilization," *Mainishi*, one of Japan's leading newspapers, said openly, despite the rigid press censorship, that the people of Japan were tired of hearing about national danger, and that their enthusiasm for "continuously repeated speeches by leading men has become dulled." Public opinion, it said, "frankly criticizes the government because the crisis was predicted long ago and yet no action was taken."

Since the Diet met in October to give its rubber-stamp approval to the government's fourteen key bills, Tojo has not only continued as Premier and Minister of War but has also been Minister of Munitions. His new post gives him theoretically the power of life and death over all Japanese industry—a power the military has always coveted but had not before acquired, even under the National Mobilization Law of 1938.

All previous legal restraints are canceled by the new munitions law. The government may take over war plants, change their articles of incorporation, order them to cooperate or merge with other companies, dissolve them, and seize their funds. Each company must select one man who will be responsible to the government for war production, or the government may name this man if it chooses. This key figure may conscript workers, and his word is law. Any member of his staff who fails to follow his orders is subject to penal measures. The one apparent weakness in the law is that some of the control associations which gave private business a powerful voice in setting up industry-wide monopolies will continue in existence.

Other measures approved by the Diet provide for the decentralization of war industry as a precaution against bombing raids, for the drafting of students and even Diet members, and for the scrapping of old-age retirement provisions as a means of obtaining man-power.

At the same time industry is told to "lift the morale of industrial workers." To this end arrangements very much like the War Production Board's labor-management committees are being encouraged. On October 25 a domestic commentator referred to "a strained condition in meeting the demands of the state," and to grumbling in the factories over bottlenecks in supplies and transportation. He praised a worker who had made a valuable suggestion for cutting the amount of wire needed in a given operation and advocated that all male employees form voluntary groups to work for industrial efficiency. (This must be very disconcerting to the Japanese worker, who has been trained all his life to be unimaginative and obedient, rather than original in his ideas.) The same speaker exhorted Japanese girls—presumably those of the middle and upper classes, since most of the others are already working—to go into the war plants. "The girls of enemy America make up a third of the employees of the Douglas Aircraft Company," he said. "When you hear that the hateful Flying Fortresses are made by these girls, can you women of Japan remain idle?"

Japan's war production depends mainly on its shipping and aircraft industries, and there is plenty of evidence that they are doing poorly. Last month a domestic broadcast reported that war production had been slowed by absenteeism caused by the bad weather in the first part of the year but that it had since recovered. Most industries, it said, had exceeded their quotas, but the production of steel, iron ore, and chrome was behind schedule. To step up iron production, old veins are to be reopened in Japan proper, and small furnaces are to be set up on the spot to save transportation. Production of industrial machinery also fell short of the figure set—this may seriously affect the aircraft industry—and decentralization was advocated as a remedy.

In recent months Japan's leaders have frequently made guarded references to the possibility of defeat. "We shall be defeated if we are content only with our present extraordinary effort," Tojo told his Cabinet in September. "The gravity of the present situation does not permit even a moment's delay in coping with the greatest of crises." At the opening of the recent Diet session the Emperor himself said in his customary message that the war situation was "truly grave," and Tojo added that "the enemy is overcoming many difficulties and dangers and the war is growing in intensity." A domestic commentator has admitted that time can be Japan's enemy: "Unless the decisive war-time internal structure is renovated and strengthened, we shall not be able to nip the enemy's efforts in the bud." This reversal of the former propaganda line, which was based on the assumption of invincibility, may be intended, like Dr. Goebbels's similar about-face, to awaken the people to the desperate struggle; but it must also suggest to them that the war is going against the "Yamato race," and that worse things are to come.

The concept of an "inner zone" of defense was openly discussed for the first time at the recent Diet session. The importance of measures for "self-sufficiency" in Japan, Manchuria, and Korea was stressed, and it was stated that "all and any enemy advances in this area must be kept out." The Japanese have been told that they must not expect any help in the way of food or consumers' goods from the "southern regions," because all shipping must be used for transporting war goods. All staple foods except salt and sweet potatoes are rationed; sweet potatoes are being substituted for rice wherever possible.

The Emperor is being exploited more than ever before as a symbol to rally the people. He receives a constant stream of Japanese and puppet officials, sends congratulatory cables to Axis politicians, and issues rescripts more and more frequently. He grants money to bereaved families and honors to war heroes alive and dead. He performs ceremonial acts at Yasakuni, where the ashes of war heroes are enshrined, and his whole family worships there. Here is evidence of the bankruptcy of Japanese propaganda, for as the Emperor steps out of the clouds and becomes a mundane figure, he loses some of his effectiveness as a symbol of divinity.

Several of Japan's leading propaganda spokesmen have been removed recently because of their blunders. Lieutenant Colonel Iwasaki, information chief of the Japanese forces in China, lost his job in June. He had been sending home such glowing reports that the Japanese people believed the capture of Chungking was imminent. Captain Hideo Hiraide, a naval spokesman who has repeatedly "annihilated" the American navy, was fired a month later. In October Major General Yahangi, chief of the army press section, who had been predicting a "sweeping offensive operation" by Japan, was given another job.

These trends have implications for American political warfare that can hardly be overestimated. Our propaganda could not expect to be effective while the enemy was winning military victories, but with Japan on the defensive the United Nations should be able to carry on vigorous propaganda warfare. It is necessary, however, to reach the people of Japan by radio, and this can be done only when we have established powerful medium-wave transmitters in China or the outer Aleutians. Only a handful of government monitors in Japan and a few Japanese-army radios outside Japan are now able to hear our short-wave broadcasts. Not until we can broadcast to the four million Japanese who presumably still have medium-wave receivers—or until we can drop rice-paper leaflets on Japan's cities—shall we be able to lay the psychological groundwork for acceptance of defeat.

When that time comes we must recast our propaganda in three ways. First, the Emperor, now the symbol of militant nationalism, must no longer be spared political attack. We need not try to dethrone him; we should merely produce evidence that he is no deity by stressing the fact that he is a weak puppet of the war lords. We must leave it to the Japanese themselves to cast him out. This they will doubtless do if defeat is accompanied by social revolution, which seems likely. If we tried to do the job ourselves, we should be giving a dangerous hostage to fate by providing the jingoistic factions with a symbol of martyrdom to build on after the war.

Second, we must offer something positive to the Japanese. If they see nothing except annihilation ahead, they will fight to the end. But if we can reach them with the promise of a harsh but just peace, guaranteeing the national integrity of Japan proper once it has divested itself of totalitarianism, the prospect of defeat will be less terrible.

Finally, the United States, in concert with China and the other United Nations, must hold out to the peoples of the Far East the hope of membership in a world society of nations. Not until we do this can we wage effective political war upon Japan.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

WHEN an editorial in a leading Berlin newspaper is headed "Is the Enemy Already in Germany?" one gets quite a shock. That title did in fact appear over an editorial in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of November 1. And in the next few days similar articles appeared in a number of papers in other cities. The enemy referred to was the twelve million foreign workers in the Reich. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* raised this question:

> Do the millions of foreign workers represent the famous Trojan horse? That antique monster must have taken on huge proportions if this supposition is correct. As the front line has demanded more and more men, an increasing number of foreign workers have replaced them. This development, in the worst of all wars, has created a problem which is as disturbing to the stability of the Reich as is the fighting on the battlefield.

A Rhineland newspaper expressed it more crudely. The German public, it said, was "obsessed by the nightmare of a so-called fifth column made up of foreign workers who would one day get out of hand."

Of course this anxiety about the role the foreign workers may play in the future must be allayed. The newspaper articles were written for that purpose. Phenomena which the people have seen with their own eyes cannot be passed over. So we hear something of "worries and problems which cannot be eliminated." The Berlin paper went on to say:

> Since it is no longer a matter of small, selected contingents of foreigners, the authorities cannot examine or test the political reliability of the different groups of workers. It is natural that along with many friendly workers there should also be many who are indifferent, and some who are hostile, to Germany. We must also reckon with those individuals who seize the opportunity offered by their work in Germany to commit sabotage or otherwise help the enemy.

The article continued that it would be "unreasonable" to expect "enthusiasm" from the foreigners, who share all the restrictions, needs, sorrows, and dangers of German workers. Housing conditions have seriously deteriorated as a result of the bombings. "Social standards" have been lowered. Besides, said the newspaper discreetly, the foreigners, "as well as German workers, see what is lacking" in the factories. Nevertheless, it assured its readers, there is no reason to view the foreign workers as a real, dangerous Trojan horse. Though "dissatisfaction undoubtedly exists" among them, there are "as yet" no signs that they "are developing into that mighty political or even military vanguard hoped for in London and Washington."

Now that the Moscow communiqués have directed attention to Austria, an article that appeared in a Budapest newspaper on October 10 may be of interest. Its appearance was in a way sensational since Hungary is an ally of Germany. Though newspapers there are under the same censorship as German papers, the *Pester Lloyd's* article, entitled "Vienna—Autumn, 1943," described, in scarcely veiled language—and with scarcely veiled partisanship—the pronounced enmity between the Viennese and the invaders from the north.

> The Viennese give the évacués from the north the collective name of *Bombinger,* and it cannot be said that the word expresses love or pity. Some évacués complain, unjustifiably, that the Viennese are unobliging or even unfriendly. But here as elsewhere the old adage is applicable: "As you shout into the woods, so the echo returns." Indeed, it is undeniable that the extremely *stramm* (aggressive) and even contemptuous behavior of the northerners often touches the Viennese in a sore spot. The interloper's conduct is apt to be especially offensive when he comes from a district with newer traditions. . . .
>
> The power of the Reich is relentlessly determined to take energetic measures in Vienna and to nip in the bud every individualistic move. This is sufficiently proved by the red posters announcing executions, now appearing in increasing numbers. The posters usually carry several names, some of which are often those of women.

It hardly needs to be said that the expressions "extremely aggressive" and "coming from districts with newer traditions" describe the Prussians. Furthermore it is certain that the censor in Budapest understood this and let the article go through notwithstanding.

All during the war Germany has practiced a kind of bluff—window dressing in the most literal sense. Shops have been compelled to keep their show windows decorated just as in peace. A foreigner going through the streets saw the windows full of everything anyone could want. But if he entered the shop to make a purchase, he learned that none of the articles were to be had.

Like so many other forms of bluff in Germany, this is to be kept up no longer. The shopowners themselves, according to the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter,* have rebelled. Using the slogan "No Illusions in Shop Windows!" the Professional Association of German Retail Traders has started a campaign against the practice. And their organ, *Der Einzelhandel,* informs us that they expect to accomplish their purpose. The Nazi authorities have allowed themselves to be convinced that "deceptive shop windows in war time may constitute a danger." "Public resentment may be aroused if the shops continue to display wanted goods which are not for sale"—especially if food shops display dummy articles and empty cans and bottles. A decree is impending forbidding what was previously commanded.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

MAX REINHARDT

BY JOSEPH CHAPIRO

THE death of Max Reinhardt marks the passing not only of a great *metteur en scène* but of an epoch without doubt the most brilliant in the history of the modern theater, which for half a century was filled with his name. It was the epoch inaugurated in Paris about 1890 by Antoine, continued and extended by Stanislavsky's Moscow Art Theater, and brought to its culmination in Berlin by Max Reinhardt, who became—in Stanislavsky's words—its most glorious and complete expression.

Reinhardt was born September 9, 1873, in Baden, near Vienna. He never became a German citizen; yet since he spent almost forty years of his active life in Berlin it is no more than proper to regard him as a German artist. In effect it was he who revived the German classics and rescued them from the philologists who had kept them locked up in their dusty Germanic seminars like insects carefully fastened down with pins in laboratories. And it was he who made the German language sound from all the great stages of the world.

Yes, he was a German artist, but he recognized no frontiers. Just as he brought the German theater, both classic and modern, to foreign audiences, so he was indefatigable in introducing foreign authors into Germany. He restored the entire Shakespearean repertory, giving almost 3,000 performances in a quarter of a century. He modernized the Spanish classics, brought back the Commedia dell' Arte, and revived the French classics in German. During the retreat of the German army, eleven days before the armistice, when chauvinism was at its height, he proclaimed the freedom of the spirit by putting on a performance of Racine's "Phèdre."

Moreover, he constantly sought out every contemporary manifestation of the human spirit, transforming his stage into a living mirror reflecting the problems tormenting the minds and hearts of all peoples. And this man who came from a poor Jewish family, this man who never had any systematic education, raised himself so high by the strength of his own genius that he was able to dominate all social strata. He portrayed all types and illustrated their joy and suffering, their aspirations and despair, with thrilling precision.

His sense for literary values was as extraordinary as his flair for actors. He discovered writers and actors before they themselves knew their vocation. At the same time he suggested to playwrights—the most celebrated playwrights—scenes and acts, if not whole plays. He offered leading roles to people who had never been in the wings and who, from one day to the next, became famous actors.

There are some who claim he stifled the individuality of his actors. What nonsense! Reinhardt's genius expressed itself in exactly the oppòsite direction—in making the actor conscious of his own ego. I remember how he would walk beside the actor, rehearsing the role with him, moderating and accentuating his own voice and gestures, so that he became a mirror in which the actor could survey himself, criticize himself, and become himself.

But Reinhardt's great originality, the essence of his work, lay in his *mises en scène*. What did Reinhardt understand by the *mise en scène?* There are those who believe the secret of his magical virtuosity consisted in his arrangement of the stage, in décor and costume. They wonder why the name and fame of this artist who concealed himself behind the stage curtain surpassed that of the greatest actors. The truth is that all his ingenious stage machinery served him only as a means whereby the stage could be forgotten. What mattered to him was making the connection between the actor and the audience, between the dream and the reality.

From the actor he turned to the audience, whose slightest reaction he watched and studied incessantly. When the curtain goes up, the spectator is still too taken up with the impressions of the day to be able to concentrate solely on what is happening on the stage. The art of the actor consists in snatching him away from his preoccupations as quickly as possible. Otherwise the actor's dream cannot become real. Therefore the stage and the hall, his two sworn enemies, must be made to offer the least possible obstacle to the realization of the dream. I recall how upset Reinhardt was every time he heard anyone sneeze or cough at an intense moment. That spectator was his infallible criterion. Reinhardt knew that the play, or at any rate the particular scene during which the unhappy wretch coughed, was not yet up to the mark, and as soon as the theater was emptied he set to work again with his actors. He was convinced that perfect dramatic art, by carrying the spectator away from his real life, should, at least for the duration of the stage dream, cure him of his cough.

All of which explains his tireless search for the technical improvements that other *metteurs en scène* subsequently adopted without, however, succeeding in using them with Reinhardt's mastery. He began with the footlights, which light the face from below upward, in distinction to nature, which casts its light downward. Moreover, each hour of the day has its specific kind of light, as each kind of light has its own color, the tones of which change with the passing minutes. So he created gamuts of color hitherto unknown to the theater. Like a great painter extracting inimitable colors from his palette, he mixed them in the air until his projectors yielded the natural light that would give the audience the feeling of noon or of a particular hour of a sunny or gloomy day.

Later he invented the famous "sky" or horizon, an enormous concave wall, altering its depth at will and opening up perspectives according to the needs of the landscape set. With the revolving stage, that veritable harbinger of the talking cinema, Reinhardt endowed his actors with the means of moving from one room to another, from the street to the house or vice versa, without having to lower the curtain.

BURLINGAME

For Reinhardt disliked the curtain, and he abhorred intermissions. He believed that when the curtain came down it destroyed the spectator's illusion, and that consequently the struggle between the spectator and the actor had to begin again with each new act. The ideal stage to him was one permitting him to present a complete play without the slightest intermission. Later on, however, he somewhat modified his view when he perceived that certain plays require a stationary stage.

As basically important to Reinhardt as the stage was the hall itself. When he grew weary of wrestling with the problem of perfecting a theater, he would have new ones built. His first important acquisition—the Deutsches Theater—was extremely beautiful but seated almost 1,000 and had a stage proportionately large. An intimate play, he found, could not always be suitably presented in such a theater. Plainly the rules of business were against such conceptions, but Reinhardt, whose artistic demands took precedence over all other considerations, built a theater of 400 seats which he called *Kammerspiele* or Chamber Playhouse, similar to halls where only chamber music is played.

It was in the logic of his art that he should have turned from the intimate theater toward the crowd that had always fascinated him, the same crowd which once filled the ancient circuses in its passion for huge spectacles. The result was the Grosses Schauspielhaus, an enormous hall seating 3,500, with a center arena where the actor, freed from the conventions of the stage, took his place at times right in the midst of the audience. Thus at performances of "Danton" actors and supers were stationed in the boxes and in the aisles, whence they hurled their violent diatribes against the Revolutionary Tribunal. Before long, so great was the illusion of reality he created, many in the audience began to mingle their excited voices with those of the actors.

Having successively pushed back the limits of the stage, he finally did away with it entirely. His dream of presenting plays in the open air was realized in the small city of Salzburg. In a short time the town became the most important rendezvous of the cosmopolitan world. There he utilized every spot lending itself to dramatic effect, even to his own château, in which he gave a single performance of Molière's "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" for his guests, who included the performers.

Reinhardt, the great dreamer, was at the very summit of his career when the European catastrophe summoned him abruptly to a horrible reality: Hitler came to power and with him barbarism. Reinhardt left at once, leaving many of his dreams behind him, not to speak of all he had acquired in the course of a lifetime of hard work. Deprived of his wealth and his theaters, he went to Austria, thence to the United States, where he had already been so well received. The United States had always fascinated him. He considered Americans the ideal theater public, the most enthusiastic, and the most willing to be carried away by the actor's art. Unfortunately he did not succeed in finding the kind of setting he needed to express his genius freely—that is, a theater permitting him to create a select and permanent company, to perfect his staging continually, and to realize his new ideas. Accustomed to work only within the limits of his own imagination, he was suddenly confined to a narrow cage, at the pleasure of entrepreneurs.

I finish these lines after returning from the funeral of the man who was so dear to me. I am not yet able to inclose his personality within the narrow frame of an article. But of this I am certain: for a long time the theater will continue to draw sustenance from the deep well of Reinhardt's genius. Soon legend will catch up his name. It will tell of one possessed by the stage who left it one day to enter the circus arena, which in turn he abandoned to enlist in his high purpose churches, historical monuments, public places, and even his own home. Our poor world, which La Fontaine called "a spacious comedy in a hundred diverse acts," was for him as much the synonym of the beautiful as an unending drama that obsessed him from his childhood to his dying breath, the drama he never ceased illustrating with all the sorcery of his genius.

Brailsford on India

SUBJECT INDIA. By Henry Noel Brailsford. The John Day Company. $2.50.

IF THERE is one point in the Indian problem that cannot be disputed—or, at any rate, is not disputed, outside the ranks of the British Conservative Party—it is that Britain ought to stop ruling India as early as possible. But this is a smaller basis of agreement than it sounds, and the answers to literally every other question are always colored by subjective feelings. Mr. Brailsford is better equipped than the majority of writers on India in that he is not only aware of his own prejudices but possesses enough background knowledge to be unafraid of the "experts." Probably he has not been very long in India, perhaps he does not even speak any Indian language, but he differs from the vast majority of English left-wingers in having bothered to visit India at all, and in being more interested in the peasants than in the politicians.

As he rightly says, the great, central fact about India is its poverty. From birth to death, generation after generation, the peasant lives his life in the grip of the landlord or the money-lender—they are frequently the same person—tilling his tiny patch of soil with the tools and methods of the Bronze Age. Over great areas the children barely taste milk after they are weaned, and the average physique is so wretched that ninety-eight pounds is a normal weight for a full-grown man. The last detailed survey to be taken showed that the average Indian income was Rs. 62 (about £4-13-0) per annum: in the same period the average British income was £94. In spite of the drift to the towns that is occurring in India as elsewhere, the condition of the industrial workers is hardly better than that of the peasants. Brailsford describes them in the slums of Bombay, sleeping eight to a tiny room, with three water taps among four hundred people, and working a twelve-hour day, three hundred and sixty-five days a year, for wages of around seven and six-pence a week. These conditions will not be cured simply by the removal of British rule, but neither can they be seriously improved while the British remain, because British policy, largely unconscious, is to hamper industrialization and preserve the status quo.

The worst barbarities from which Indians suffer are inflicted on them not by Europeans but by other Indians—the landlords and money-lenders, the bribe-taking minor officials, and the Indian capitalists who exploit their working people with a ruthlessness quite impossible in the West since the rise of trade unionism. But although the business community, at any rate, tends to be anti-British and is involved in the Nationalist movement, the privileged classes really depend on British arms. Only when the British have gone will what Brailsford calls the latent class war be able to develop.

Brailsford is attempting exposition rather than moral judgment, and he gives no very definite answer to the difficult question of whether, on balance, the British have done India more good than harm. As he points out, they have made possible an increase of population without making it possible for that population to be properly fed. They have saved India from war, internal and external, at the expense of destroying political liberty. Probably their greatest gift to India has been the railway. If one studies a railway map of Asia, India looks like a piece of fishing-net in the middle of a white tablecloth. And this network of communications has not only made it possible to check famines by bringing food to the afflicted areas—the famine now raging in India would hardly have been a famine at all by the standards of a hundred years ago—but to administer India as a unit, with a common system of law, internal free trade and freedom of movement, and even, for the educated minority, a lingua franca in the English language. India is potentially a nation, as Europe, with its smaller population and greater racial homogeneity, is not. But since 1910 or thereabouts the British power has acted as a dead hand. Often loosely denounced as "fascist," the British regime in India is almost the exact opposite of fascism, since it has never developed the notion of positive government at all. It has remained an old-fashioned despotism, keeping the peace, collecting its taxes, and for the rest letting things slide, with hardly the faintest interest in how its subjects lived or what they thought, so long as they were outwardly obedient. As a result—to pick just one fact out of the thousands one could choose—the whole subcontinent, in this year of 1943, is incapable of manufacturing an automobile engine. In spite of all that can be said on the other side, this fact alone would justify Brailsford in his final conclusion: "Our day in India is over; we have no creative part to play."

Brailsford is justifiably bleak about the future. He sees that the handing over of power is a complicated process which cannot be achieved quickly, especially in the middle of a war, and that it will solve nothing in itself. There is still the problem of India's poverty and ignorance to be solved, and the struggle between the landlords, big business, and the labor movement to be fought out. And there is also the question of how, if at all, a backward agricultural country like India is to remain independent in a world of power politics. Brailsford gives a good account of the current political situation, in which he struggles very hard not to be engulfed by the prevailing left-wing orthodoxy. He writes judiciously about the tortuous character of Gandhi, comes nearer to being fair to Cripps than most English commentators have been—Cripps, indeed, has been the whipping-boy of the left, both British and Indian—and rightly emphasizes the importance of the Indian princes, who are often forgotten and who present a much more serious difficulty than the faked-up quarrel between Hindus and Moslems. At this moment India is such a painful subject that it is hardly possible to write a really good book about it. English books are either dishonest or irresponsible; American books are ignorant and self-righteous; Indian books are colored by spite and an inferiority complex. Well aware of the gaps in his knowledge and the injustices he is bound to commit, Brailsford has produced not only a transparently honest but —what is much rarer in this context—a good-tempered book. Nearly all books written about the British Empire in these days have the air of being written *at* somebody—either a Blimp, or a Communist, or an American, as the case may be. Brailsford is writing primarily for the ordinary British public, the people who before all others have the power and the duty to do something about India, and whose conscience it is first necessary to move. But it is a book that the American public might find useful too. Perhaps it is worth uttering the warning that—owing to war-time conditions—there are many misprints, and as some of them have crept into the statistics these are apt to be misleading.

GEORGE ORWELL

Ernie Pyle in Africa

HERE IS YOUR WAR. By Ernie Pyle. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

BRIDGE TO VICTORY: THE STORY OF THE RECONQUEST OF THE ALEUTIANS. By Howard Handleman. Random House. $2.

ERNIE PYLE, a small-town guy himself, has written about how a few hundred thousand other small-town guys fought the global war in the mountains and deserts of Tunisia, which reminded him quite a bit of the land around his place in Arizona. Ernie—it would seem pompous to call him Mr. Pyle—was perhaps the least natty and the most widely beloved newspaper correspondent in North Africa. Folks kept dropping in at his peregrinating tent to pass the time of day: two M. P.'s, for instance, who were young enough to be his sons and who didn't have much in common with him as far as he could see, were always coming in to chat. Ernie, in turn, was constantly dropping in on folks, too, because he liked folks. He got a great kick out of putting their names and addresses in the paper, because they loved it, and also because sometimes they helped him get his dispatches through censorship more quickly and with less emasculation. Mothers and sweethearts in America were always writing to Ernie asking him to say hello to their boys, which he did with pleasure.

Ernie is a small-town guy in the tradition of William Allen White and Will Rogers. He is shrewd, he invariably looks on the best side of things, and he makes jokes, funny ones, directed against himself, not against anyone else. Being around fifty and not too husky, he suffered in North Africa from climate and hardships. "The large and small diseases that infected the ragged carcass of this sad correspondent at all seasons and in all climes were known medically as Puny Pyle's Perpetual Pains." But let no one think that the small-town American, puny or not, was at a loss anywhere in the world. Two hundred miles deep in the Sahara Desert Ernie almost, but not quite, succeeded in conveying to an Arab boy by sign language that he shouldn't throw rocks at dogs.

Ernie used to be the editor of a Scripps-Howard paper. Eight years ago he persuaded the big boss to let him roam around the United States talking to folks and writing what he pleased. This worked out fine. His chatty articles were quietly relished in thousands of homes throughout the country. When war came, naturally he wanted to see what was going on overseas. He didn't bother about big headlines or grand strategy; he wrote the equivalent of letters home, telling the folks how their boys were getting along, what they were seeing, how they dolled up their tents, what it felt like to be in the middle of a battle, and so on. This book is an edited collection of his dispatches from North Africa.

He wrote in a flat, drowsy monotone, no more dramatic than a letter and just as irresistible. He didn't jazz anything up, nor did he get excited; this bothered him, because he thought he ought to. He wrote about what you would have seen yourself—provided, of course, you had Ernie's keen power of observation and his deep, sympathetic understanding of small-town guys. He did not go in for the spectacular, but he got around; and he got to more places than most correspondents because he wasn't chasing headlines.

Among other things, Ernie went sightseeing in a jeep to find out what a tank battle looked like. He got a little too close for comfort; he was in the middle of the humiliating but educational American defeat in central Tunisia. He was close enough to the shooting to be able to interpret shell-shock to those who have not suffered it. War has its own sounds, he says, which clothe themselves in unforgettable fierceness; and when you get away from the front the wind whistling around the eaves will remind you of a Stuka diving, and a shoe dropping in a hotel room above you will seem like the faint boom of a far-off big gun.

The one overwhelming desire of all American soldiers, Ernie found, was to get home. In the beginning, he thinks, they would have settled for a negotiated peace in order to get home. By now they have become less homesick, better adjusted to war life, coarser, rougher, and resigned to staying until the enemy is whipped. When it is over, they want things fixed so there won't be any more war. But somebody else will have to do the fixing; the men talk about sex, not about the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill resolution.

Perhaps it is part of the perverseness of this war that it has to be fought in the most ungodly climates. North Africa was bad enough, but the Aleutian Islands, as described in "Bridge to Victory," were far worse. Bare existence there was an achievement, without Japanese snipers. Among other hazards were frozen feet, for the army was not smart enough to equip the men with the right boots.

Mr. Handleman, a correspondent for International News Service, has given the first comprehensive picture of the Aleutian campaign—the conquest of Attu and Kiska. He has done an able job of reporting. Like Ernie Pyle, he was interested in what the men did before they were precipitated into war. Major Hartl, who commanded the troops that landed on the Holtz Bay side of Attu, was a schoolteacherish fellow who never swore—he had not been used to swearing in civilian life when he was chief accountant of the North Dakota State Public Utilities Commission. It seems rather miraculous that the former accountant turned out to be an excellent battle leader; and that men who used to coach high-school baseball in Mississippi or serve customers in a Hollywood drive-in restaurant could be metamorphosed into soldiers tough and courageous enough to wrest the Aleutians out of Japanese hands.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Fiction in Review

DESPITE the destructive efforts of the critics—and even the *Times Book Review* allowed itself an unaccustomed field day of happy irony—Ilka Chase's "In Bed We Cry" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50) is a novel inevitably slated for large sales. In the first place, it deals with a segment of contemporary life infinitely inviting to wishful thinking: its world is the world of the zebra stripes, bounded on the north by Cartier and on the south by Carnegie (Hattie, not Hall). In the second place, it talks about sex—oh, how it talks and talks!—in just the right voice to tickle the ears of people who would be horrified by out-and-out pornography. The gentility of its sexual accent is, in fact, one of the things that especially interest me about Miss Chase's upper-bracket Bohemia. Just as Devon Elliott, the dainty little tycooness of the cosmetic industry who is Miss Chase's heroine, can be blandly ruthless in her business dealings at no sacrifice of either manners or adorableness, she can move from bed to bed and still be a lady. The daughter of a college professor, Devon speaks French, knows a Picasso from a Chippendale breakfront, and even has friends in Washington. The upper-class libido, at its freest, is as well-anchored in literacy as it is cushioned by wealth.

I could wish that Miss Chase had been more specific than she is about the spending of Devon's millions. Vulgarly, I would have enjoyed seeing the actual cost-sheets instead of being left to wander wide-eyed through an untagged paradise of Madison Avenue decorating and English butlers, of champagne buckets and snacks at Voisin's. I could snare only two cold-cash items to pass on to my readers: on Beekman Place a plausible gift of roses costs $35; and at the Fifth Avenue salon of Devonshire House a good account is someone who spends ten thousand a year on her cosmetic upkeep. (Don't look now, darling, but isn't that a tumbril?)

The central problem of "In Bed We Cry" might be described as the conflict between sex and science—Devon's husband is tired of mixing beauty preparations and wants a laboratory of his own in which to experiment with a cure for burns—but the auxiliary problems the book confronts are rather more suggestive. For instance, did you know that in one important section of metropolitan society the big matrimonial hurdle is to find a man who doesn't drink? Another problem is that more and more men are finding it impossible to match the incomes of their wives; and Miss Chase says that after the war it will be even harder for women to balance their beds with their budgets. Political compatibility has also to be taken into account, what with the war and Roosevelt; Devon wonders about the political background of her refugee lover; she herself has strong feelings about the Nazis since they broke into her Paris salon and stole her secret formulas. Indeed, on the whole subject of refugeeism east of the Avenue Miss Chase is thought-provoking. "Not all refugee Europeans were automatically desirable," she explains. "Recent arrivals especially were so hell-bent on charming rich American women and trying to show up American men as poor lovers that their overzealousness made them ridiculous."

"In Bed We Cry" is a mine of such nuggets. But after all, that is reading it the wrong way; Miss Chase did not intend her novel as a social, even a revolutionary, document but as a purer form of entertainment.

"Hills of Home" (Houghton Mifflin, $2) is a first novel by Curtis Martin, a young naval officer now in the Pacific. But it is not a book about war; it is very much a book about peace, a strangely anonymous little volume which seems to me to have more merit than I have yet seen claimed for it and certainly more taste and decent humility than is characteristic of current fiction. Published as a novel, it is actually a collection of short stories connected by the fact that they all deal with the inhabitants of a single New Mexican town and that a certain John Fellows, standing for the author, appears in each of them.

I find Mr. Martin's stories touchingly successful in the composite picture they give of a small community. The ubiquity of John Fellows—he pops up at rather odd moments in every chapter—may be a literary fault, but it accurately indicates the range of Mr. Martin's interest in his fellow-townsmen: he draws his friends from every section of the town's life. His sympathy is simple, innate, and without a touch of self-consciousness or condescension; it not only illuminates the individuals he chooses for his little narratives but gives to the town itself the kind of poignant animateness which invests old houses and streets we have grown to love. If to be the kind of person he is is the first mark of literary talent, Mr. Martin is largely endowed.

Some of the chapters in "Hills of Home" are better than others—my favorites are September's Bridge and The Hills of November—but once the book gets under way, there is not a story without quality in the writing or without dramatic point. It is Mr. Martin's method to understate drama but, again, this is not self-conscious flamboyance in reverse; for instance, one does not have the impression that here is another author aping—and parodying—Hemingway, loading the most violent emotions into the fewest and sparsest words. On the other hand, despite Mr. Martin's naivete, he shows a sense of craft; I think it would be impossible, for example, to introduce the grandfather's visit into The Hills of November as Mr. Martin does, and compress it into such short space, without a knowledge that this is a very good literary way of doing things.

"Hills of Home" is not a book of great importance; it hasn't enough intellect for importance. Nor, indeed, does it profess to be any more than a first effort at writing fiction. Perhaps because I am so aware of the pitfalls it avoids, I praise it out of proportion to its actual accomplishments. But I have written so often of the self-indulgence of modern writing, its exhibitionism and its overwrought sensibility, that I am glad to err in compliment to restraint.

DIANA TRILLING

A Selected List of Children's Books

BY LENA BARKSDALE

PICTURE BOOKS

Where's My Baby? By H. A. Rey. With illustrations in color by the author. Houghton Mifflin. $1. An ingenious first animal book, with a large animal on each page. Turn the flap and the baby appears.

Mrs. Caliper's House. By Muriel Cooke and the Headley Harpers. With gay pictures by Sherman Cooke. Knopf. $1.50. Funny nonsense story about a fantastic house.

The Red, White, and Blue Auto. By Lucy Sprague Mitchell. With absurd pictures by Tibor Gergely. Scott. $1. Full of action to delight the machinery-minded small boy.

Katy and the Big Snow. By Virginia Lee Burton. Illustrated in color by the author. Houghton Mifflin. $2. The exciting adventures of a crawler tractor.

Don't Count Your Chicks. By Ingri and Edgar Parin d'Aulaire. With illustrations by the authors. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50. A folk tale brought to new life with excellent pictures, rich in humorous detail.

The Good-Luck Horse. By Chih-Yi and Plato Chan. Whittlesey. $1.50. A Chinese legend adapted by a Chinese mother and illustrated with humor and distinction by her twelve-year-old son.

Pierre Pidgeon. By Lee Kingman. With many illustrations by Arnold Edwin Bare. Houghton Mifflin. $2. A merry tale of the Gaspé, and of the small son of a fisherman who loves ships and ship models.

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The Viking Press
18 E. 48th St., New York 17, N. Y.

TALES OF FACT AND FANCY

Soldiers, Sailors, Flyers, and Marines. By Mary Elting and Robert Weaver. With many illustrations by Jeanne Bendick. Doubleday, Doran. $2. Here are the answers, simply phrased and cleverly pictured, to all those baffling questions about life in the army and navy.

What Makes It Tick? By Katharine Britton. With illustrations by Jeanne Bendick. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50. An inviting miscellany of information on scientific subjects.

Australia, the Island Continent. By Grace Allen Hogarth and Joan Colebrook. With picture map and illustrations by Howard W. Willard. Houghton Mifflin. $2. A brief and interesting history.

Biggest Bear on Earth. By Harold McCracken. With effective lithographs by Paul Branson. Stokes. $2. This story of a brown bear cub growing to full strength and power in his native Alaska is based on patient observation.

Three Gay Tales from Grimm. Translated and illustrated by Wanda Gág. Coward, McCann. $1.50. Selected from the less familiar of the Grimm tales, these three are lively and amusing.

Many Moons. By James Thurber. With appropriate pictures in color by Louis Slobodkin. Harcourt, Brace. $2. This quaint tale of a little princess who wanted the moon has perception as well as humor and imagination.

Once Upon a Time. By Agnes Fisher. With drawings by Zhenya Gay. Nelson. $2.50. Twenty-seven stories gathered from the folk tales, myths, and legends of the United Nations.

Jack Tales. Edited by Richard Chase and illustrated by Berkeley Williams, Jr. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50. Authentic folk tales from the southern Appalachians.

Mary Poppins Opens the Door. By P. A. Travers. With drawings by Mary Shepard. Reynal and Hitchcock. $1.75. This long-awaited book will entirely fulfil the expectations of Mary Poppins's most admiring friends.

Fog Magic. Julia L. Sauer. With frontispiece and end papers by Lynd Ward. Viking. $2. A story of distinction which successfully links the past with the present.

The Secret of Pooduck Island. By Alfred Noyes. With drawings by Flora Nash de Muth. Stokes. $2. A rare and lovely story of an adventurous squirrel family and an understanding human being.

FOR EIGHT-TO-TWELVE-YEAR-OLDS

The Open Gate. By Kate Seredy. With illustrations by the author. Viking. $2.50. Liveliness, charm, good characterization, and amusing incident distinguish this story of an American city family which inadvertently acquires a farm.

Silver Saddles. By Corvelle Newcomb. With illustrations by Addison Burbank. Longmans Green. $2.25. Exciting story of a thoroughbred horse and his boy rider on a dangerous journey through the mountains of Mexico.

The Picts and the Martys. By Arthur Ransome. Macmillan. $2.50. Entertaining, exciting, and humorous.

Rufus M. By Eleanor Estes. With drawings by Louis Slobodkin. Harcourt, Brace. $2. A small boy's struggles to get acquainted with his world, related with humor and insight.

Bayou Susette. By Lois Lenski. With illustrations by the author. Stokes. $2. Lively story of a small French girl and her devoted Indian companion in a Louisiana village.

Thief Island. By Elizabeth Coatsworth. With illustrations by John C. Wonsetler. Macmillan. $1.75. This excellent family story has charm and atmosphere as well as mystery and adventure.

Marching to Jerusalem. By Ruth Langland Holberg. With illustrations by Henrietta Jones. Crowell. $2. Colorful story of the Children's Crusade marching through medieval France.

The Level Land. By Dola de Jong. With illustrations by Jan Hoowij. Scribner's. $1.75. Story of a gay, friendly Holland family, which met the Nazi invasion with spirit and great courage.

Timur and His Gang. By Arkady Gaidar. Translated by Zina Voynow and illustrated by Zhenya Gay. Scribner's. $1.75. Shows the ingenious, warm-hearted Young Pioneers of Russia at play and at work.

Homer Price. By Robert McCloskey. With many humorous drawings by the author. Viking. $2. Six hilarious episodes in the life of a small American boy.

Mountain Born. By Elizabeth Yates. With drawings by Nora S. Unwin. Coward, McCann. $2. A fine homespun American story of a sheep farm and a boy shepherd.

Bow Bells. By Katharine Gibson. With illustrations by Vera Bock. Longmans, Green. $2. In which Chaucer rubs elbows with Dick Whittington in a colorful story of fourteenth-century London.

Watling Green. By Mollie Panter-Downes. With illustrations by Malkin West. Scribner's. $1.50. This realistic story of a family in England at war is alive and revealing.

The Sea Snake. By Stephen W. Meader. With illustrations by Edward Shenton. Harcourt, Brace. $2. Fast moving story of an American boy who discovers enemy agents and is captured and held on a German submarine.

FOR THE TEENS AGE

Sigurd and His Brave Companions. By Sigrid Undset. With illustrations by Gunvor Bull Teilman. Knopf. $2. Spirited story of thirteenth-century Norway.

Starbuck Valley Winter. By Roderick L. Haig-Brown. Morrow. $2. Vigorous story of hunting and trapping in British Columbia. Good writing and good characterization.

Submarine Sailor. By George Felsen. Dutton. $2.50. An American submarine on a dangerous mission in Pacific waters.

Flights to Glory. By John Purcell. Vanguard. $2.50. Graphic stories of our heroic fliers in the Second World War.

The Life and Times of Simon Bolivar. By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. With illustrations by the author. Dodd, Mead. $2.50. Entertaining and thought-provoking.

Johnny Tremain. By Esther Forbes. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50. Vivid story of a young Boston patriot when Paul Revere and the Boston Tea Party made history. Rich background and colorful incidents.

Here is Africa. By Ellen and Attilio Gatti, with many good photographs. Scribner's. $2.50. Informative and entertaining.

Made in China. By Cornelia Spencer. With color plates showing Chinese art objects. Knopf. $3. Discerning study of the arts, crafts, and culture of China. Introduction by Lin Yutang.

Peter the Great. By Nina Brown Baker. Vanguard. $2.50. This fictionalized biography of the great reform Czar gives an illuminating picture of old Russia.

Matthew Fontaine Maury, Trail Maker of the Seas. By Hildegarde Hawthorne. Longmans, Green. $2. Biography of a great American gentleman who was a distinguished scientist and naval expert.

Curtain Going Up! By Gladys Malvern. Messner. $2.50. A delightful biography of Katherine Cornell.

Valiant Comrades: A Story of Our Dogs at War. By Ruth Adams Knight. Doubleday, Doran. $2. A fine collie, trained at Front Royal, proves his mettle at the front.

Wide Fields. By Irmengarde Eberle. Crowell. $2.50. Enthusiastic story of the life and achievements of Jean Henri Fabre.

Keystone Kids. By John R. Tunis. Harcourt, Brace. $2. Baseball jargon and a true sense of good sportsmanship happily blended.

Great Caesar's Ghost! By Manning Coles. Doubleday, Doran. $2. Modern mystery story, involving the discovery of an ancient Roman city still functioning behind high African cliffs.

FILMS

"PRINCESS O'ROURKE," I had thought, might be treated like other social errors of its sort: an unobtrusive raising of the window, and the less said the better. But since it is being acclaimed, by everyone in sight so far as my eyes carry, as one of the best comedies of the year, I am forced to reconsider. Reconsidering, I accept it as a jaw-breaking rebuke to anyone, like myself, who likes to think that Hollywood underestimates its audience. This noisome show is about a Princess who, with the help of her jolly old chum President Roosevelt, married an American air pilot. The two basic lines of comedy are snobbery of the sorriest native kind: the common man's worship of the titled one, and the common man's even more abandoned, even less understandable adoration of himself. Along the inside of this vicious-cycle track, neck and neck, scamper the ideas that all titled European males are sterile and that all untitled works-in-progress from God's little acre are guaranteed capable of bringing on any number of sons just like them. This ugly rubbish is packaged in the kind of prime government-inspected whimsy which you might expect if the *New Yorker's* humorists were picking up egg money from *Railway Age:* Princess-meets-banana-split, and so on. There is also a grisly saucer of musical chop suey called Honorable Moon. Jack Carson I like and Jane Wyatt I am eager to forgive, in spite of everything; and I am vulnerable to Olivia de Havilland in every part of my being except the ulnar nerve. But if ever a standing indication were needed that as a people we do not deserve to mouth such words as "democracy," let alone "common sense" or "minimum human decency," this is it.

"The Iron Major" is a respectful, rather dull picture about the football coach Frank Cavanaugh. Such able, unintellectual, cagy teachers are very much work talking about, but all the talk here is in words of less than one syllable. All you get is Pat O'Brien's nicely controlled performance and a few pretty period-shots of Worcester, Mass.

"Deerslayer," on the other hand, can be recommended to anyone who would not feel that an eight-year-old boy who gallops up howling "Wah-wah, I'm an Indian" needs to consult a psychiatrist. I don't feel that most bad pictures are "bad enough to be funny"; they are just bad enough to be fascinating, not to say depressing as hell. But this defenseless and disarming show is the purest dumb delight I have seen in a long time.

JAMES AGEE

AMUSEMENTS

Out of the hearts of fighting men roars the lusty laughter . . . the robust humor . . . that blasted our way to victory!

RICHARD TREGASKIS'

GUADALCANAL DIARY

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MUSIC

AFTER Toscanini's second broadcast with the N. B. C. Symphony—superlative performance wasted on mediocre Russian music—which I listened to on Frequency Modulation, I tuned in on WQXR's FM broadcast of the first New Friends of Music concert. It had been scheduled to open with Beethoven's Quartet Opus 127 played by the Busch Quartet; and I caught the finale played with a surprising suavity of tone in place of the thin, scratchy, wooden sounds that I had expected to hear. The movement ended; and then came the announcement, "You have just heard Beethoven's Quartet Opus 127 played by the Busch Quartet on Victor records." Amazed, I switched the machine to WQXR's normal broadcast, and again heard the finale of Opus 127, this time with the thin, scratchy, wooden sounds of the living Busch Quartet of today. The great point of FM, its superiority over the normal broadcast, is its wider frequency-range, which produces greater fidelity to the living sound; but WQXR was broadcasting the living concert performance in the normal way, and on FM it was broadcasting a performance whose sound was reduced in range to the limitation—possibly 5,000 cycles—of European recording six or seven years ago! It was a little like the manufacturers' selling cheap radio sets equipped with FM tuners but with speakers incapable of transmitting the FM range.

Among Victor's October releases that have been late in reaching me is Milhaud's Suite Provençale played by the St. Louis Symphony under Golschmann (Set 951, $2.50). In this work some eighteenth-century folk-tunes of Milhaud's native Provence and some themes of the Provençal composer André Campra (1660-1744), which seem to have been quite engaging in their original forms, are made horrid by the harmonic treatment Milhaud subjects them to. Some of the orchestration is attractive; the performance is very good; and the sound is reproduced with the extraordinary beauty that Victor achieved also with the St. Louis performances of the Couperin-Milhaud "La Sultane" music and Sibelius's Seventh Symphony.

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"Miss Markova's phenomenal balance," wrote Edwin Denby of Markova's Juliet, in the *Herald Tribune*, "her quickness in those movements of the body which are generally heaviest (movements of the thighs and hips) give her a lightness that is all her own." Strength and agility of thighs and hips, then, were what produced a Juliet who was "a creature of another sphere," as against Nora Kaye's Juliet, who did not convince one "of [her] innocence of heart or of her unique spirit." Strength and agility of thighs and hips were also, presumably, what produced the greater sharpness of Markova's movements in "Aleko," and in this way a gypsy with greater emotional intensity than Kaye's. And I suppose the same explanation accounts for other differences. Alicia Alonso in "Giselle" and the *pas de deux* of "Les Sylphides," Rosella Hightower in the "Bluebird" or "Nutcracker" *pas de deux* were technically brilliant, graceful, exquisite; but at each point one recalled a breath-taking pattern of silhouetted body moving or motionless in space, which was partly the particular configuration of Markova's body and partly a mere matter of strength and agility of thighs and hips.

One gets a sharper realization of the tremendous, straining, panting, sweating muscular effort which produces the appearance of cool grace, of a body whirling, soaring, floating in space with incorporeal quickness and lightness, creating breath-taking patterns as it moves or stops moving—the effort which produces the appearance of all this happening without any effort at all. And if one happens to pass the dancers on the street without recognizing them one gets a sharper realization of how largely their radiant, lovely, glamorous, impressive appearances on the stage are created by make-up, costume, lighting, and how completely the rich personalities and significances they communicate are created by whatever movements they are given to do by the choreographer.

"Lilac Garden" was excellently done. In "Les Sylphides" with Hightower and Alonso was Lucia Chase, who substituted for Markova in the Prelude with an inadequacy that was painful. In "Three Virgins and a Devil" John Kriza, trying to do more than Jerome Robbins had done as the Youth, ruined the part by doing too much; while Robbins, in the Lazovsky part of the Devil, tried to do things in ways of his own that made one long for Lazovsky; and in general these lesser male dancers who were given more to do this season flung themselves about excessively. This was part of the all-around let-down that showed itself further in the raggedness of the group movements in the second act of "Giselle." Michael Kidd, in the title role of "Billy the Kid," lacked technical security (in balance) and—perhaps for this reason—the dynamic force that Loring had; and if Loring cannot be had to dance in the ballet he should at least be brought in to restore what has been changed and forgotten in the movements of groups; but even in its present state of deterioration it is one of the outstanding things in the Ballet Theater repertory. And the same may be said of "Petrushka," where the principal roles were danced adequately by Massine, Chase, and Eglevsky, but the crowd scenes were the usual chaos, and the performance of the music was the usual massacre.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Jim Crow Again

Dear Sirs: At this time when everyone's attention is focused on the world-wide battle fronts, we often forget the struggle to retain civil liberties taking place on the home front.

At the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, Connecticut, on August 11, 1943, nineteen of the conscientious objectors went on a work strike to end segregation of Negroes and whites in the dining-hall. At other times the men are allowed to mingle freely, but during meals they are kept in separate parts of the dining-room and not permitted to talk to each other.

The federal government, as personified by the President of the United States, has on a number of occasions reiterated its belief in the Four Freedoms and in the equality of all regardless of race or religion. Segregation is unjust under any circumstances, but for the federal government to permit Jim Crow in federal institutions that are supported by all sections of the population is to play into the hands of fascist reaction and to be paying only lip-service to the ideals of the Four Freedoms.

The prison authorities refuse to negotiate with the strikers. These men are anxious to end the strike and would do so readily if the prison authorities showed any indication of ending segregation some time in the future. It is ironic indeed that these young men, who are such unflinching believers in democracy, have been placed in solitary confinement for adhering to democratic ideals that many thousands of anti-fascists have died for in Hitler's concentration camps.

ALEXANDER M. MANN

Hollis, N. Y., November 3

A Socialist Explains

Dear Sirs: I should like to make a few belated comments on the article by Harold Laski in *The Nation* of September 18. Mr. Laski remarks that he has "no knowledge of the attitude of the various divisions of the American socialist movement in regard to the attempt to rediscover the terms on which the international working class might find unity." It is obvious from other sections of his article that the author is referring here to the kind of political as well as trade-union international unity which characterized the relations of the labor and socialist movements prior to the First World War.

While I cannot speak for the Social Democratic right wing of American socialism—of whose historical antagonism to the Soviet Union Mr. Laski is well aware—I should like to explain briefly to Mr. Laski and those who share his hopes the position of the more leftward division of American socialism, which, for all its tactical differences with communism, looked upon the Soviet Union as potentially "socialist" as late as 1937 and called for its "defense" by the international working class.

First let me say that American socialists, in particular those represented by the Socialist Party, see no reason, either in *Realpolitik* or ideology, for any lack of "unity" among the three great status quo powers—Britain, the United States, and Russia. We agree fully with those increasingly numerous and more far-sighted representatives of private enterprise—whose enthusiasm for the Soviet Union increases with every internal retreat from "communism," every victory of the Red Army—that Russia (that is, Stalin) today is in no sense a threat to the present order, that Stalin is *not* seeking to promote revolutions abroad, even though, in an effort to wring strategic concessions from his United Nations partners, he may hint at the dire consequences of non-cooperation or go fishing for palace revolutions among the potential Darlans and Badoglios of the German army. We would go even farther and add that Stalin will do everything in his power to *prevent* democratic—that is, non-Stalinist—social revolutions in Europe, success of which would unquestionably constitute a serious threat to the Russian dictatorship. Stalin's Russia is therefore the natural ally of some forces which seek to preserve the main outlines of the status quo, and the most potent anti-revolutionary force in the world today.

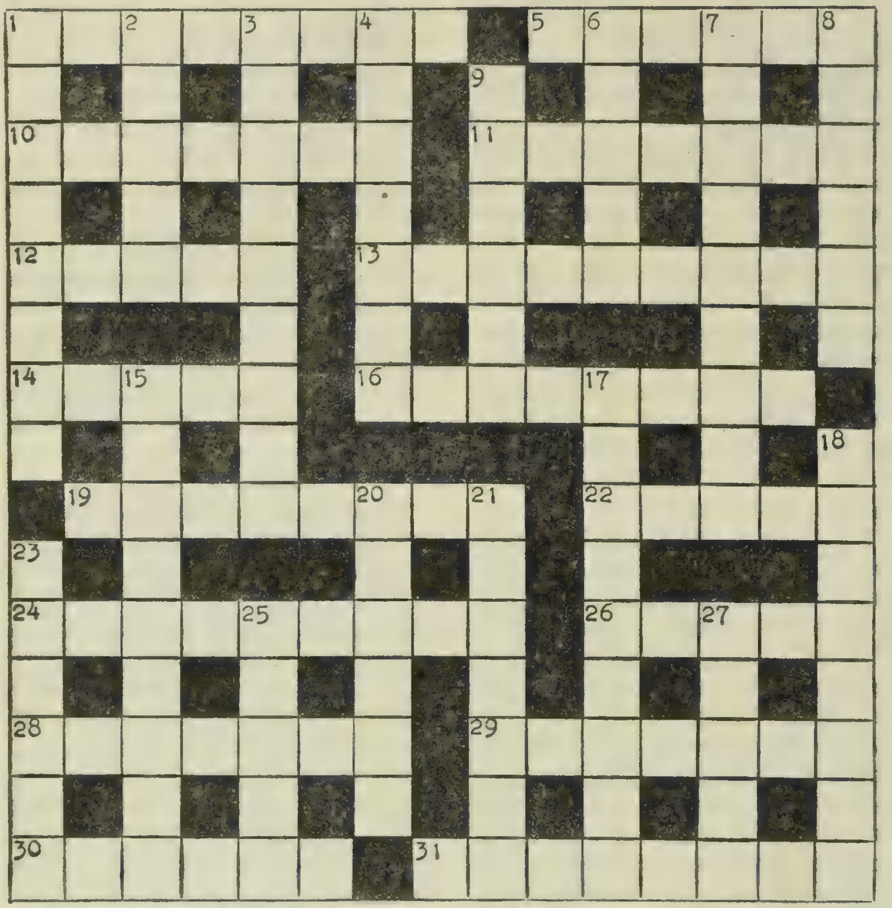
But the very factors which furnish a logical base for the cooperation and unity of Stalin's Russia and the governments of the capitalist democracies, as well as their liberal supporters, have destroyed any logical base—a common ideology and purpose—for unity between democratic revolutionary socialists and those Stalinist forces throughout the world whose sole purpose is the defense and support of the totalitarian state machine of Stalin. The politicians of right-wing Social Democracy—some of whom are mentioned by Mr. Laski—who have long since made their peace with liberal capitalism, may very well also make their peace with Stalinism, as did their Spanish representatives in the middle thirties. But there is no ground for unity today between the Socialist and libertarian left and the adherents and apologists of the Stalinist right, which has sought to exterminate them, physically as well as politically, within the past ten years.

The cleavage between these two tendencies of what was once the international social revolutionary movement does not rest, as Mr. Laski seems to think upon a "generation of internecine conflict" stemming from the "split" of 1919. It rests rather upon the *experience* of the past decade, the character of Soviet development, and our analysis of the nature of the Russian state. To Mr. Laski the Soviet Union represents a stage in the completion of the process of human emancipation which began with the French and American revolutions. We too believed that at one time. This was undoubtedly the potential of the Russian Revolution. Today, however, we believe that in structure and organization the Soviet Union has come to represent that totalitarian collectivism, that bureaucratic party-state, toward which both Germany and Italy, starting from wholly different ideological premises, have been heading. We know now that the mere nationalization of the productive processes, however complete, does not mean "socialism," any more than the alignment of the Red Army on the side of the democracies means that Russia is a "democracy."

If Mr. Laski and the liberals do not understand the real character of the cleavage between the democratic socialist and the Stalinist forces—putting it down to silly "tactical" differences and outworn rivalries—Stalin and his international cohorts understand it very well, and have acted accordingly. That is why they have extended the hand of friendship to every right-wing opportunist within the international movement and the dagger to the left. The execution of Alter and Ehrlich was not an isolated "crime," one of those inexplicable

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 39

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 In the case of this British general, would a poke in the ribs be cavalier treatment?
5 You would hardly expect to find a U. S. port in this state of inactivity
10 What we're fighting for is expressed here by a frank Portuguese
11 A Brutus named Herb
12 Surely a gent can act for another?
13 Pet creeds might be regarded with some degree of reverence
14 "That little bit more, and how much it is!"
16 He can croak and still live
19 Better known to railroad men as the caboose, no doubt
22 A landlubber on his first ocean voyage is likely to be this in a double sense (two words, 2 and 3)
24 This Eastern punishment ain't so bad when it's altered
26 Does *he* know the Highway Code
28 Gave out without being exhausted
29 Poacher's dog
30 You can almost make merry with this drink
31 Artisans turned autocrats

DOWN

1 Danger sign that is beyond the keenest sight (hyphen, 5 and 3)
2 What made the cowslip? A glance from this, perhaps
3 Shunt
4 This is not to your credit
6 Many games are played thereon
7 Drinks for which you'll need a pot to start with
8 Red Sea (anag.)
9 A donkey in repose
15 Reverses a silk hat and enables you to get in
17 Flat-headed sycophant
18 It is necessary to keep a watch on these in war time
20 Dan's Vi is broken up over the food question
21 No doles for these simpletons
23 Preoccupy the bosses
25 To plant, colloquially speaking
27 She appears in a well-known article

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 38

ACROSS:—1 PRESENCE OF MIND; 9 LIQUEUR; 10 DYNAMOS; 11 CRINGE; 12 REPOUSSE; 14 EYEBALL; 15 HASTE; 17 NYLON; 19 INWARDS; 21 HOUNSLOW; 23 DIEPPE; 25 WIDGEON; 26 ENGROSS; 27 TRIED AND TRUSTY.

DOWN:—1 POLICEMAN; 2 ESQUIRE; 3 EVERGREEN; 4 CORN; 5 ODDFELLOWS; 6 MANGO; 7 NEMESIS; 8 ESNE; 13 CALIFORNIA; 15 HARBINGER; 16 ENDLESSLY; 18 LAUNDER; 20 SIPHONS; 21 HOWL; 22 SWEDE; 24 DEAD.

naughty deeds for which the liberals are forced to apologize. Alter and Ehrlich represented all that was best in the international socialist and labor movement—and incidentally still maintained a certain faith in Stalin's "socialist" integrity. It was precisely because of this, and because they refused to act as stooges for Stalin's designs in Poland, that they had to be destroyed. But before them other left-wing socialists and libertarians in Spain, in France, in Germany, and throughout the world were destroyed, even while they were giving their lives to the fight against fascism. Here in the United States the cohorts of Stalinism make a united front with capitalism's most disreputable elements, while they call for the suppression of the Socialist press, the imprisonment of Socialist leaders, and—lacking the power of execution—attempt to assassinate verbally every labor and radical leader with the integrity to oppose their designs.

Mr. Laski may say that regardless of our attitude toward Stalin and the Communists we have no quarrel with the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union. That is quite true. But unfortunately there can be no unity, on an organizational basis, with the peoples of a police state, over the heads of their rulers. If there were an independent, that is, a real labor movement in Russia, if there were opposition working-class parties, such unity would be possible. If, as Mr. Laski claims, the Soviet Union is "the central support upon which the future of the working class depends," then God help the working class!

TRAVERS CLEMENT

Bethel, Conn., October 2

Contacts Wanted

Private J. W., a *Nation* reader now stationed in Alabama, writes that he would like to meet other *Nation* readers in Birmingham, Chattanooga, or Atlanta. We shall be glad to forward letters from readers in those cities who are interested.—EDITORS THE NATION.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

Principles and Practice of Rehabilitation. By John Eisele Davis. Barnes. $3.

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Spain. By Salvador de Madariaga. Creative Age. $4.

Making Books Work: A Guide to the Use of Libraries. By Jennie M. Flexner. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

Criminal Careers in Retrospect. By Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. Commonwealth Fund. $3.50.

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

IN THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE FRENCH Committee of Liberation and the government of Lebanon neither contestant emerges spotless, but both appear somewhat less tarnished than the British referee. Back in 1936 the government of Leon Blum promised Syria and Lebanon, both mandated to France by the League, that they would be granted independence in 1939. The outbreak of war in that year made fulfilment of the pledge impossible. With the fall of France, the Vichy regime revoked the pledge entirely, but when its forces were driven out of the two Near Eastern states by the British and Free French, General Catroux renewed the promise, adding that "their sovereign status will be guaranteed by a treaty in which our mutual relations will be defined." There is no reason whatever to doubt that the Fourth Republic will honor that promise. But the French Committee of Liberation is not the Fourth Republic. Having no sovereign status of its own, it is utterly unable to confer that boon upon the state of Lebanon. As a Committee spokesman points out, Lebanon is "in process" of attaining a new independent status linked to France by treaty. But Lebanese leaders, tired of the long wait and inflamed by Pan-Arab agitation, decided that the time was ripe to take advantage of the scarcely hidden hostility between their French political guardians and their British military protectors. Without benefit of discussion they declared themselves sovereign and independent. Whereupon the French Delegate-General, Jean Helleu, cracked down with all the harshness of imperial usage. Violence followed, and the Arab world flared up in protest.

*

DESPITE THE UNREASONABLE IMPATIENCE of the Lebanese and the indefensibly drastic reaction of the French, the situation is not hopeless provided the British act in good faith. It is hard to believe that they have done so in Lebanon up to now. They have worked at cross purposes with the Free French from the start of the Syrian-Lebanese occupation and have made no secret of their long-standing antagonism toward French influence in this part of the world. Now that the French find themselves in difficulties, the British appear to be doing everything possible to lower the prestige of their ally. In shocked tones they condemn the arrest of Lebanese leaders, as though the world had never heard of the imprisonment of Gandhi and Nehru, and in a blend of hypocrisy and intimidation they warn over the B. B. C. of "measures which it [the British government] might see itself forced to take to keep the pledges of Britain toward the Lebanese [and] to maintain British honor throughout the Arab world." Is this one more incident in the long campaign to discredit General de Gaulle? More important, is it part of a larger design to keep France in a subordinate role after the war? M. Helleu was in effect repudiated at Algiers when General Catroux was dispatched to Beirut, and a settlement now should not be impossible. The British can make a genuine contribution not by threats of force and demagogic appeals to Arab nationalism, but by recognizing Catroux's proven integrity and by extending to both sides their good offices. The Lebanese may be satisfied that the colonial problem cannot be solved by the individual action of small states in the midst of a world war if they are convinced that it *will* be solved by a coherent policy worked out at the peace table.

*

THE IMMENSE TASK OF POST-WAR RELIEF confronting the newly formed United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration may be seen by comparing the estimates of need submitted at Atlantic City with the shipments of the American Relief Administration after the last war. Europe's total relief requirements during the first six months after the war are estimated at 45,855,000 metric tons, of which 9,500,000 tons will have to be shipped from the United States and the rest of North America. Russia's needs, known to be enormous, were not included in the estimate, while China has indicated that it will need 3,200,000 tons during the same period. Shipments by the A. R. A. in the first eight months after the close of World War I—hitherto regarded as a herculean achievement—fell short of 5,000,000 tons. Offsetting to some degree the increase in the volume of goods required is the fact that the organization of the relief effort is far advanced over that existing some months after the end of World War I. Although differences in viewpoint among the various nations were in evidence at Atlantic City, more real cooperation exists among the United Nations today than was ever present among the Allies in 1918-19. This development augurs well for the peace, provided the larger issues are approached in the same spirit.

*

AS ITS FIRST PROJECT UNRRA MIGHT WELL undertake to assist in the relief of the Indian famine. The agreement setting up the organization includes among its objectives "the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of the United Nations," and the plight of the starving people of India is certainly in part due to the war. For not only has the Japanese invasion of Burma cut off imports which normally play an important marginal role in India's precarious balance of nutrition, but the transformation of India into a major war base has overtaxed its transport system and multiplied the problem of distributing supplies which exist in the country. In meeting these problems India needs technical rather than financial help. It has money to buy food from abroad to the extent that shipping is available. But to a large extent the shortages could be met if a way could be devised to end hoarding within the country. This is not so much a matter of coercing a few big speculators as of persuading millions of peasants to part with their scanty surpluses. Most of them raise barely more than enough for their families to subsist upon but usually they market small quantities of grain in order to buy cloth and a few other necessities. When such goods are not available, as at present, they have no inducement to sell. That is why a shipload of cotton goods might go farther in relieving Indian hunger than several shiploads of wheat. A somewhat similar though less desperate problem has already been tackled by Allied relief organizations in North Africa and it is possible that the experience gained there could be turned to account in India, if the British authorities are not too proud to accept help. The new Viceroy, Lord Wavell, has shown more appreciation of the situation and more energy than his predecessor and it is claimed that the famine is under control. But the scope for international aid remains great.

*

"OLD NOTRE DAME STILL REIGNS OVER ALL." So says the Associated Press. And well it might, for in four successive weeks Old Notre Dame has triumphed over Navy, Army, Northwestern, and Dr. Francis E. McMahon. The last of these victories has been protested, however, and in the end may prove to be of the Pyrrhic variety. Dr. McMahon, a teacher of philosophy at Notre Dame, has been ousted for making public pronouncements on matters not strictly philosophical. A vocal opponent of isolation even before we got into the war, Dr. McMahon has been speaking out in favor of international collaboration. He asks for friendly relations after the war with all our allies, and he includes the Soviet Union. He is known to consider communism far less a menace than the cult of the Nazis. Abhorring anti-Semitism, he has in his zeal seen fit to condemn Father Coughlin. And above all he has persisted in calling General Franco a fascist, an idea which he may uncritically have picked up from the General himself. As Dr. McMahon has discovered, the Notre Dame authorities "do not want the name of the university associated with the promulgation of these views." As views they do not seem to us un-Catholic. But who are we to judge? Dr. McMahon suggests that "powerful pressure has been exerted on the university authorities to muzzle" him. And who, we are led to wonder, is in a position to bring such pressure on the country's most renowned Catholic university, a proud institution which this season has yet to meet its match on the football field?

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AS WE GO TO PRESS FORMER KING CAROL of Rumania is scheduled to address the people of the United States by radio. That is five minutes too long, but we trust the American people enough to assume that they will be able to listen to a king without harm. Carol's radio appearance is no doubt part of his new plan to sell himself to the public—as a democrat—with the expert help of a high-powered public relations firm, Russell Birdwell and Associates, which he has retained at a reported fee of $35,000 a year. Carol's objectives are crystal clear. He would like to drop the "former" which now precedes his name. He would also like to obtain the right to control some $80,000,000 of Rumanian funds now frozen in this country. That would certainly be worth a measly $35,000. We look with skepticism, both political and commercial, on the prospects of King Carol. Meanwhile we think our readers might be amused to know that the familiar term applied by a public relations man to his client is "bum."

The Showdown on Prices

WITHIN a comparatively few days final decisions will have to be reached on three controversies, decisions that will go far to determine our success or failure in checking inflation in World War II. The first of these decisions must be made within the Administration; the other two by Congress. For some time now Mr. Ickes and the OPA have been at odds over the extent to which the price of coal should be increased to compensate the owners for the higher wages provided in the new agreement negotiated with John L. Lewis. Mr. Ickes insists that a substantial price increase is necessary in order to assure greater coal production. But the OPA has strongly opposed the principle of linking price increases to wage agreements, pointing out that the net effect of such an arrangement is to divert labor's support from the stabilization program by enlisting specific groups of workers in the drive for specific price boosts. Should such a practice become general, all possibility of holding the line on prices and wages would quickly disappear, and a disastrous process of inflation would swiftly develop.

An equally serious threat to the stabilization program is contained in the bill now before Congress to grant the 1,100,000 members of the non-operating railway workers' unions an 8-cents-an-hour wage increase against the recommendation of the Director of Economic Stabilization, Fred M. Vinson. As Mr. Vinson pointed out in his letter to a subcommittee of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, passage of the bill would mean the breaking of the "Little Steel" formula by Congress itself, thus making it impossible for the Administration to hold to the formula in dealing with the demands of other labor groups. Such action could not fail to be fatal, since the C. I. O. and the U. M. W. have already come out for scrapping the formula, and Lewis's union is now directing its fire against the War Labor Board itself.

Efforts to hold the line on the wage front must be considered in relation to the struggle now under way in Congress over the use of subsidies to bring the cost of living down to the level at which wages have been stabilized. The prospects of a complete Administration victory in that struggle are not bright as we go to press. Nevertheless, there is still a possibility that the sequence of events of last spring will be repeated, and that the President, by vetoing the bill for extending the Commodity Credit Corporation with its rider prohibiting food subsidies, may force Congress to provide some funds for a continuation of subsidies. Failure to obtain these funds would not only mean a collapse of the roll-back program but would result in an immediate advance of 3 per cent in living costs and a 7 per cent increase in food prices. Already many of the items in the average housewife's market basket are held at a low price by subsidies. Elimination of these subsidies would induce one of the sharpest price rises in the country's history and would almost certainly provoke an overwhelming demand for wage increases by both organized and unorganized workers.

In resisting this powerful three-front attack on the stabilization program, Mr. Vinson and the OPA are unquestionably holding the fort for the American people as a whole. But it is a fight in which they have received little active support against a politically powerful opposition. It is obvious from a reading of most newspapers that a vigorous and presumably well-financed campaign is under way to discredit and destroy the OPA and the entire stabilization program. This campaign is not being pushed by those who have suffered most from the war. The millions of white-collar workers, small business men, substandard workers, soldiers' wives, and others who have made the greatest sacrifice are precisely those who have most to lose by a further inflation. The elements that are seeking to break down the defenses against inflation—the large farmers, the food industry, the coal operators, railway employees, and a few other highly organized labor groups—are on the other hand, among those that have gained most, relatively speaking, as a result of the war. It is an uneven struggle, but there is still a fighting chance of holding the line if some of the millions of people whose future is in peril make their voices heard in Washington.

Unfinished Business

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS natural that the first enthusiastic welcome of the Moscow agreement should have been followed by a barrage of questions and the open expression of doubts. For Moscow was only a beginning. It brought together the three greatest Allied powers—with China drawn in on the question of post-war security—and established machinery for continued consultation and planning. It resulted in a few definite political proposals. But it left much unfinished business and it posed more problems than it solved.

These gaps now tend to loom larger than the solid underpinnings of unity. Ten Catholic bishops, speaking for the Catholic hierarchy in the United States, issued a statement which approved the Moscow declarations as a "step in the right direction" but emphasized the fear "that compromises on the ideals of the Atlantic Charter are in prospect." This obviously referred to the careful omission in the Moscow agreement of any reference to boundaries, including those of Poland, whose future has always been an intimate concern of the Church. European national groups, especially the Allied groups represented by governments-in-exile, are profoundly disturbed by the creation of a European Advisory Council with no continental representatives. France in particular has announced that it will not accept as binding decisions of a council on which it is not represented.

Neither the report made by Mr. Eden to the House of Commons nor Mr. Hull's unprecedented speech before the joint meeting of the Congress nor Marshal Stalin's speech on the twenty-sixth anniversary of the October revolution did much to dispel these worries. All three leaders, necessarily, emphasized the areas of agreement and the increase of confidence established at Moscow. All three ignored, with good reason, the specific complaints of interested groups. Nor did Mr. Hull, in two press conferences devoted to the conference, clear up any major ambiguities. Questioned sharply by newspaper men only a day or two after the appearance of the Catholic bishops' statement, Mr. Hull insisted that the principles of the Atlantic Charter would not in any circumstances be compromised, and pointed to the formula agreed upon for Italy as a model for other "liberated areas." Put under pressure to apply this specifically to the controversial issue of Poland and Finland and the Baltic states, Mr. Hull said that boundary disputes would have to be cleared up after the war and that an exact definition of all liberated areas was not possible at this stage.

The only revealing hints as to the future of Russia's neighbors have come from Russian leaders themselves. Stalin's reference to the Karelo-Finnish Republic and the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Esthonian Republics was obviously a sign—if any new sign were needed—that these areas would be permanently absorbed into the Soviet Union. And the statement by Constantine Oumansky, Russian Ambassador to Mexico, that "we shall have to retrieve 280 miles . . . to reach our frontier with Poland" was a clear announcement that Russia has no intention of relinquishing Eastern Poland.

In the matter of the European Commission, both Mr. Eden and Mr. Hull insisted upon the strictly advisory function of this body, for obvious reasons. They know that any final decisions taken by a commission from which the European nations are excluded could only create resentment and bitter resistance. Even though its functions are limited, the very fact that it represents the three big powers inevitably arouses the fear that Europe is to be divided up and its political problems solved in the interests of this small and overpowering military coalition. In spite of this, it is hard to see how the European commission could have been otherwise constituted. Obviously not all the Allied nations could have been included. And even if some system of selection or rotation had been devised, it is clear as crystal that no genuine expression of European interests is at present possible. A few governments-in-exile, like those of Czechoslovakia and Norway and the French Committee, could doubtless speak accurately in the name of their people. Others, like those of Greece and Poland and Yugoslavia, certainly could not. The present set-up is probably the best we can hope for in the present state of the war and of European political developments; the suspicions that cluster around the commission can be lessened only if it goes out of its way to invite the participation, on specific questions, of the smaller nations.

The problem of boundaries is also insoluble now, although its most controversial aspects are doubtless already solved. In some form or other the Baltic states will be a part of Russia, and so will Eastern Poland and Bessarabia and a slice of Finland. But just where the boundary lines will run, or just what degree of autonomy will be permitted, is unlikely to be decided until the general outlines of the peace take shape. Russia may well make concessions in return for solid assurances of security by its chief allies, but the concessions will not restore to Poland the land it wrenched from Russia—with Allied help—after the last war, or induce the Soviet Government to relinquish its own provisions for security. In spite of Mr. Hull's rather floundering attempt to reassure the Catholic bishops, these are the hard and obvious facts of the case.

Other important pieces of unfinished business, such as the future structure of Germany and the problem of regional federation, must also wait upon events. They could not have been settled in Moscow. The important thing is to have machinery at hand through which to take up each problem as it becomes ripe for solution. This, at least, Moscow provided.

The Enemy's Full Strength

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 17

I HAVE obtained a copy of a "Report on the Strength of the Axis" sent to all members of Congress last week and to a select list of leading industrialists. The report is by Major General George V. Strong, Assistant Chief of Staff and Chief of Military Intelligence. I had some difficulty in learning from the War Department whether or not the report was to be passed on to the public. "It's a touchy subject," one War Department employee said cryptically, and wanted to know where I had obtained it. On learning that I already had a copy, a responsible public-relations officer finally assured me that I was free to quote from it or condense it for publication. I propose to do so in this letter. For if the figures and analyses presented by General Strong are in any large measure correct, we still have a large war ahead of us, and the current wave of optimism which conditions most of our present political struggles is without foundation.

This optimism is in part the result of German propaganda and Soviet victories. But the dominant policy at the War and Navy departments—a belief that the best way to run the war is with plenty of ballyhoo, exaggerating victories and minimizing losses—must also be held responsible. An additional factor is our national temperament, which leads us to promote a war as we would a real-estate boom. The inflation of hopes may be as disastrous in the one case as in the other.

Of course, both War and Navy have their pessimists, and sometimes the same official will be optimistic one day, pessimistic the next. The effect is hardly clarifying. Here are a few salient points of this year's prophetic curve. On January 2 Admiral William F. Halsey, commander of the South Pacific fleet, predicted "complete absolute defeat for the Axis" in 1943. In July Vice-Admiral Frederick J. Horne, vice-chief of naval operations, told a Congressional committee that the war would last "at least until 1949." By October 27, however, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander of the Pacific fleet, was sure that we would "win the war long before the gloomy prediction of 1949."

The War Department likewise seems unable to make up its mind. On October 18 General Henry H. Arnold, commander of the Army Air Forces, held a most optimistic press conference. Allied bombings, he said, were sapping Germany's strength, forcing it to strip Italy of planes and leave "relatively few in Russia"; Germany had lost 10,000 planes in the Mediterranean area and had only 500 available when Italy was invaded. As for the Japanese, they "seem to have their fifth or sixth team in action in the Pacific." But the day after General Arnold's conference a quite different picture was presented at a private meeting of Congressmen addressed by Secretary Stimson, General Marshall, and General Strong. According to General Strong, the Luftwaffe, despite heavy losses, is larger now than it was in 1939.

We owe our knowledge of these private talks to a House "freshman," George E. Outland, a progressive Democrat from California. Outland told me he was so struck by Strong's statement that he asked permission to use some of its facts and figures in a Washington column he writes for the papers in his district. General Strong replied by sending a two-page summary of his private address, which Representative Outland released to the press on November 12. A few days later the War Department sent all members of Congress the full Strong report "with relatively minor deletions for military security."

Two key statements in the Strong report may help us to understand the military realities which made themselves felt at the Moscow conference. "Our optimism for the future," General Strong says, "is based almost entirely on the ability of our Russian allies to keep nearly three-quarters of the German army occupied in the east, and on the ability of American and British aviators to keep up their tremendous raids on Germany's European Fortress." At another point the head of our military intelligence notes, "If all the resources of the United Nations were pooled we would have a definite advantage over Germany in the European theater. However, were it not for the enormous sacrifices of our Russian ally, who is paying a heavy price for her magnificent victories, the odds would be roughly four or five to one against us."

After declaring that we have all been deceived by "highly optimistic publicity regarding relatively minor victories," the General gives a hard-boiled view of the power still at the disposal of our enemies. As against the twenty divisions lost at Stalingrad and the eight lost in North Africa, the Reich this year has raised more than sixty new divisions, each with six hundred machine-guns and three hundred heavier weapons. "That gives you an idea," General Strong says, "of how much German war industry is producing in spite of our aerial offensive." Their weapons include new models of tanks and guns "in some cases equal to and in some cases better than anything which the Allied armies have to place against them." One of these is a new rocket gun, weighing less than 1,800 pounds but with fire power equal to six heavy field howitzers weighing nine tons apiece.

Behind this war-production record is a steady increase in man-power. Strong reports that in June, 1939, there were 23,000,000 persons employed in the Reich's essential war industries. Today there are 35,000,000, including an estimated 7,000,000 foreign civilian workers and prisoners of war. Germany's full potential can only be grasped if one considers that it controls a population of 325,000,000, all "contributing at least in some measure to the German war effort." Its position in materials is good. It controls 42,000,000 tons in steel capacity today whereas it had but 25,000,000 tons in 1938. In 1942 its coal production was 186,000,000 tons, and "Axis Europe as a whole produced almost double that amount." Germany is nearly self-sufficient in rubber, thanks to synthetic production, and although there is a shortage of certain types of oil and lubricants, it "has sufficient high-octane gasoline for its air forces." Despite rumors to the contrary, "there is much evidence that the German railroad and transportation network is functioning efficiently and adequately."

Germany's food position, according to General Strong, is better than it was in the last war. The present diet of both the worker in heavy industry and the soldier "is higher in caloric content than it was at the outbreak of the war in 1939." Meat and fat rations, though down, are larger than they were in 1918. "The bread, flour, and cereal rations in 1918," Strong reports, "were less than forty ounces, compared with eighty-two ounces at present. This is a decrease of only two ounces since 1939. The cultivated acreage is only slightly below the pre-war level, and this year's harvest will surpass any crop output since the war started, comparing favorably with the pre-war average." Whatever the conditions in occupied Europe, the Reich itself is far from starving.

The Luftwaffe has become the weakest point of the German forces, "but even this weakness should not be overemphasized." Until July 1 of this year German plane production "more than made up" for losses in combat. During the first six months of this year production was up 25 per cent, and the Germans were building a surplus. Since July losses have exceeded production, "but unless this high attrition rate is maintained, their losses will be quickly recuperated. . . . To prevent that recuperation we must keep up a steady flow of replacements, both of planes and crews, to meet our losses. A slowdown in production or training would be fatal."

General Strong admits that his sketch of German economy "has not taken into consideration the cumulative material and psychological effect of Allied air attacks." He says the bombing of the Ruhr, Hamburg, and Berlin has done "heavy damage." He estimates a 30 per cent decline of production in the Ruhr during May and June—"equivalent to a loss of about 3 per cent of total German output for those months." But the dispersion and decentralization of German industry has made it necessary to extend Allied raids "in order to affect the economic potential to a critical degree."

"We, rather than the Germans," the General says, "have become the victims of our own propaganda about Nazi weakness." He warns that if we fool ourselves and relax too soon we may find ourselves back on the defensive, "our men again fighting gallant but hopeless rearguard actions, outnumbered both as to men and as to guns." These words contrast grimly with the headlines.

The fight against Japan, according to General Strong, has only begun. The Solomons are an outpost of the new Japanese empire, more than 3,000 miles from its heart. There "in fourteen months of bloody jungle warfare American troops have pushed less than two hundred miles north, under the cover of bombers with fighter protection." Strong thinks Japan is in a powerful defensive position. "Japan's geographical isolation is such," he asserts, "that her strong fleet could most advantageously hold the strategical defense but at the same time assume the tactical offensive. So long as the sea routes to the Asiatic mainland are open to Japan, it will be extremely difficult for any nation or combination of nations to defeat the Japanese army in Japan, eastern Siberia, or northern China."

Guarding these sea routes is a fleet which "still dominates the Western Pacific from Kamchatka to the Marshall Islands," despite the fact that it has been weakened "in some important respects by losses in the Southwest Pacific, at Midway, and elsewhere." A chain of airdromes from Japan to Singapore in the west and the Solomons in the east makes it possible "to concentrate air power at any given point in the Southwest Pacific without delay." Interior supply lines give the Japanese a great advantage, and Japan itself "is further guarded from our attack through our lack of access to China."

Man-power is "one of Japan's strongest points in the present war," according to Strong. In Japan itself the number of workers in war industry has risen from 3,000,000 to 9,000,000 since the war began, and there is an ample reservoir of men for military service. There are 2,000,000 men of military age not yet called to the colors; 1,500,000 more between the ages of seventeen and twenty not yet subject to the draft. "If Japan were hard pressed, which she unfortunately is not at present," General Strong reports, "she could probably raise and equip an additional twenty divisions within the next two years. With the inclusion of the more than sixty divisions she now has, this would be a number of combat divisions approaching the planned strength in divisions for the American army, not only for the Asiatic but for the European theater as well."

Japan's industry, unlike Germany's, is not within our bombing range. Despite severe losses in aircraft since Pearl Harbor, Strong says it is estimated that Japan has 500 more first-line planes than it had then. In addition, the Japanese "are producing newer and better types of aircraft which are faster, better armed, and apparently more maneuverable than those used at the outbreak of war." Pilot training is keeping pace with production. And while the Japanese soldier has less imagination and initiative than our own troops, "his courage and aggressiveness are beyond question."

There seems little possibility of starving Japan out. Strong estimates that it has enough manganese, tungsten, molybdenum, vanadium, mercury, tin, chrome, and rubber on hand for two or three years, enough high-octane gas for nearly three, and about a year and a half's supply of lubricating oils. Shipping is a weak point, with losses exceeding construction by 60 per cent, "but as Japan is driven progressively into the inner sphere of her defenses, her shipping lanes will become shorter and less vulnerable to Allied action."

There is enough rice for the Japanese—a stockpile of 20 to 25 per cent of normal needs set aside for a bad year. The supply of soy beans and potatoes is adequate, of fish ample: "Do not fool yourselves that the Japanese will be beaten easily if the Germans drop out of the war."

"Our main advantage in the great struggle we face," General Strong says in a concluding appeal, "is our ability to produce weapons. If through unwillingness to face the facts we give up this advantage, if through over-optimism we slow down production and relax our efforts, we may find that our opportunity for victory has escaped us permanently. To insure the accomplishment of our war mission—the decisive defeat of Germany and Japan—we must have not only the whole-hearted, unselfish, single-minded effort of every man, woman, and child in this country, but also the full utilization of every bit of productive power, inventive genius, and executive ability that we possess."

I wish General Strong's sober accounting and solemn warning could be broadcast to every part of our country instead of being confined as it has been to Congressmen and industrialists. The prevailing mood is that Germany is as good as beaten, the defeat of Japan a sideshow that need not interfere with the resumption of business as usual. The Strong report, if given wide publicity, would help dispel these most dangerous illusions.

The Axis: Cornered, Not Licked

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

[*This article, written before its author had had any opportunity to see General Strong's report, might appear to discount Mr. Stone's warning against over-optimism. But there is no real contradiction, for, as Mr. Mitchell would be the first to agree, his estimate of the situation would be invalidated by failure on the part of the United Nations not only to maintain but to tighten their grip on the still powerful Axis.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

THE true meaning of the German reverses in the Ukraine has not been appreciated by all observers. The German generals could quite reasonably have expected to stop their retreat at the Dnieper. Their armies had not been greatly reduced by the summer's retreat, they had shortened their communications, and they had reached prepared positions of their own choosing. Moreover, the Red Army, operating at the end of lengthened and hastily prepared supply lines, was certain not to be at its best. That under conditions in every way favorable to the defender the Soviet armies were able to strike at once in such power as to break through stubbornly held defenses and threaten with destruction as many as forty Nazi divisions is the highest testimony to Russian military prowess. The achievement has left many members of the American General Staff literally open-mouthed.

Because for foreign observers the Russian front is still the unknown war, many pertinent questions must remain unanswered. We do not yet know all of the factors which contributed to Soviet victory. German numerical inferiority and shortage of reserves are certain to have played a large part; Nazi communiqués complain repeatedly of the "overwhelming" numbers of the foe. Allied bombings have also inflicted cumulative damage on German power. And the enormous qualitative improvement in the Red Army should not be overlooked. Not only in size but man for man and unit for unit it is now more than a match for the German. We do not know the full extent of German and Russian casualties, but the circumstances of the past year indicate that those of Germany have been the greater.

It is certain that the Russians have not yet struck their heaviest blows. Fresh armies numbering 2,000,000 men are reported to be in training for the winter campaign, and it is doubtful whether Hitler, unless he chooses to strip the west entirely, has anything with which to match them. One may assume that the Russians are now repairing railroad lines, moving up supply bases, and otherwise easing their logistics problem. Hitler, having scraped the bottom of his man-power barrel, faces final assaults by fresh armies in both east and west without the necessary reserves.

Some British observers have pointed out that so many German divisions may be cut up by the defeats in the Ukraine that the war will end before spring. However, the desperation of the Nazi political chiefs, the skill with which the earlier retreats have been conducted, and the long distance still remaining between the Red Army and Germany proper make it probable that resistance will continue. Nor can any breakdown of morale be counted on to bring collapse. It is one thing for the individual German to be convinced the war is lost; it is quite another for him to be willing to face certain death in order to bring about an end to hostilities.

It is in the light of rapidly approaching German defeat that the Moscow conference must be viewed. Possibly the most vital single result of the conference was the satisfaction of Russian demands for an invasion of Western Europe. While it is hardly likely that we shall fulfil our earlier promise of a second front in 1943, Anglo-American invasion plans were evidently concrete and formidable enough to meet Stalin's wishes.

Another effect has been the subordination of the Italian front to demands in other fields. The Allies have not played all their cards in this theater of operations. Their invading armies are smaller than the German armies in Italy—though not inferior to the forces directly opposing Clark and Montgomery—and their new bases in Sardinia and Corsica flanking western Italy, like the superior sea and air forces at their disposal, have not found full employment. Progress up the peninsula has proceeded at a snail's pace, with the Germans refusing to commit their reserves in northern Italy until they learn where their foes are likely to make new moves. The slowness of this campaign and the failure to make new landings have been criticized. However, except as a base for air attack, Italy is of but moderate value to the Allies, and their strategy can be justly condemned only if it develops that the forces withheld from the Italian push are not to be better employed elsewhere.

Of far greater importance as a preparation for invasion is the Anglo-American bombing offensive, and despite bad weather and heavier losses it is certain to be intensified. Use of the Italian bases brings more targets within range and hence greater results. The American share of the offensive recently became one-third as compared to one-fifth six months ago. German industry has been well dispersed, with its plants camouflaged and placed in unlikely locations, and therefore raids do not always obtain the results expected. Nevertheless, the attrition of air bombing is probably nearly equal to that which would accompany the opening of a new major front on land. Only two answers, retort in kind and increased defenses, are possible. Germany no longer has the force for a really effective attack on England, but being unable to get at the United States, it has in desperation resumed nuisance raids on London. The second answer is no more adequate, for Allied planes are now turning to the elimination of German aircraft factories, and fighter output has been cut sharply.

While the European theater is the crucial one, recent developments in the Pacific are hardly to be classed as secondary. After two years of waiting and numerous false alarms, an amphibious offensive of genuine importance is under way. In the quality of its leadership and in its employment of combined land, sea, and air forces the campaign in the Southwest Pacific will probably be studied as a classic in years to come. As in the case of any move conducted far from home bases, time and careful preparation were required for the present attack. In fact, its beginnings date back to the final victory on Guadalcanal and MacArthur's move into New Guinea. The tactics employed by MacArthur, compelled to fight against superior numbers with almost no reserves to replace losses, should alone insure him a place among our greatest generals. By the use of superior air power each Japanese base—Milne Bay, Buna, Gona, Salamaua, Lae, and Finschhafen—was first isolated and then conquered by American and Australian troops.

The key to attack of this type is found in command of the air. Though the Japanese could at any step try to reinforce their garrisons and make a showdown fight, American command of the air made any such attempt excessively costly and liable to failure. Our "perfect" victories in the Battle of the Solomons and the Battle of the Bismarck Sea blocked the two most extensive efforts to save shore positions by risking large forces. At every step the Japanese have been forced to choose between abandoning a base or employing large forces to retain it under conditions making success unlikely.

In addition to his truly brilliant air and land tactics MacArthur is to be credited with camouflage of his main objective. Up to the middle of October most of the Allied moves seemed to be directed toward taking the rest of the enemy bases on the north coast of New Guinea. Madang and Wewak were repeatedly pounded from the air. Then, with the Japanese off guard, every available plane was thrown into a very effective saturation attack on Rabaul. Caught completely off balance, the enemy sought to get in reinforcements from Truk and the Indies. But new attacks gave little time for recovery, and ships and planes sent to Rabaul were destroyed in large numbers. Meanwhile, taking advantage of Rabaul's weakened state, and disregarding enemy air bases which had become inoperative, Halsey's men advanced up the Solomons ladder to Mono, Stirling, Choiseul, and Bougainville. A Japanese attempt to interfere with the landing at Empress Augusta Bay found the navy thoroughly ready, and in a night battle between equal forces the Japanese were defeated.

The recent fighting has uncovered our greatest single advantage over the Japanese, qualitative superiority. Our planes have chalked up almost unbelievably one-sided victories against the enemy's. They have destroyed warships by the dozen, though our own warships have revealed no such frailty against Japanese planes. Except at Savo Island we have won our naval battles, and the enemy's fixed habit of repeating his tactics has played into our hands. There has been no evidence of lowered Japanese morale or will to fight but plenty that a widening gulf exists as regards technical efficiency.

The present offensive is merely a preliminary step in the Pacific war, made possible by our growing naval and air strength. It probably aims far beyond Rabaul and will seek to gain island positions flanking enemy communications to the south. Many and long are the steps ahead. But the present attack is the greatest that Japan has so far faced. At last reconquest has begun.

Diary of the Future

BY VERNON BARTLETT

IV. British Political Tensions

[This is the fourth instalment of "a cautionary tale . . . a rash attempt to write history before it has happened," by a distinguished British journalist and member of Parliament. The previous instalment, which appeared on November 13, took the author to Allied-occupied Berlin five weeks after Germany's collapse. The next will describe the opening of the Peace Conference in Washington.]

AUGUST 12. Flew down to Munich for the day to see John Wheeler-Bennett, who is doing a job there for one of the more mysterious of the inter-Allied commissions. He was encouraging about the growth of the separatist movement in Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg. There was a similar movement after the last war, and it was developing well until M. Dard, French Minister in Munich, heard of it and began to subsidize it, or try to do so—the men I knew in it at the time would never have taken money from a Frenchman. Once it was thus made suspect, no patriotic German would have anything to do with it. And yet, had the three southern states broken away from Prussia, you would have had two great German-language powers with roughly equal-sized populations—a northern and mainly Protestant one, controlled by Prussia, and a southern and mainly Catholic one, controlled by Austria.

John tells me the Bavarian forests and mountains are still so crowded with bandits that the roads through them are very unsafe even by day. Some of these men are soldiers who refuse to accept the surrender and shoot our fellows whenever they have a chance. Some are Nazis, Black Shirts and Brown Shirts, who are too frightened of the vengeance of their compatriots to venture back to their homes. Some are ordinary civilians whose homes have been destroyed. Bands of these men occasionally come up against bands of Czechs or Austrians or Yugoslavs or Greeks who were among Hitler's slave laborers and who are tramping back to their native lands. On some such occasions pitched battles take place, and there are very few survivors. One or two quite prominent Nazi leaders are in the mountains, and hold up the traffic as though they were robber barons.

Am writing this in an army plane on the way back to England. Another passenger is a very pleasant brigadier, name unknown. He produced the obvious, but startling, argument that it is much more important to see that the International Police, whatever form it takes, is strong than that Germany is weak. In other words, we failed last time not because we didn't disarm Germany thoroughly enough but because we didn't introduce *collective* armaments to check aggression and each went our own way.

August 14. Back from Berlin in time to attend an angry debate on demobilization. Every M. P. is getting scores of letters from men urging that, in their special case, demobilization should be speeded up. The Prime Minister, quite rightly, insisted he could make no further concessions, since we still had to defeat Japan and still did not know how large a force we should have to maintain for international police work. I managed to intervene to push forward the claim that this police force should consist almost entirely of highly mobile air-borne divisions, and that there need not be many of them. But the old enemies of the League of Nations are already active against the idea of even a small force.

The real struggle behind the demobilization campaign is, of course, the struggle for or against social security. Several Labor back-benchers pointed out that after the last war men were given a twelve months' out-of-work policy on demobilization, plus an advance of pay, a civilian suit, and twenty-eight days' leave. But that didn't prevent the most terrible chaos during demobilization and such unemployment after the short post-war boom that men were reduced to selling matches. Had the government accepted the Beveridge Report without delay or hesitation, men still kept in the forces would at least have the consolation of knowing that they could hardly be reduced to the match-selling status.

People who understand about party politics are convinced we are in for the collapse of the National Government. The people are expecting the immediate fulfilment of promises, precise or implied, made to them in the Atlantic Charter and scores of subsequent speeches; the privileged classes are coming out into the open and saying it would be dangerous to make changes, social or economic, at so critical a time. We must avoid controversy, they say, and apparently it is not controversial to insist that we ought to go on in exactly the same way as our fathers did in a world that is changing at a vertiginous speed. The Labor Party, which has for so long seemed to be moribund, is showing a lot of unexpected fight about all sorts of problems.

Bed early, with a high and sudden temperature.

August 22. Have had five marvelous days by the sea in Cornwall trying to shake off the effects of the very slight touch of Polish influenza I picked up in Berlin or Munich. What must a real attack be like! Fine surf bathing and grand sunshine. Rusty barbed wire all along the beach still, and a lot of soldiers cursing these wonderful surroundings because they want to be demobilized and to get back to work.

Back to London, alas, tomorrow. Political crisis on the horizon. The Preliminary Peace Conference—the European Preliminary Peace Conference—is to be held, rather unexpectedly, in Washington on September 15. The Prime Minister, who is over there now, is said to have agreed to this under great pressure from President Roosevelt, who is increasingly alarmed by the lack of American interest in any overseas problem except that of Japan. He hopes that a conference in the States will help to change this.

August 24. The debate on the composition of the British delegation to Washington has brought the political crisis to a head. When the list of delegates was read out by the Deputy Prime Minister—the Prime Minister being still in Washington—the Labor Party, the Liberals, and the Independents were obviously alarmed by the number of the "old gang" it contained. Shouts and jeers across the House as though there never had been a party truce. The government's refusal to answer any further questions led to bitter party meetings and to the drafting of a Labor resolution which, if adopted, will be a vote of censure on the government.

August 27. The Prime Minister flew back to attend Parliament. Made a moving speech on the gravity of a decision at this moment to end the all-party coalition government, but many of the Conservatives on the benches behind him were obviously anxious the coalition should end. They have everything to gain by it since they will not then have to share the praise for winning the war. On the other hand, members of the Labor Party who have wanted to end the truce for eighteen months or so are not anxious to share the blame for the kind of peace they fear the government will make.

Criticism concentrated on three points: the sense of social insecurity, intensified by the demobilization muddle and the threatened coal strike; the lack of a vigorous and constructive peace policy; the composition of the peace delegation. On the last point the Prime Minister was accommodating, and agreed to strengthen Labor and Liberal representation, but that didn't satisfy the rank and file of the Labor Party, who have seen how little their official representatives are able to make their desires known, or, at any rate, accepted.

At one time it seemed certain the government would be defeated. But once again the sense of international urgency kept a number of us from voting against it. All the same, it might have been wiser to get the fight settled one way or another. As the matter was left, the progressive wing of the peace delegation will be strengthened, but the government can count on so small a majority in Parliament that it will lack decision and energy in Washington. And never was it more important that Britain's voice should be strong.

August 28. The Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has again been attacked in Congress, and I am told that the Administrator is threatening to resign. Raymond Gram Swing, broadcasting last night, explained how the publicity campaign against the dispatch of food to Europe was being organized as efficiently as the campaign conducted years ago against the Disarmament Conference in Geneva. It is so difficult for Americans to realize that they haven't got unlimited food supplies, and that much of their own shortages come from the fact that thousands of farm workers have gone into war factories, where, earning far more than before, they also eat more.

The Peace Conference is also being bitterly attacked, even before its work begins. With obvious reluctance Swing quoted from an editorial in the Chicago *Tribune*. The American people, it asserted, were too busy dealing with the Japs to want to welcome these so-called peacemakers and busybodies from a small, decadent, and quarrelsome continent called Europe. The paper added that after the last war American troops remained in Germany until 1923, but that they would not remain one year, let alone five years, after *this* war. Knowing Raymond, I don't think he would have quoted from that article unless he had considered that it represented the views of quite an important number of people.

September 2. Have had two terribly moving days in Paris. The city is swept by every kind of emotion, of which the most depressing is the bitterness against the Americans. At every meeting I have had with De Gaulle, since the first one at the French front in 1940, I found it a little difficult to keep my temper. Despite a rather disarming and diffident smile, which suggested he wasn't quite sure of himself, he has been so dogmatic (the Italians have a word for it: *prepotente*) that it has been impossible to argue with him. I therefore had underestimated the extent to which people in France under the occupation had come to look upon him as the symbol of resistance. He has become, to an extraordinary extent, a national hero, and the campaign waged against him by the State Department has raised his pedestal by several feet. Many people in Washington and some in London had failed to appreciate that his affronts, his bad temper, his general troublesomeness would be approved by the French as evidence that their country was reasserting itself, that France still counted.

This has meant that, both by their dealings with Darlan and other men of Vichy and by their obvious dislike of De Gaulle, the Americans have entirely lost the traditional good-will of France. There was a good deal of feeling against the British as well when it became known that a British destroyer had saved Marshal Pétain. Again, I hadn't realized how, during the last year, the ordinary people of France had come to hate and despise that old man. But since the storming of the Cherche-Midi prison their anti-British feeling has diminished, for they would not have wanted him to suffer the same fate as Laval, Doriot, and Déat.

It was this storming of the prison that brought me over to Paris for my paper. The whole business was a kind of throw-back to the French Revolution. A students' demonstration on the Boulevard St. Michel started it. The prison is only about a mile away, and somebody suggested the attack on it. The crowd, armed with bricks, broomsticks, pokers, and so on, grew to a terrific size, and the French police and troops did not intervene. Prison officials handed Laval and the others over without protest and they were hanged from the electric-light standards on the Rue du Cherche-Midi. Nine men died in this way, including one who was not a political prisoner at all but was hanged by mistake.

One of the Quaker ambulance drivers took me up to the Gare de l'Est to see the arrival of a prisoners-of-war train. It was heart-breaking, and I invented an excuse to get away a few minutes after the train came in. Although these trains are naturally given the highest priority, it had taken nearly three days to come from Berlin; there is still such congestion and disorganization on the railways. Many of the war prisoners were cripples, but they were less pathetic than those others who had been consistently overworked and underfed since they were captured in 1940.

The saddest part of the whole business was the quietness. The French are supposed to be noisy and demonstrative, and these soldiers had been separated from their families for years. In most cases there was very little sound, and not much sign, of joy about the reunions: men and women were too weak and tired, the small children hardly remembered their fathers, and there were very few young men or girls, since most of them are still somewhere in Germany. As yet there are no trains to spare for them; they have to get back to France on foot.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE LAST LEGISLATURE of Michigan passed a law which attempted to confer upon women the right to vote in municipal elections. . . . The Supreme Court rendered a decision last week declaring the law unconstitutional and void, on the ground that the constitution of Michigan does not extend the franchise to women, and that the legislature cannot confer the right by statute, an amendment of the constitution being the only lawful way to accomplish the result. Constitutional amendments providing for woman suffrage are, in fact, now pending in two Western states—Colorado and Kansas.—*November 2, 1893.*

AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS against immoral literature—probably the first of its kind—was held at Lausanne, September 12 to 14. . . . There is, of course a general agreement about the flagrant forms of obscene literature, which carry their grossness and their evil purpose on their face. . . . To execute a law which would be effective against the elusive forms of immoral literature without being an instrument of tyranny would require, in the authorities set for its interpretation and enforcement, a critical and aesthetic faculty and a moral sense such as the world has never yet seen in officialdom, or out of it, for that matter.—*November 2, 1893.*

THE CURRENT OPINION is that the logical candidate of the Republicans for the Presidency in 1896 is William McKinley. This is our opinion also. The Republican Party believes in protection. Formerly it believed in protection only for infant industries. Now it believes in protecting aged ones as well, and this it learned from McKinley. Formerly it believed in moderate protection; now it believes in extreme protection. This, too, it learned from McKinley. Formerly it believed in protection for a time; now it believes in protection for eternity. This, too, it learned from McKinley.—*November 16, 1893.*

"PLATO AND PLATONISM: A Series of Lectures." By Walter Pater. Macmillan & Co. . . . To Mr. Pater, in an eminent degree, philosophy is a spirit to live with, not a piece of property to lay upon one's shelf.—*November 30, 1893.*

AMONG THE VARIOUS PLANS on foot for increasing the national revenue, an income tax has been advocated by an influential group of Democratic politicians.—*November 30, 1893.*

Oscar Ameringer Never Weakened

BY McALISTER COLEMAN

WHEN word of the death of Oscar Ameringer came to the little colony of white and colored cotton workers which Ameringer founded in the Delta country of Louisiana in the depression years, there was grieving for the passing of the group's great-hearted leader. In the coal pits of Illinois old heads bowed lower when they learned that "Adam Coal-digger," whose writings they had followed for years in their union paper, would speak no more of the brave and wise and humorous words that had cheered them through recurrent crises. In New York veteran Socialists, remembering when Ameringer came out of the Midwest to join with them in organizing the garment workers, mourned the loss of one of the outstanding pioneers of the party. And all across the continent, on remote farms and in small towns and in great cities, fighters for the under-dog knew that a doughty comrade-in-arms had fallen in the struggle.

Literally in the struggle, for Oscar's death at Oklahoma City on November 6 can be attributed to his trip last year to the Louisiana colony, where he hoped to set up for the Negro workers a school as well-equipped as the Eva Frank Schoolhouse, built under Ameringer's direction, for the whites. He was suffering from heart trouble when, against the advice of his doctor, he made the long trip to the Delta. As was his custom, he lived in cheap hotels, took no heed of his diet, worked furiously over his plans—at anything but union hours. He was more dead than alive when his gallant wife, Freda, the daughter of Dan Hogan of Socialist fame, drove down to bring him home, but a stay at the Community Hospital at Elk City, Oklahoma, the cooperative started by his friend and comrade Dr. Michael Shadid, gave him a new lease on life.

Now he was full of plans again. Each day for a little time they let him sit in the sun that made the autumn flowers glow along the garden wall back of his comfortable Oklahoma City home. There he worked over the material for his projected history of modern Europe, to be written in the style of his "Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam," for years a best-selling Socialist pamphlet. He planned to resume his contributions to the *Progressive,* with which after Pearl Harbor his weekly, the *American Guardian,* had merged. Perhaps he would go back to painting again, and there was always his music. And then his heart stopped beating, and in America, the America of grass roots and quarter-sections and mean side streets, of coal diggers, share-croppers, and steel workers, a strong light went out.

To this America Oscar had come as a stripling from his native Bavaria in 1886. His mother was a peasant woman, his father a cabinet-maker, as austere as the mother was tender. The boy's childhood was an unhappy one. He was in early rebellion against authority, hating with equal intensity the Prussian drill sergeants on maneuvers near his little village and the sadistic teachers in the parochial schools. In his autobiography, "If You Don't Weaken," published shortly before Pearl Harbor, he writes of the days of his youth with a grimness tempered with humor and indicates plainly enough how the sensitive artist was transformed into a social rebel.

As soon as he arrived in this country he went to the Midwest, "the Valley of Democracy," joined the mystical Knights of Labor, worked at his trade of cabinet-maker enough to meet his modest wants, haunted the public libraries and read the biographies of our Revolutionary leaders, attended trade-union and Socialist meetings, walked on picket lines until he could say with George Bernard Shaw, "Socialism made a man of me."

Soon he was editing trade-union papers and organizing the brewery workers in New Orleans or the musicians' union in the Midwest, always hammering away at his favorite themes—industrial democracy with production for use as its goal, an alliance of farm and factory workers, workers' education, cooperation, all inspired by an indigenous hickory-shirt socialism. In Milwaukee Victor Berger was his teacher as he was also the teacher of Eugene Debs, and when the Milwaukee *Leader* was started, Ameringer became its most eagerly read contributor.

The First World War, with its subsequent reign of terror, first under Postmaster General Burleson and then under the ineffable A. Mitchell Palmer, drove knives into Oscar's heart. He saw his friends and comrades, many of them descendants of the revolutionary refugees of 1848, persecuted and tortured by chauvinist mobs. The *Leader,* deprived of its second-class mailing privileges, somehow carried on, with the letters from subscribers going to Freda Hogan's Milwaukee address, but the fury with which an implacable Administration harassed the Socialists heightened until Berger and Ameringer were indicted on enough counts to send them to jail for a hundred years.

Oscar went down to the Southwest when the indictments against him were quashed, and there headed an organizing campaign among the farmers and railroad men that renewed the pre-war march of that region toward Socialist goals. His Oklahoma *Daily Leader* struck fiercely at the Klan. It fought so valiantly for the embattled coal miners that he was given the editorship of the *Illinois Miner,* weekly paper of District 12 of the United Mine Workers of America, the insurgent wing of the union, in those days in headlong opposition to the policies of John L. Lewis. Oscar's "Adam Coaldigger" column in the *Miner* became famous through all the labor world. The paper had a flavor that set it apart from the run of stodgy trade-union organs filled with adulation of the union administration, stock pictures of officials, a mess of dreary boiler-plate. But running the *Miner* was no bed of roses. "Editing a labor paper," cried Oscar, "is like feeding melted butter on the end of a hot awl to an infuriated wildcat."

"The function of a politician," said Oscar in his column, "is to get campaign contributions from the rich and votes from the poor on the ground that he is going to defend one class from the other." "Money is like manure," he decided, echoing Francis Bacon, "no good unless it's spread around." Of two Supreme Court decisions, one favoring the railroads, the other against a child factory worker named Mary, Oscar remarked, "Too bad little Mary wasn't born a railroad."

When in 1930 the Illinois miners finally decided to wage open war on the Lewis regime, Oscar's speech at the Springfield convention of the insurgents was as moving a bit of proletarian oratory as I have ever heard. Even Gene Debs could not have exceeded Oscar that tense afternoon. "The rank and file," he said in his peroration, "is like the grass of the fields. The rains and snows beat upon it; winds and flame devour it; but one day in the early spring there is a secret stirring in the earth and behold the grass has sprung up again—green and very beautiful under a golden sun. So with you, dear brothers. You will rise again even as the grass of the field; though all men's hands be set against you, though you feel yourselves isolated and abandoned, you, the rank and file, will surely rise to spread the green mantle of democracy over this ravished American soil."

Sentimental, faintly absurd, to be comparing these harsh-featured, gnarled men from the pits with the young grass of spring? Certainly it was, yet somehow they understood and loved the speaker and his words, and cheered Oscar until the tears stood in his eyes as he looked out from the platform over his people.

That sort of thing, some latter-day "realistic" labor leader will protest, was all right for its time and place; we have to get down to brass tacks today. Ameringer, who had written of the need for expanding the industrial-union form of organization back in the nineties, using the brewery workers and the miners' unions as models, was among the first laymen to urge that coal be burned in the fields and its energy carried off over high-powered electric transmission lines. He was stirred by the stories coming out of Germany between wars of the work of Friedrich Bergius, the Nobel prize winner, in the hydrogenation of coal, and vainly attempted to set up a Bergius plant in southern Illinois, to be subsidized in part by union funds. Oscar saw in the integration, under government operation and with democratic controls, of electric power, transportation, and coal the ultimate solution of the perennial coal problem. His papers supported the Brophy plan for the nationalization of coal and, later on, the proposals for giant power centers made by Morris L. Cooke and other forward-looking engineers at a time when the mention of either was forbidden in Lewis's *United Mine Workers' Journal.*

Always he believed that the unions, together with consumers' cooperatives and farm organizations like the Farmers' Union, could among them create a new democratic culture for our industrial civilization. One day he walked in on Frank Farrington, the big-framed president of the Illinois Miners and Lewis's most powerful antagonist.

"Frank," asked Oscar, peering at the mine leader over his spectacles, "how many people lived in Athens at the time of Pericles?"

Farrington gazed blankly at his editor.

"Not counting slaves," went on Oscar hurriedly, "just about 350,000 men, women, and children, who made a civilization there that has never been equaled. Now we've got a population of miners and their families of about the same number right here in District 12 . . ."

"What do you want?" asked Farrington resignedly, knowing of old the oblique approach employed by Ameringer when he wanted something for his people. This time it was to have the union subsidize miners' Chautauquas in the summer months when the pits were closed. Oscar would bring to the fields the pick of the entertainment world, a good orchestra, speakers who knew the economic time of day, and technicians to talk of the larger problems of the industry in understandable language. This would be a streamlining of the old Socialist encampments at which Oscar and Walter Mills and Kate O'Hare had spoken and later Oscar and his three sons had played quartets for the farmers from all the quarter-sections. To be sure, nothing came of this proposal, just as nothing has come of Oscar's proposals for the integration of coal with water-power and transportation. But with a few honorable exceptions, what younger labor leader today is offering his membership such an intelligent combination of educational facilities?

Of his many contributions to the labor movement, Ameringer of course will be remembered longest for his precious gift of humor. He was called the "Mark Twain of labor" and later "the workers' Will Rogers." Any analysis of humor is futile, but I would not agree that Oscar's humor was that of the man who in his last years became a protégé of J. P. Morgan's or the wisecracking Oklahoma cowpuncher who showed with pride an autographed picture of Andrew W. Mellon addressed to "My good friend, Will Rogers." They tried that once on Oscar: the late Arthur Brisbane, with memories of his father's socialism, took Ameringer up to a high mountain with offers of what seemed a fortune if he would come over to the Hearst papers. Brisbane used to shake a puzzled head over Oscar's indignant refusal.

I would say that of all American humorists Oscar's bosom comrade, the incomparable Art Young, is the man with whom, in his tenderness and pity, his fierce hatred of injustice, hypocrisy, and tyranny, Ameringer can best be compared. For years I dreamed of a book of the pick of Oscar's columns illustrated by Art Young.

How all of us, "the Wise Men of the East," as Oscar derisively called us, as well as the workers, needed that cleansing Aristotelian purge of laughter! When word went around New York that Oscar was in town, we'd gather at the home of Arthur Garfield Hays or Morris Ernst or Evans Clark to make an adoring circle around the veteran editor while he recounted his youthful adventures with the counterfeit quarter (you'll find them in "If You Don't Weaken"; Freda Ameringer has some copies left at the Leader Building, Oklahoma City), the love life of the Reverend King, the founding of the Conservatory of Music at the Texas whistle stop. Heywood Broun would come lumbering in to sit fascinated at Oscar's feet and later to use the counterfeit-quarter theme in several of his columns. Oscar was a born mimic, and he would strut around the room giving us the pious front of the Reverend King about to rob the collection plate for beer money, or the aged John D. Rockefeller "chasing a little white ball around a cow pasture with a shinny-stick."

In his speeches to the workers he had the Shavian trick of stating a conventional platitude—"Capital takes all the risks," "You can't change human nature," "If all the money were divided," etc.—and turning it inside out until his overalled audience rocked with laughter. But he was never merely the clown. Two minutes after he had started on the most fantastic of his tall stories you knew that you were en rapport with a brilliant intelligence brooding over the comedies and tragedies of our common lot and holding up a mirror whose reflections we were to ponder long after the last laugh had died away. Often the tears of laughter would be mingled with those of sudden sorrow when the foremost raconteur of our times had finished.

True, he often compromised on immediate demands, on the Socialist Party "line," on short-time political issues. But never on the fundamentals. Because he did not weaken in his hatred of war and the cruel system that breeds it, in his faith in the ultimate wisdom of the common man, his belief that somehow we can make a new civilization with room in it for mercy and love and laughter, Oscar Ameringer's was a great life.

In the Wind

JAMES LOEB, JR., executive secretary of the Union for Democratic Action, recently received a form letter containing these words: "You can see that *Planning* is edited for the men who control the destinies of American industry. That is why we are offering this weekly news letter on post-war planning to management executives only, and that is why we invite YOU to join."

THE HODGMAN RUBBER COMPANY is mailing synthetic rubber bands to editors with this message: "Here is a typical example of an American development which was made free from political interference."

HENRY G. FLEER (coal, coke, fuel oil, and air transport) now affixes to his letterhead a gold sticker bearing the legend, "Atlantic Educational Foundation—Education for the Masses. Founded 1943 by Henry G. Fleer." This is a sample of the educational material: "Germany will succumb and is now definitely out of the war, although still maintaining a show of force. The European war is over."

AN AMERICAN GENERAL in London tells this one on himself. His staff car, emblazoned with the insignia of his rank and driven by a military chauffeur, had a slight collision with a battered old London taxi. The general got out and berated the cabby at some length, ending with the rhetorical question, "What have you to say for yourself?" The cabby looked the general in the eye and replied, "Pearl 'Arbor to you, sir."

THE CHICAGO TELEPHONE DIRECTORY lists four numbers for McCormick, Robert R., Col.: one for the residence, one for "service," one for "pvt. garage," and one for "pvt. stables." All are located on Roosevelt Road.

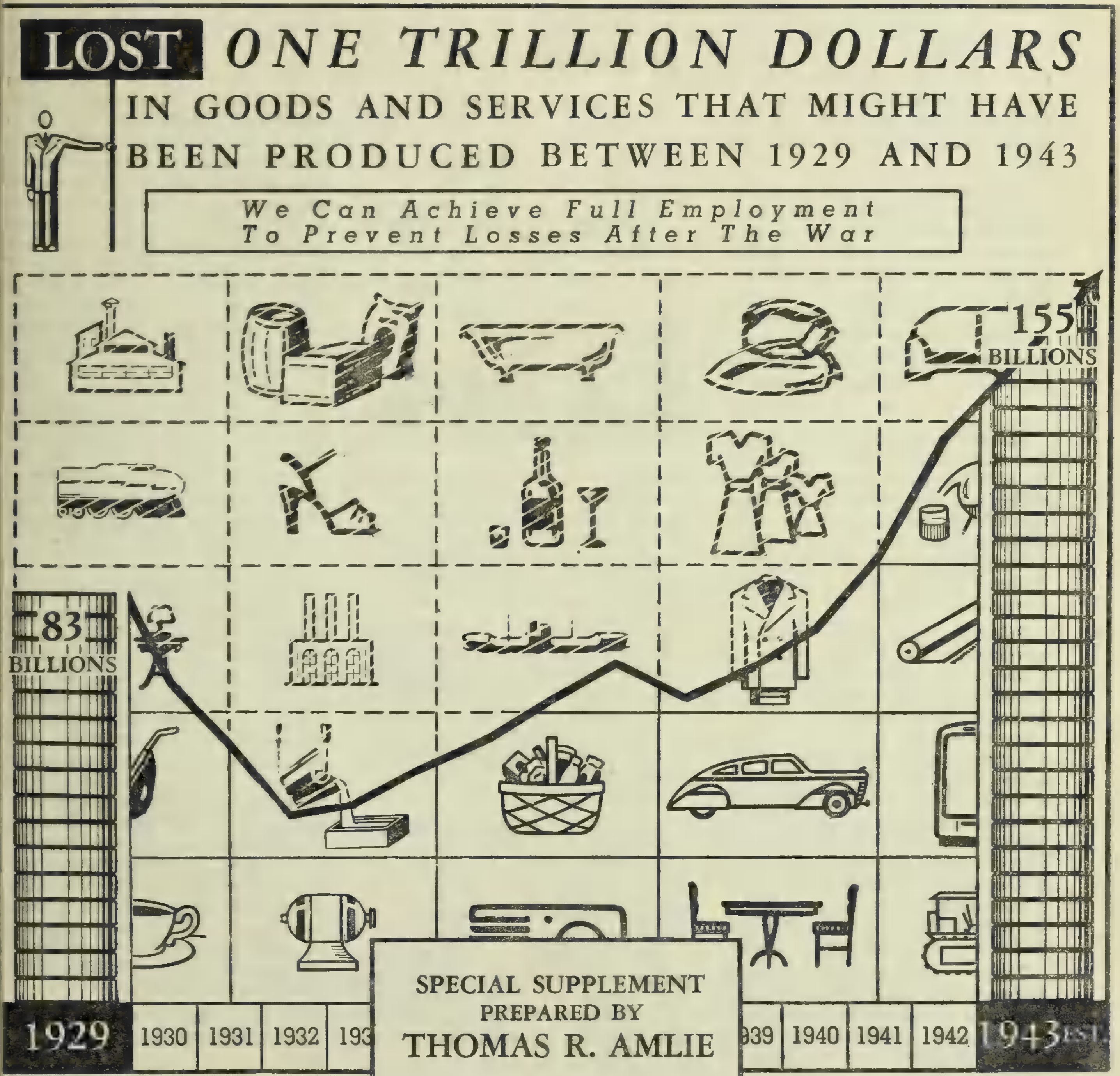
FROM AN ACCOUNT of an address by "Otto, archducal heir of all the Hapsburgs," in the Chicago *Tribune:* "There was a tremendous much befurred and feathered crowd. . . . There were a few oustanding features in this long talk. First of all there was no mention of Russia, not a syllable. . . . George of Greece was fully praised. Crown Prince Umberto of Italy also came in for much praise. . . . But when it came to Count Carlo Sforza, who hustled over to Italy to enter the political ring, Otto denounced him in no uncertain way."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Six of the nine bookstores in Bergen, Norway, have been ordered to close in order to free men for the compulsory labor service. . . . Kindergartens throughout Germany now teach children this prayer for grace before meals: "Fold your little hands, bow your little head; think of him who gives us our daily bread. Adolf Hitler is his name; him we as our savior claim." . . . Polish churches now bear signs reading "Poles not admitted."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

THE Nation

November 27, 1943



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Vol. 157, No 22, Part II

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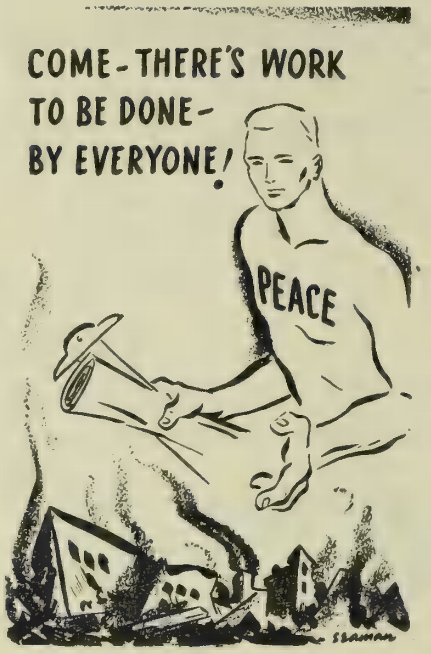

COME-THERE'S WORK TO BE DONE-BY EVERYONE!
PEACE
SEAMAN

OUT of the mounting discussion of things to come after the war, one thing appears to tower over all—the problem of employment, of jobs for all.

It is the pivot of all blueprints, the crux of every design for stable peace and reasonable security. It is the least reward America could offer its returning millions of veterans, the minimum of recognition it could give the many other millions who have stood faithfully, loyally on the home front producing fabulous quantities of material for the fighting fronts.

* * *

Industry is already making its post-war terms known. Through velvety or strident voices, depending on which business group is using the microphone, industry plans to "take organized labor down a peg or two." Industry dares not openly attack collective bargaining but it is warring on the closed shop.

Primarily, and there's hardly a secret about it, industry seeks to lower wages. "Why should a free American worker be compelled to join a union to keep his job?" Do away with the closed shop, its argument runs, and production will increase, labor costs will become lower and there'll be more jobs. Big industry is less touchy on the pay envelope subject now, while the war is on, as four-fifths of its payroll comes out of government funds anyway. After the war, industry may use the whip of unemployment to bring down the entire wage structure of the country.

Industry will contend that it could not profitably run its business unless corporate taxes are drastically cut. It will oppose expansion of social security legislation on the plea of economy, and, above all, it will fight for a letdown of government regulation of business. Already, the din of "free enterprise" is filling the air, which in simpler terms means freedom from "interference" by government as well as by labor.

And last but not least, industry will demand the turning over of government-owned plants to private interests—for little more than nothing. Not less than one-third of the industrial plants working at present on war needs in this country were built with government funds.

* * *

The unions will fight against the open-shoppers and the scheme to bring down the national wage structure. The unions know only too well that low wages are no guarantee for more jobs. Wages were pretty low and breadlines were long in the days of the Great Depression. The unions will oppose overnight reduction of corporate taxes. The government will still need huge sums after the war to meet joblessness.

The unions will demand expansion of social security legislation, with unemployment benefits to cover more weeks than heretofore—to help the returned soldiers over the hard times until they get jobs. The unions will oppose the government turning over to private capital its great roster of factories. It is true that the American unions are not particularly enamored with the prospect of government going into business. The unions, however, believe that the government should, through pressure on business and through credits to new industries, help in stimulating new employment sources. The better way, therefore, is not to turn over these plants outright to private capital but to exercise through them a degree of control over private industry with a view to reviving the industries which were especially hit by the war.

* * *

The solution of these problems, on which the future of America literally depends, will be linked, in a large measure, to the outcome of the national elections next year. The demand for post-war economic security will furnish the dynamics with which that contest will be fought out. And economic security means not economic relief but jobs. America with its huge natural resources, its gigantic industrial plant and financial strength, should prove capable, under intelligent and realistic leadership, of furnishing jobs and a livelihood to all its employable citizens—if the government only is able to resist pressures of selfish business interests and reckons primarily with the welfare of the great American masses.

—From editorial in "Justice," official organ, ILGWU, issue November 1, 1943.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

American Federation of Labor

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

Introduction: The Time to Plan

OF THE making of post-war plans there is no end. They are pouring forth in newspapers, magazines, books, and government reports. There are public plans and private plans; city plans, state plans, national plans, international plans. Even the anti-planners are at it, striving to concoct a plan to end all planning.

Nevertheless, in sponsoring yet another post-war economic program *The Nation* makes no apologies, for while a measure of government planning is widely accepted in the abstract, the debate about its objectives and its methods remains red hot. Thomas R. Amlie, who has written this supplement, insists that we can be satisfied with no goal short of full employment, the total utilization of our national capacity to produce wealth for the enjoyment of our people. He is, of course, by no means a lone advocate of such a goal; nor would he claim any patent on the ways and means he proposes for its attainment. The originality of the job he has done lies rather in his examination of the political implications of a plan to promote full employment and his weighing of the forces which oppose and support it.

Mr. Amlie is especially qualified for this task since in addition to being a life-long student of economics he has had many years of practical experience in politics. As a Representative of Wisconsin in Congress for three terms he had abundant opportunity to watch the business lobbies weaving their webs; as an organizer of progressive movements, particularly in the Middle West, he has discovered how much inertia must be overcome, how many entangling bonds of tradition cut, before the common man learns to use his political power in his best interests. And now he sees the coming struggle not in the usual class terms but rather as a contest between big business and the rest of the community. Full employment is a program which should appeal to workers, farmers, and small business men alike, for all these groups would be squeezed dry by a return to the depression of the early thirties or even to the economic stagnation that prevailed immediately before the war. But they will have to forsake their sectional fox holes and combine for a grand assault on the fortress of "unfettered private enterprise" or they will be defeated in detail.

If the leaders of big business were wise they would avoid a fight on this issue by conceding the right and duty of the state to take responsibility for the maintenance of full employment. For if they win after this war, if they succeed in imposing their economic policy on the country, the responsibility becomes theirs. This some among them recognize. Even the *Wall Street Journal*, in commenting on a report of the National Resources Planning Board, has warned:

> In the absence of militant private initiative to avert widespread unemployment, the collectivist philosophy . . . will take charge "to make America over." This newspaper will not presume to say how the forces of private enterprise should prepare to meet the difficulties of the post-war transition. . . . But believers in private initiative must *have* initiative; advocates of private enterprise must *be* enterprising; lovers of personal liberty must accept the risks of its enjoyment.

Seeing the extent to which business is organized on semi-monopoly lines with a view to circumventing initiative outside the charmed circle and to minimizing risks, we may be skeptical about the degree to which it is likely to observe these precepts. But we can at least agree that the survival of private enterprise depends on its ability to deliver the goods. If it can drive the huge productive machine it controls only at half speed it will be ousted by competing forms of economic organization. This is true even though the average American remains a stout individualist, allergic to government controls. For while there is no large demand for socialism in this country, there is an overwhelming insistence on security. And by that is meant not merely a chance to subsist on relief or stave off hunger on a WPA wage but a chance to remain steadily at work and to earn enough to provide a decent standard of living. If this modest ideal be satisfied, there will be no strong urge toward a radical change in the economic system. But if business does not justify its faith by works, if after a brief post-war boom we find factories closing down and workless men tramping the streets, then we shall face changes in our economic system far more drastic than anything proposed by Mr. Amlie.

A year or two ago a good many business leaders would have accepted this diagnosis. But now that the political pendulum is apparently swinging in their direction they are showing an increasing tendency to insist on "economic freedom" while rejecting any responsibility for the results. It is becoming fashionable in tory circles to point a finger of scorn at the demand for security and to dismiss the idea of full employment as neither possible nor desirable. Even if we do have five to ten million unemployed, it is suggested, that is not too high a price to pay for the maintenance of "the American way of life."

Meanwhile business, we are told, is doing its own planning. This is all to the good, but we have to recognize that an aggregate of industrial plans does not add up to a national plan. Every corporation can tot up the number of men it is able to employ if working at capacity. But the moment the demand for its product falls, its plan becomes obsolete.

Only the government can influence and control total demand. There are a number of methods which it can employ, but Mr. Amlie has selected two for special emphasis: (a) the placing of a floor under the economy by means of payments to the unemployed of $100 a month subject to certain safeguards; (b) the use of a public-works program to absorb savings for which an outlet cannot be provided by private investment. The first proposal is a safeguard against the kind of catastrophic collapse which we suffered after 1929. Its efficacy has been proved by such countries as Sweden and Britain, which were able to arrest the slump of the early thirties far more rapidly than we did.

A public-works budget may be used as a governor to keep the economic machine running at even speed. Its merits and limitations have been debated at length in recent years, and we need not add at this time to the arguments Mr. Amlie musters for the necessity of public works if full employment is to be obtained. But it may be worth pointing out that if our national income is maintained at anything like its possible maximum, increased socialized consumption will vastly widen the scope of public works. This phrase may sound formidable, but in fact it describes something very familiar, for schools, parks, roads, museums, and libraries are all examples of socialized consumption.

The editors of *The Nation* in sponsoring Mr. Amlie's program do not necessarily indorse all its details. For instance, we feel he has underestimated the importance of stored-up purchasing power in the immediate post-war period. And even allowing for limitations of space, we think he has unduly neglected taxation as a flexible instrument of economic control which can be used to stimulate both consumption and investment. We suspect, also, that he accepts too easily the political obstacles to international investment, which, properly handled, could do much to promote both our prosperity and that of other countries. But with his general position we are in hearty agreement. The combination of idle resources and idle men is one that this country can no longer tolerate. The remedies are known, and we can but hope that their application will not be resisted to the point of proving that the Marxists are right when they contend that full employment and private enterprise are compatible only in time of war.—EDITORS THE NATION.

What Demobilization Day Holds

SOME day, perhaps long before we expect it, the war will end, and the gigantic task of demobilizing our war economy will begin. Millions of Americans are naturally concerned about that day. Shall we throw the same energies into the reorganization of a peace-time economy as we did into the conversion from peace to war? Or shall we relapse into the semi-coma of the 1930's? Will there be jobs for all, or will there be ten or twelve million unemployed? Let us face the situation honestly: a decision on basic policy must be made soon if we are not again to see the tragedy of "too little and too late"—this time on the domestic front.

WHERE ARE THE JOBS COMING FROM?

By July, 1944, it is expected that 11,300,000 men will be in the armed forces and 54,600,000 workers employed in industry and agriculture—a total of 65,900,000. In 1939 we had 44,200,000 workers employed in industry and agriculture, with perhaps 500,000 in war work and the armed forces. Thus a return to the conditions of 1939 would provide no place for 21,200,000 persons. We may assume that 3,000,000 persons, mainly women, will want to give up their jobs when the war is over. Also we shall perhaps keep an additional 2,500,000 men in the armed forces for a period of time after peace is here. This would reduce the number of workers who would be unemployed with the coming of peace to 15,000,000. Optimists in the Department of Labor cut this figure to 12,000,000, and business men believe it may be brought down to 10,000,000.

War workers who can shift to non-war work in the same factory or locality will have a comparatively simple problem, but 5,000,000 persons now engaged in shipbuilding, aircraft construction, and ordnance will find it difficult to obtain any kind of work where they are now employed. Self-employed and professional people will have a particularly hard time. In 1939 we had 6,000,000 self-employed as against 3,500,000 at present, a figure that may drop to 3,000,000 in another year. Doctors and dentists will find it easier to gain a livelihood than lawyers, retailers, and members of the service trades. A million people who were formerly self-employed may find it impossible to establish themselves again.

BUSINESS MEN ARE NOT WORRYING

These prospects do not seem to worry business men. A *Fortune* poll of management in October disclosed that 70 per cent of our top-flight business leaders believed there would be a general boom with full employment and either as much competition as before the war or a greater amount. In conversation business men admit that there may be a relapse to pre-war levels of activity after a few years, giving us ten million unemployed, but they consider such a situation quite normal. Recognizing that greater concessions may have to be made to the unemployed than were necessary in the thirties, they say that this is a bridge we need not cross until we come to it.

Such reasoning is dangerous. Fifteen years have produced a great change in people's attitudes. The New Deal program was designed to carry us through a period of "secular stagnation," when a third of the population had to be supported by varying degrees and kinds of relief. After the war from ten to twenty million well-fed and militant workers may find themselves jobless. The average workingman will be in a fighting mood from the minute that he receives his pink slip. A period of living on unemployment compensation will not prepare him to accept the business man's program and point of view. It will cause him, rather, to gravitate to the most advanced economic and political theories and to militant leadership.

THAT POST-WAR BOOM

Most business writers assume that when peace comes the long pent-up demand for goods and services will immediately give us a degree of economic activity equaling that of war time. These writers overlook the probability that hostilities will cease in Europe a year or two before they do in the Pacific, and that we shall therefore be partially reconverting to a peace-time economy while the war against Japan is still being fought. During this period we are likely to maintain a high degree of economic activity through the production of goods for domestic consumption as well as for war, with the result that the most urgent demand for consumer goods will have been met by the end of the war.

The prophets of a post-war boom also place great emphasis on the $64,000,000,000 of potential purchasing power represented by the $21,000,000,000 of war bonds bought by individuals, the $27,000,000,000 on deposit in savings accounts, and the $16,000,000,000 in circulation or in hiding. Their optimism, however, is greater than a careful consideration of the facts warrants. It must be remembered that a great deal of money treated as money on deposit is simply money in war-bond accounts. Most individuals who buy war bonds are thinking in terms of security. If their prospects in the post-war period look uncertain, they are going to keep their bonds, not go out and buy gadgets recklessly. The September issue of the *Survey of Current Business*, published by the United States Department of Commerce, recognized this fact when it declared, "The accumulation of liquid reserves is important, as it affects consumers' decisions as to the spending of current income. In the aggregate it is not a substitute for that income."

In this connection it is significant that $16,000,000,000 of currency is now outstanding instead of the usual $6,000,000,000. According to traditional economic theory, this amount of currency in circulation should be reflected in greater spending and higher prices, but that is not the case. Since the number of safe-deposit boxes rented by banks is decreasing, it looks as if people were hiding currency in their homes. Persons who will do this are likely to hang on to their savings with great tenacity. Moreover, despite the increase in wage rates, working men with families are not finding it easy to save any substantial amounts.

It is also a mistake to assume that there will be a tremendous accumulated demand for consumer goods and services. As a matter of fact, we are producing more consumer goods and services in 1943 than we produced in 1939 or 1940 and roughly the same amount as in 1941 and 1942. Persons who normally have average purchasing power are conscious of a shortage of consumer goods at the present time. Actually, the shortage is primarily due to the fact that for the past year good wages have been earned by some twelve or fifteen million people who had previously been unable to buy anything but the barest necessities. It is true that we are now coming to the point where all available stocks are about used up and that there will be an increasing desire to build up inventories. The demand for automobiles will insure a high degree of activity in the motor-car industry for many years, and the needs of millions of couples starting housekeeping at the same time will stimulate production in many other fields.

Implicit in all the optimistic forecasts made by spokesmen for business is the assumption that when the war ends we shall have a world climate particularly favorable to capitalist enterprise, just as we had after the First World War. At that time the threat of German imperial ism had been destroyed, and the United States had emerged from the war in a position of world leadership. No such favorable conditions should be expected after this war. Hardly a week goes by without bringing additional tangible evidence of the impossibility of restoring the status quo in Europe and Asia. While we shall export some capital in the post-war period, there will not be as large an outlet for savings as is anticipated.

A REALISTIC VIEW

The less optimistic writers on post-war problems predict that unless we have a plan for maintaining full employment, we may drop to 1939 employment levels a few years after the war has ended. This is rendered the more probable by the great increase in productivity per man-hour that has taken place during the war and that will undoubtedly be carried over into the peace-time operation of industry. The amount of this increase is not known, but we do know that the physical output of industry has increased 80 per cent since 1939, while the number of persons employed has risen only 18 per cent. A guess, based upon insufficient data, might attribute two-thirds of this increase to the added number of hours worked per day and one-third to improved methods of production. Industrial activity will also be checked by the estimated $50,000,000,000 worth of goods that will be in government inventories when the war ends, half of which will be usable by consumers, agriculture, and industry.

The Program of Big Business

BIG BUSINESS WAGES A "HOLY WAR"

> Either political democracy must be the master of economic monopoly or economic monopoly will be the master of political democracy.—HAROLD J. LASKI.

DURING the last few years I have often been reminded of certain movies, with a tropical setting, in which the incessant beating of war drums is used to convey to the victims the idea of inescapable doom. Wherever I turn I hear it said that free enterprise must be restored, that the American way of life must be saved from the bureaucrats. Now that the nation is forced to submit to many restrictions in the effort to mobilize its resources for total war, this cry is rapidly increasing in strength. Every measure designed to keep prices in line is denounced as a move to destroy free enterprise. Even the men charged with carrying out these measures often seem more interested in turning public indignation against New Deal office-holders in Washington than in allaying the indignation by explaining the necessity of the restrictions. A steady stream of propaganda seeks to center attention on the fight to save free enterprise from government bureaucrats rather than on the struggle against our foreign enemies. One gets the impression that the fight for free enterprise is a "holy war."

This holy war is waged not only in the news columns and editorials of papers, the broadcasts and speeches of the servants of economic monopoly operating on the political front, but also in the advertising pages of national publications. A soldier in a fox hole wonders whether he will return to a system of free enterprise. Men bailing out of airplanes with thirty-four seconds to go are anxious that the free-enterprise system be preserved. The idea conveyed in such advertising is that the important fight is not the one the soldier is engaged in but the war at home to save the system of free enterprise from government interference.

The leaders in this holy war did not spring up spontaneously; they have been bought and paid for. The public-information program of the National Association of Manufacturers cost $36,500 in 1934, or 7.2 per cent of its budget. By 1937 this expenditure had risen to $793,043, or 55.1 per cent of the budget. The commercial value of the campaign stimulated by the N. A. M. was probably well over $36,000,000—a sum that is a mere bagatelle compared with what is being spent at the present time to influence public opinion.

More than 50 per cent of the advertising in some of our better-known national magazines is at present inserted by motor companies, airplane companies, and other concerns that are completely engaged in war work and have nothing to sell to the public; they advertise, apparently, merely to keep their names before the public. Since virtually all these companies pay excess-profits taxes, as much as 90 per cent of the money paid for this advertising would normally go into the United States Treasury if it were not used to subsidize the nation's magazines in return for a friendly attitude toward the business point of view.

Of a national expenditure of $245,000,000 for magazine advertising, perhaps $100,000,000 is for institutional advertising of this kind. If none of the companies could advertise, they would be in practically the same position with respect to each other, but the United States Treasury would be a hundred million dollars better off. The daily press, the radio, and other segments of the opinion-forming industries are similarly subsidized.

Money spent to keep the radio servile has produced the most gratifying results. One of the large radio networks recently informed its commentators that cartels were not news any more, and instructed them to "lay off" Standard Oil "because they give us plenty of business." It is primarily through the instrumentality of radio that big business has been able to turn many farmers, people in small towns, and members of the armed forces against labor. To understand the effectiveness of this weapon it is almost necessary to stay on a farm or in a small town and to acquire the radio-listening habit of farmers and villagers. I recall that in the fall of 1940 I was shocked by what came over the air. News about some rather unimportant strikes was blown up out of all proportion. One evening I timed a news broadcast by one of the big Chicago stations and found that seven out of eleven minutes of broadcasting time was devoted to strikes. So much time was given to the subject over a period of several weeks that when there was no strike news the radio announcer felt called upon to interpolate, "And now we come to the strike front—there seems to be no news today."

The really important strikes of 1940 and 1941 were the strikes by the managers of big companies who were reluctant to convert to war production till after Pearl Harbor. Their unwillingness to convert and their efforts to perpetuate "business as usual" from the vantage-point of high government office were certainly a hundred times more detrimental to the war effort than the time lost through labor strikes. But no word of the business man's strike ever came over the radio, nor did any intimation of it appear in the great bulk of the nation's press.

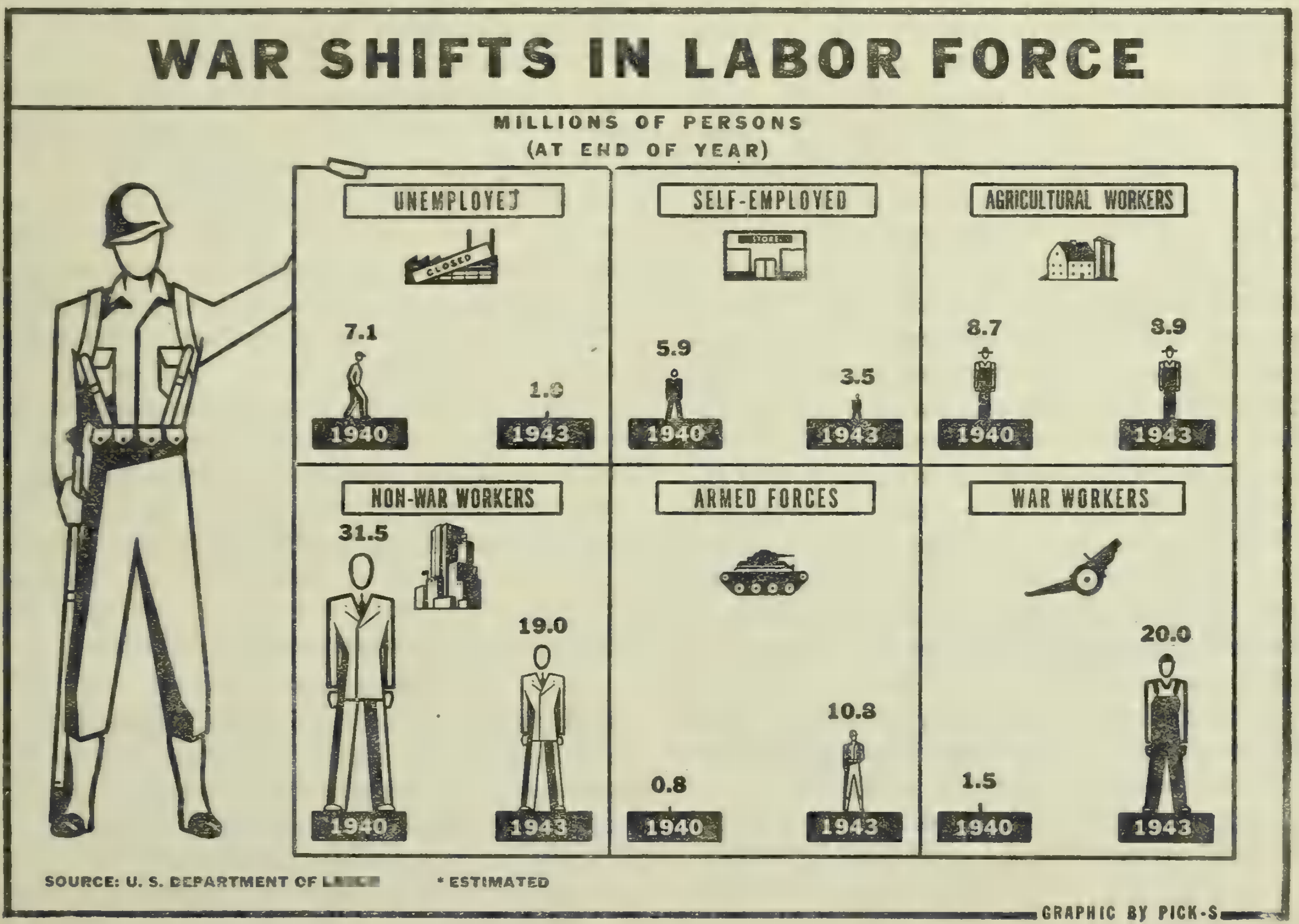
Since so many people in rural areas and in the forces have turned against labor because of its strikes, it is of interest to see just how seriously these strikes have interfered with the war effort. The table that follows gives figures on time lost through strikes as compiled by the Department of Labor:

	Man days lost through strikes	*Proportion of total*
1940	6,700,000	1/12 of 1 per cent
1941	23,000,000	32/100 of 1 " "
1942	4,182,000	5/100 of 1 " "
*1943	7,500,000	16/100 of 1 " "

* First six months; 3/4 due to coal strike.

THE APPEAL TO TRADITION

The forces in society that fight change have a great strategic advantage. Through slogans, clichés, and stereotyped appeals they can call upon deep-seated emotional attitudes that exercise great influence over the minds of men long after they have lost the validity they once had. When the forces of reaction have almost a monopoly of the means of communication, it is extremely difficult to resist their well-organized appeals to tradition. Under such circumstances the optimistic liberal can merely trust in Oscar Ameringer's homely observation that if there are nine wrong ways and one right way, the peo-



SOURCE: U. S. DEPARTMENT OF [illegible] * ESTIMATED

GRAPHIC BY PICK-S

ple will want to try the nine wrong ways first. A man does not become a pessimist until he is ready to believe that the people will insist on trying some of the wrong ways not once but several times.

Let us examine very briefly a few of the ideas that are now being sold to the American people as inherent in the American tradition.

Private Property. Thorstein Veblen once developed at some length the reason for people's deep-seated emotional loyalty to the historical concept of private property. He pointed out that it arose in the Middle Ages when the feudal serf was first permitted to own his tools and the things he made with his own labor and to exchange these things for articles made by other serfs. Because for many hundreds of years men escaped from serfdom only through this right of ownership, they came to feel the fullest loyalty to the institution of private property. In the course of time and change, however, the right of private property came to mean not the right of a workingman to own tools and the things that he made with those tools but the right of absentee stockholders to close down factories and to deny to workingmen access to the means of production whenever the absentee owners thought operation unprofitable. When the United States Chamber of Commerce talks about the constitutional morality of private property, it is not defending the right of a workingman to have access to the machinery of production but rather the right of an owner to sabotage production.

Bureaucracy. The issue in the war at home, as Senator O'Mahoney has pointed out, is not free enterprise versus government control but free enterprise versus monopoly control. By crying "Wolf! wolf!" the economic monopolists are seeking to distract attention from themselves and to turn public indignation against the government. Only through the instrumentality of the government can full employment, with its opportunities for everyone, be achieved. If public sentiment can be turned against government intervention in any form, the only alternative is to hand over the power to economic monopoly.

Risk Capital. During the past decade we became familiar with the institution of innocents' clubs set up to further ideas derived from the political left. Now the political right also realizes the value of the device, and we have the Committee for Economic Development serving as an innocents' club for the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce. Knowing that their own retainers have no standing with serious students of public affairs, the people who ordinarily support these organizations have hired through the C. E. D. scholars with reputations for integrity to convince the American people of the need for giving risk capital larger financial returns as a means of stimulating investment and achieving full employment.

Corporation profits in 1942 amounted to $19,000,000,000 before taxes, twice what they were in 1929, the previous peak year, and four times the average for the pre-war period 1936-39. Nevertheless, we are likely soon to see recommendations from the C. E. D. that necessary investment can best be stimulated by more favorable tax laws for risk capital. The Ruml plan, "forgiving" more than $6,000,000 in income taxes due as of last June, was an indication of this trend.

A Balanced Budget. When the government spent some three billion dollars a year from 1932 to 1941 to keep some twenty million men, women, and children alive, financial writers stressed the danger of an unbalanced budget to a point where it was literally a bogy to frighten children. The same writers today, without realizing the ludicrous spectacle they make, frankly admit that there is little to worry about in a 300-billion-dollar debt and that we can well afford to spend a trillion, or any other sum, if it is necessary to win the war. While the issue of balancing the budget is badly frayed, the American Bankers' Association is trying to have it included in the bill of goods that is being sold to the American people.

Labor Must Be Reasonable. This is, of course, the main point. If we go back to a pre-war level of economic activity, labor must be prepared to take far-reaching wage reductions. Labor can hold its wage gains only under a system of full production. Under such a system labor is not now overpaid. And a national income of $150,000,000,000 or $200,000,000,000 can be maintained only if labor is adequately paid. When business men say labor must be reasonable they mean simply that they expect industry to be operated at a greatly reduced level in the post-war period. But let us examine the realities of the business program a little more closely.

Let Business Stabilize Industry. Bulletin No. 6 of the Post-War Readjustment Series put out by the United States Chamber of Commerce comments that the jerky or lumpy nature of decisions to invest must be corrected by the action of business men themselves. There is in this statement a frank admission that an over-all policy must be adopted. Government is not to be permitted to make this policy. The bulletin states that combined action by industry would be monopoly action and unwise, and that therefore each company must learn to distinguish between solid and staple demand and momentary demand. Of course this is utter nonsense. If the government is not to do the job, then it will be done by the business organizations that represent monopoly capitalism.

THE CHOSEN BATTLEGROUND

The contention of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the N. A. M., and the C. E. D. that private investment is the only sound and moral outlet for savings is more than a slogan or a statement of principle. It is the definition of the battleground upon which big business proposes that this whole issue shall be fought out.

There is general agreement among the various schools of economic thought that our prosperity depends upon our ability to channel our savings and profits back into consumption or investment. This is very well stated in the Chamber of Commerce's Post-War Bulletin No. 3:

> Students of unemployment and business depression unanimously agree that the essence of depression is *variation* in the rate of real saving or investment. By real saving and investment is meant the conversion of dollars into physical durable goods. . . . There is a wide agreement among economists that any lapse in the rate of real capital formation, unless offset by increases in consumption, must lead to depression and unemployment.

Another bulletin in the same series points out that "in the 1930's we had a shortage of employment offers because there was not sufficient incentive to induce employers to invest and expand." The assumption that runs through all of this literature put out by business is that there is only one proper place for savings to go, and that is into such ventures as private business may be willing to undertake. If conditions are such that private business does not feel like going ahead, then obviously there is nothing for people to do but stay unemployed.

The following terse summation of the program of business is taken from Bulletin No. 3:

> However, this capital will go to work only if there is reasonable prospect of the security of the investment and a fair return. In short, human wants can be satisfied by labor and management only if such a process yields a fair wage to both worker and investor.

After an attempt to condemn the "over-saving" theory as merely an unsubstantiated hypothesis, the argument continues:

> Thus it may be that instead of oversavings occurring in a high-income economy and leading to depression, the problem is to create such a business climate that investments and new commitments will be forthcoming at a steady rate. This, in fact, will probably be the central core of our long-run post-war problem, once the explosive forces of the banked-up demands are met.

There we have the program of American business for the post-war period so simply stated that anyone should be able to see what is involved. Employment depends upon investment, and unless all conditions are entirely satisfactory to the 3 or 4 per cent of the people who own 80 per cent of the wealth in the country, no investments will be made, and that will be too bad. But this difficulty can be avoided if the government will make all conditions for investment so favorable that private capital will be ready and willing to go ahead. The terms that the government is expected to meet are not only difficult but impossible. None the less, big business will spare no efforts to make its own program the nation's.

Flaws in the Business Program

BASIC to big business's hope for post-war expansion is belief in the new frontiers opened by invention. Speaking at St. Louis on October 16, Wendell Willkie pointed out the many opportunities which he felt would present themselves to the ambitious man in the post-war world of free enterprise. "Television, the new automobiles, the new planes, the new houses, the new plastics, the new farm crops—an endless list of new discoveries born of war research cry aloud to be developed."

THE LITTLE FELLOW HASN'T A CHANCE

When we talk about television and electronics, it is well not to forget the Bell Telephone Company and two or three other titans in this field. I recall serving on the House Patents Committee in 1935 when testimony was taken on the subject of the control of sound-reproducing equipment in the film industry. A subsidiary of the American Telegraph and Telephone Company got into this field at an early date. A group of independents was also in the field. This independent group of companies, worth about $200,000,000, owned the German selenium process for photographing the sound on the film itself. The independent companies were probably in a stronger patent position than the A. T. and T. subsidiary. The equipment of both groups for making the picture and reproducing the film in motion-picture theaters was excellent and of comparable quality. When the A. T. and T. subsidiary threatened to bring injunction proceedings against every theater that showed films or used equipment made by the rival group, the independent group girded for battle. But the bankers to whom they applied for the necessary financial support said that they could not afford to back an association of companies worth $200,000,000 that was plunging into innumerable patent and injunction suits against a $5,000,000,000 adversary. The independent companies went down like a house of cards. The mere threat of battle from a five-billion-dollar

BURLINGAME

concern rendered them *hors de combat*. Yet the little man is told that there is a future for him in the field of television and of electronics. Say, Mister, you ain't kiddin', are you?

I don't know what the new automobiles are going to be like. I do know that before the war three big manufacturers produced about 85 per cent of all the automobiles made. I know that these companies are today completely engaged in war work, and that of all the war contracts let up to the present time, General Motors has received $8,500,000,000 worth, or 8 per cent. I know that the three big companies have done a good job of maintaining their distributors and agencies, and I have no doubt that they have found a way of making the cost constitute a company expense and that ultimately more than 90 per cent of this cost will come out of the United States Treasury. Opportunity for "free enterprise" in the automobile field was negligible before the war and will be less than that after the war.

Planes of the helicopter type will undoubtedly become popular after the war and there may be other types of new planes, but it is hard to see what aviation can offer to "free enterprise" in the post-war period. We now have the capacity to turn out 125,000 planes a year, a number many times as great as can be needed in peace time. With two exceptions, the plane companies are all controlled by the big banks, and the understanding between them is that they will divide any post-war business equitably. Private capital knows that the airplane industry is a war industry, and 90 per cent of the vast expansion in this field has been financed by the government.

The field of housing offers a vast opportunity if we peg our national income at $150,000,000,000 or $200,000,000,000, but if we permit it to drop back to $70,000,000,000 or $80,000,000,000, then we are overhoused—not in terms of human needs but in terms of what we can afford. The pre-fabricated house exists largely in the imagination of promoters and enthusiasts. Not long ago a company employing 500 people in research alone spent a large sum experimenting with pre-fabrication. After several years they came to the conclusion that they could not develop anything to compete with ordinary frame construction. The head of their patent department, who is an old friend of mine, told me that anybody could have the results of their research, because they intended to pursue the matter no farther and had written the whole thing off as a total loss.

Production of "new farm crops" has been stimulated by the blockade in the Pacific and by certain unusual war demands. When world trade is reestablished, an efficient division of labor will favor a return to the production of standard crops. Advances in chemistry, such as the conversion of cellulose into protein, are not likely to help farming. If we ever achieve an economy of full employment, I think that I shall go back to farming as a matter of choice, but as an occupation that offers scope for free enterprise in the post-war world it holds little allure.

I do not know much about the new plastics. But I do know where the plant expansion has taken place that will dominate this whole field. The plant facilities of the Du Pont Company have been expanded to the amount of $1,114,850,000, of which sum $53,849,000 was provided by the Du Pont Company and the balance of $1,061,001,000 by the United States Treasury. In a statement before the George committee Senator O'Mahoney, commenting on this situation, said: "It took almost 100 years for a few great mining corporations and industrial organizations to gain control of the mineral resources of the country. Today its chemical resources are under even tighter control as we approach the plateau from which the promised land of the future is visible."

Somehow Mr. Willkie seems to offer us more hope when he remains general than when he becomes specific. "New discoveries" as such offer little opportunity to free enterprise in a system dominated by monopoly. We have had important discoveries "crying aloud to be developed," lo, these many years, but they have usually been tightly covered by patents, and the owners of the patents have not always been interested in their development. When they are interested, they move heaven and earth to keep others out of their preserves. I am willing to wager that the patents covering the really important discoveries that have come out of war research, paid for out of the United States Treasury, will be found almost entirely in the hands of the 100 corporations that have obtained 70 per cent of all war contracts.

In a statement transmitting his report to the Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning, Senator O'Mahoney said:

> The investigation of the Truman committee and the activities of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice all tell the same story—that huge enterprise, in strange disregard of its own ultimate interests as well as the interest of the system of free enterprise, has been consistently endeavoring to destroy the profit-making opportunities of its competitors. Whether it be in the production of aluminum or rubber or steel or oil, many of the giant corporations which participate in holding the bulk of war contracts have done everything in their power to prevent the establishment of competitive enterprise that might possibly compete with them after the war is over.

Big business does not advocate the elimination of competitive enterprise, but in the conversion to peacetime production and in the fight for post-war business it will be in a singularly advantageous position to eliminate smaller competitors. That this process is now going on at a rapid rate is indicated by the increasing number of small business men coming to Washington to protest against being combed out, and ready to grasp at any straw to save themselves.

PRIVATE SPENDING CANNOT MAINTAIN A 200-BILLION-DOLLAR ECONOMY

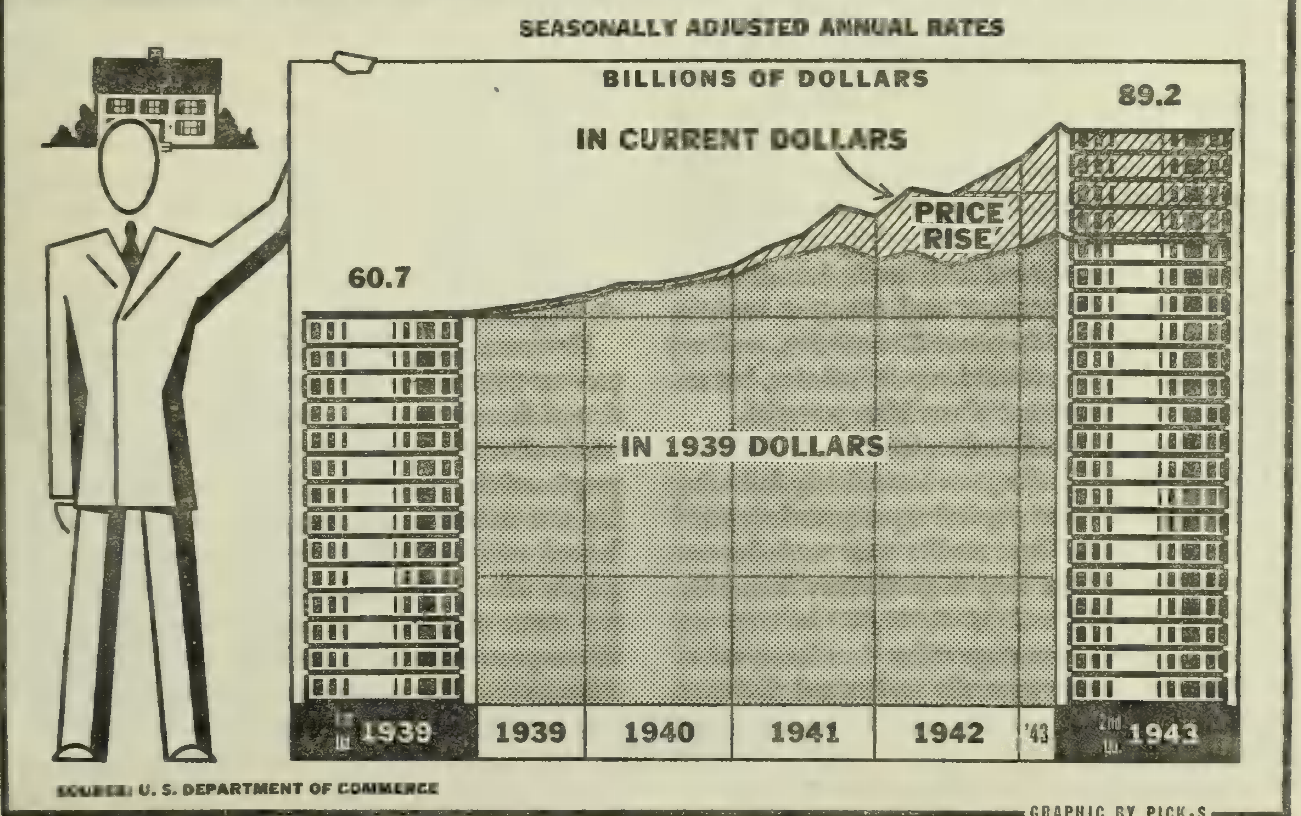
The program of big business assumes that a reduction or elimination of corporation taxes is necessary to encourage business to provide full employment. A study of our income statistics show this to be false. Our total federal revenue from all sources is $40,000,000,000 a year. Let us assume that when peace comes we maintain production and continue to collect the same amount of money in federal taxes, and that the government continues to spend this sum annually. With a total gross production of $200,000,000,000 we shall have a net income of $158,000,000,000, which, after the payment of personal taxes, would leave about $130,000,000,000 of disposable income in the hands of individuals. Of this sum we may assume that $110,000,000,000 would be spent for consumer goods and services, leaving a balance of $20,000,000,000 to be saved by individuals.

Let us assume further that we have a business Administration so determined to give business a chance that it repeals all federal corporation taxes. The corporations thus find themselves with $16,000,000,000 in addition to the $8,500,000,000 that they have set aside for depreciation and other reserves. Are the corporations likely to spend this extra $16,000,000,000 in expanding their manufacturing plant when they are worried about what the government is going to do with the $15,000,000,000 worth of government plant that it financed for war production? If we can achieve a gross national production of $200,000,000,000 with our present plant, does anyone think that private corporations would see any profit in further expansion?

There would be little for the corporations to do but to pay the money over to their stockholders, in which case the federal government might recover $5,000,000,000 through individual income taxes, leaving an additional $9,000,000,000 in the hands of individuals to be spent or invested. Perhaps $5,000,000,000 might be spent, leaving $4,000,000,000 to be invested in addition to the other $20,000,000,000 already saved by individuals. We should then have individuals with $24,000,000,000 to invest in the fields that have been opened up by the war and that have been obligingly enumerated by Mr. Willkie. Will this money be invested in new plastics, new automobiles, television, new farm crops, airplanes, or other new fields? Of course some of it will be, but most of it will be saved—and the result will be depression.

By lowering corporation taxes we should simply be taking money away from the government, which is a sure spender, and giving it to corporations and individu-

CONSUMER EXPENDITURES FOR GOODS AND SERVICES



SOURCE: U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

GRAPHIC BY PICK-S

als that appear to be more interested in getting plants out of production than in constructing additional facilities. It is all too obvious that private investment cannot maintain a gross national production of $200,000,000,000; it cannot even maintain a gross national production of $110,000,000,000 without a minimum of $5,000,000,000 a year of government deficit spending for relief and public works. The pretense that it can do so is merely a useful device in big business's campaign for political power.

We Can Have Full Production

THE graph on the cover of this supplement is based on data released by the United States Department of Commerce. According to that authority we are producing goods and services during the last half of 1943 at the rate of $188,000,000,000 a year, and have a net income of $155,000,000,000 after making deductions for business taxes, depreciation, and special reserves. This figure is considered low by the research department of an important war agency, which estimates that the gross national production during December of 1943 will be at the rate of $199,500,000,000 a year.

Statisticians may argue that these figures do not take into account the fact that the dollar is worth less today than in the 1930's—which is true. If the dollar bought as much today as in 1939, our present national income would be only about $135,000,000,000; nevertheless we are now producing goods and services at a rate 80 per cent greater than in 1939, and we are doing this with ten or eleven million of our best workers in the armed forces.

NATIONAL INCOME CAN BE RAISED

This increase is due largely to the increased number of hours worked, but the output per man-hour was 3.9 per cent greater in 1940 than in 1935, 3 per cent greater in 1941 than in 1940, and 4.4 per cent above 1941 in 1942. The increase in output per man-hour in 1943 over 1942 appears to be still greater, although final figures are not yet available. Some such spurt in productivity was to be expected as industry readjusted itself to the loss of ten or eleven million of its youngest and strongest workers. According to the War Manpower Commission, we have not yet reached maximum efficiency in industry, but are actually wasting 20 per cent of our labor potential.

The increase in production since 1939 could have been achieved just as well in the years immediately following 1929. Two studies of our physical capacity made in 1934 show this to be true. These studies were made because it was apparent that the drop in production from $83,000,000,000 in 1929 to $39,000,000,000 in 1933 was due to man's failure to manage rather than to any act of God. Moreover, it was generally understood that even in 1929 our economy had operated far short of full capacity.

The Brookings Institution study, based upon our manufacturing plant capacity and taking into consideration availability of labor and other limiting factors, arrived at the conclusion that we might have produced 19 per cent more goods and services in 1929 than we actually did. The national survey of potential product capacity made by Loeb and Associates and sponsored by the New York Housing Authority approached the problem from another angle. It sought to learn, first, whether we could provide our 130,000,000 people with adequate housing, food, clothing, education, professional care, and recreation, and then, having set standards for these necessities, to determine their value. It concluded that production could be raised at least to the $135,000,000,000 mark.

DOES PRIVATE ENTERPRISE FEAR THE MACHINE?

A few weeks ago the national organization of the machine-tool industry announced that the machine-tool producing companies intended to seek a refund of all excess-profits taxes. The reasons given were that the industry, in cooperating with the government's war program, had destroyed its market for the next ten or fifteen years; production had been at the rate of $40,000,000 a year during the eight or nine years following 1929, but had now been stepped up to $1,320,000,000. The announcement pointed out that if excess profits were refunded, the companies could keep their laboratory work up to date and in this way be in a position to produce high-grade machine tools when they were called upon to do so, perhaps ten or fifteen years from now.

If we are going back to the production levels of the pre-war 1930's, no one can take exception to the position of the machine-tool industry, but what a travesty the whole situation must seem to the industrially backward peoples of the world who still dream of some day bringing raw materials, machines, and man-power together. Indeed, we do not need to leave the United States to find people who view it in the same way. We have at least two states where the per capita income during the last fifteen years or so has been below $200 a year. In these states most of the people work part of the year at planting, tending, and harvesting the cotton crop; the rest of the time they might properly be listed as unemployed. Millions of people in the United States have no more idea what a machine tool looks like than the Russian peasants had twenty years ago. Industrialization of the regions where they live would not only raise the per capita income and the living standards of these people but further the strength and welfare of the whole country.

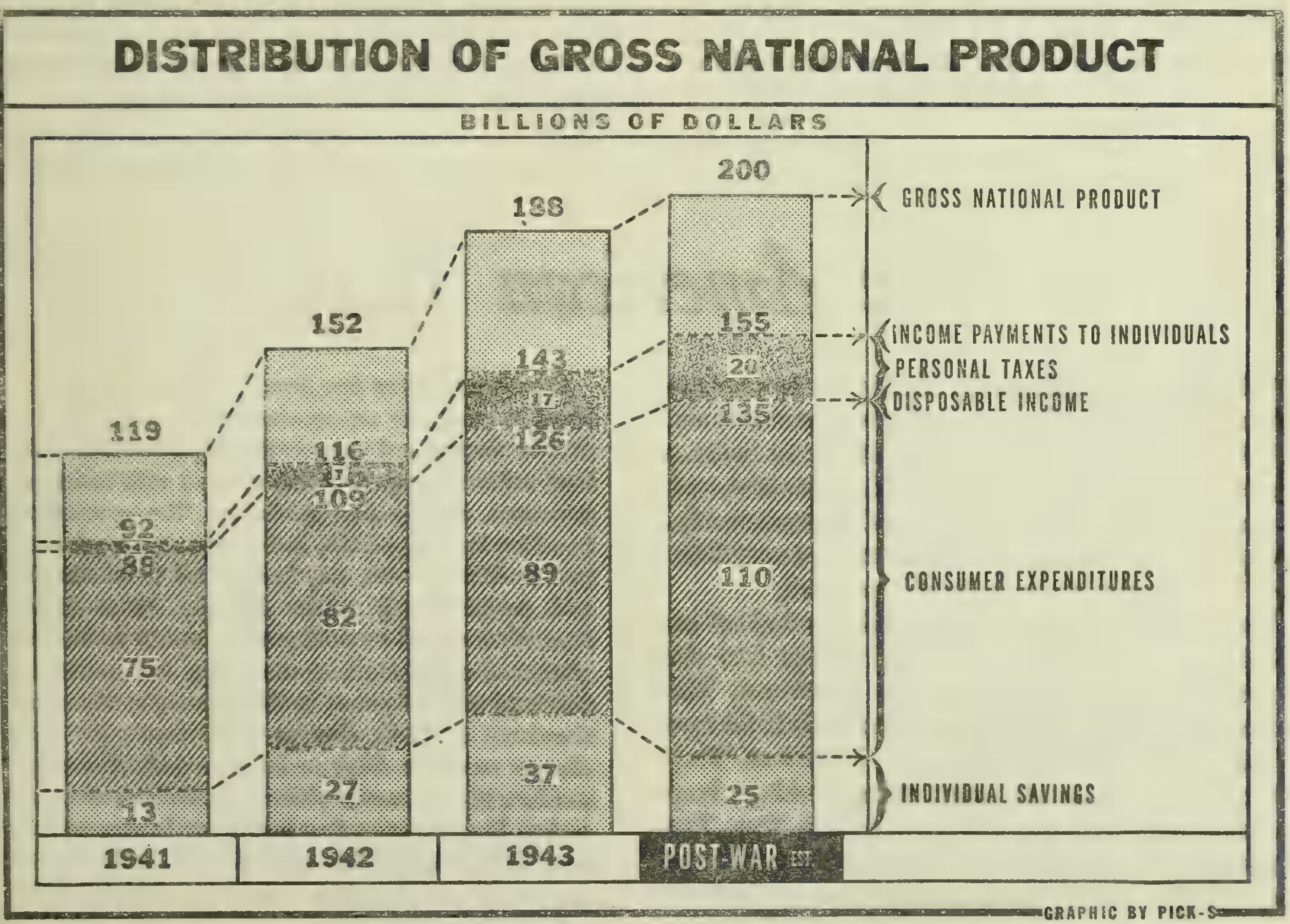
"THE INORDINATE PRODUCTIVITY OF THE MACHINE"

Thorstein Veblen frequently referred to the inordinate productivity of the machine, but one wonders whether he ever foresaw a situation in which we could, in a few years, make so many machines with which to produce goods that the manufacturers of these machines would seek a fifteen-year moratorium on their production. The irony of the situation was well illustrated when the machine-tool industry sent a spokesman to the Lend-Lease Agency the day after Mussolini fell, to see if it could not get the job of retooling Italian industry.

In Soviet Russia the output of the machine and metal-working industry rose from 1,100,000,000 rubles in 1913 to 2,200,000,000 in 1928. By 1937 it had risen to 24,700,000,000 rubles. In 1930, 20 per cent of Russian income went into capital goods. This figure finally rose to 30 per cent, and the Webbs think that it may have got as high as 40 per cent. Here we have the explanation of how Russia in a relatively brief period was able to build an industrial plant that has enabled it to bear and throw back the massed attack of Hitler's armies.

Recently I had the opportunity to spend several evenings with a well-known industrial engineer who had had three extended assignments in Soviet Russia and then one of several months in Chungking. In Russia he had served as a consultant in working out the various five-year plans. His experience made him very positive that we would have little difficulty in operating our economic system during peace time at present levels. He was also confident that with a national plan in force we could in a few years produce an income of $200,000,000,000 a year.

It seems to me that this engineer was talking sense. It is, of course, plain that we cannot shift over immediately from making $100,000,000,000 worth of war goods to making $100,000,000,000 worth of goods for peace; but, after all, the raw material that men and machines make into war-time goods *can* be made by men and machines into peace-time goods provided we have a plan and the will to carry it out. With the return of 11,000,000 of our most efficient workers, it should not be difficult in the next decade to reach a production level of $200,000,000,000 in terms of net national income measured in 1939 dollars. Scientific and technological advances have been extraordinarily rapid during the past few years. In the decade following peace, by utilizing this knowledge in the field of peace-time production, we should be able to achieve an increase of 5 per cent a year.



DISTRIBUTION OF A $200,000,000,000 GROSS INCOME

In discussing an economy based on a national gross production of $200,000,000,000, such as is expected in 1944, we shall be aided by a brief glance at the chart on page 635. Distribution of such a gross income would be roughly as follows: total business taxes, federal, state, and local, $30,000,000,000; depreciation and depletion, $8,500,000,000; other business reserves, $1,000,000,000 plus; capital outlays charged to current expenses, $1,600,000,000. With business costs and deductions totaling $41,500,000,000, there is left a net income of $158,000,000,000, of which $6,000,000,000 is held back by corporations for social security and special reserves. Total federal and state personal taxes will amount to $22,000,000,000, leaving a net disposable income of $130,000,000,000. Of this sum $90,000,000,000 will be spent for consumer goods and services, and $40,000,000,000 will be left over for savings.

But of course we are dealing with a war situation, in which the quantity of consumer goods available for purchase is limited. When we return to peace-time conditions the amount spent for consumption will be considerably increased, but it will not absorb all the money that now goes into savings. It is reasonable to suppose that instead of $40,000,000,000 in savings we shall have $20,000,000,000 or $25,000,000,000. In addition to the money saved by individuals, there will also be available for new factories, machinery, and equipment—that is, capital formation—the sums that are set aside by corporations for depreciation, depletion, and special reserves, totaling about $8,500,000,000.

THE SAVING HABITS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

In 1929, $20,300,000,000 was invested in our productive system in the form of tools in the widest sense. Over the last twenty years the average has been about $14,000,000,000, the low point of $3,100,000,000 having been reached during 1932.

The idea that thrift is one of the greatest of all virtues has sunk more deeply into the mind of the American people than bankers are likely to believe. In 1932 we saved about 6½ per cent of our gross national income. In 1940 we saved about $17,600,000,000 out of a national income of about $75,000,000,000. As national income goes up, the amount set aside as savings increases much faster than the national income increases. It is the belief of most economists that approximately one-third would be saved out of any national income above the level of $75,000,000,000.

If from $30,000,000,000 to $40,000,000,000 a year must be diverted to new buildings, equipment, and machinery in order to maintain full employment, the saving habits of the American people are of great value to us. This is an advantage that was not possessed by Russia during the 1930's, when an authoritarian government decided to turn 30 to 40 per cent of that country's gross national production into capital investment. The propensity of the American people to save means that we shall have sufficient sums for large-scale capital formation without having to pay high interest. And since our people save, we must provide a place where their money can be invested. Otherwise stagnation occurs, and eventually depression of a kind that wipes out savings.

The American Way

IN THE old days the policy of helping the common man by helping private enterprise was known as the "American system." Aid was doled out to business in many ways—by the protective tariff, by bounties, and by public works (then called internal improvements). Today the protective tariff has ceased to be a useful device, but the other methods are still practiced.

The basic need at present—and this is admitted on all sides—is to reinject profits and savings into the economic bloodstream through new investment. The monopolists tell us that this can be done only if the lure of individual profits stimulates new investment. They insist that the government must, above all things, keep its hands off. But this is not the American Way. The American Way has been for the government to take the lead and give financial encouragement to private interests and enterprise. Here, for example, is what Hamilton said:

> Experience teaches that men are often so much governed by what they are accustomed to see and practice that the simplest and most obvious improvements, in the most ordinary occupations, are adopted with hesitation, reluctance, and by slow gradations. The spontaneous transition to new pursuits, in a community long habituated to different ones, may be expected to be attended with proportionately greater difficulty. When former occupations ceased to yield profit adequate to the subsistence of employment, or when there was an absolute deficiency of employment in them, owing to the superabundance of hands, changes would ensue; *but these changes would be likely to be more tardy than might consist with the interest either of individuals or of the society.* In many cases they would not happen while a bare support would be insured by an adherence to ancient courses, though a resort to a more profitable employment might be practicable. To produce the de-

sirable changes as early as may be expedient may therefore require the incitement and patronage of the government.

Although Hamilton was talking primarily of the introduction of manufactures and was arguing for a protective tariff as the principal but not exclusive form of government aid, his words are equally applicable to the task of stimulating investment. Experience certainly demonstrates, as Hamilton pointed out, that new investment, if left to purely private initiative, is "likely to be more tardy than might consist with the interest either of individuals or of the society," and that "countenance and support from the government" are necessary to "overcome the obstacles inseparable from first experiments."

Indeed, while the protective tariff was the favorite form of government patronage for developing at home the industries that already existed abroad, government spending to support the general pulse of economic activity also played an important role in the traditional "American system." Hamilton started the country on the road to prosperity by refinancing at par the heavily depreciated debts of the Revolution. This tremendous expansion of the outstanding public debt was the equivalent—on a larger scale—of the payment of the soldiers' bonus in 1936. Far from being frightened at the idea of a large public debt, Hamilton declared that a "national debt, if it is not excessive, will be to us a national blessing."

At a later date government spending for internal improvements, land grants for railroads, and free land for agricultural homesteads played the same role that the expansion of the debt played in Hamilton's time. Giving away the wealth of the public domain in order to develop the prosperity of our citizens does not differ in any essential respect from the modern device of government borrowing of the people's savings in order to promote the people's prosperity.

GOVERNMENT AID FOR INDUSTRY AN ESTABLISHED POLICY

Government aid for industry has been developing without our being aware of it ever since the disappearance of "free land" in 1897. But because it has developed without our knowledge, we have failed to see its full implications or to pursue the policy aggressively during periods of crisis. The automobile boom was made possible by the public expenditure of $19,000,000,000 for motor highways. Similarly, the favorable balance of trade that we enjoyed in the '20's was made possible by government sponsorship of loans and credits abroad—bolstered partly by the Dawes and Young plans—totaling some $10,000,000,000. When the Great Depression came, we dropped our public-works expenditures and our foreign loans, and after allowing the economy to sink to starvation levels we timidly resorted to a $3,000,000,000 WPA program, largely devoted to leaf-raking projects.

We have still a frontier to exploit. This is the frontier dividing full employment and a national income of $200,000,000,000 from secular stagnation with a national income of $70,000,000,000 and a $3,000,000,000 WPA. Without $3,000,000,000 of government spending we should perhaps sink to the level of 1932, when our income was about $40,000,000,000. Undoubtedly, however, we shall spend $5,000,000,000 a year or more for relief and public works even with a Republican Administration.

A CHALLENGE TO SMALL BUSINESS

The small business man should take the lead in opposing a policy that would put us back at the production levels of 1939, for it is small business that would suffer most if this were done. Further, small business ought to take the initiative in trying to convince the public of the necessity of a full-employment program.

History has shown that reforms are seldom adopted until some vested interest finds it to its interest to collaborate in securing their adoption. In the present situation a return to 1939 levels would eliminate not only large numbers of small business men but even some of the leading companies in such diverse fields as shipbuilding, aircraft, aluminum, and chemicals. If individual business men, realizing that the program of the N. A. M. and the Chamber of Commerce holds no future for them, would organize a League of Business Men for Full Production, public sentiment could be very easily mobilized behind such a program.

It may be argued that labor organizations ought to take the lead because labor receives two-thirds of the net national income. But labor leaders have always been inclined to concentrate their attention on straight trade-union activities. The farmers should also be interested because they receive about 10 per cent of the national income, whether that income be large or small. But the farmers have been taken in perhaps more completely by the propaganda of big business than any other group in our society. Units of big business are less concerned about the size of the national income than any other group because they are usually able to show some profit, however bad the economic conditions; the managers of big business, with their regular salaries, need never worry.

But small business men, shoe-string business men, are in a completely different situation. If the national income is at a very high level they can make excellent profits. If it is reduced by a third or a half a large proportion of them are certain to go to the wall. This will be particularly true in the post-war period because their big competitors will have advantages they never enjoyed before.

If the national government undertook to maintain full employment by channeling back into the field of investment enough savings and government credit to keep everyone employed, there would be a minimum degree of interference with private business. There need be no further interference with the manufacture and sale of consumer goods. The government would be simply guaranteeing that the consumers of America would have from $120,000,000,000 to $150,000,000,000 a year to spend for consumer goods in a competitive market, with emphasis upon the word "competitive."

It may be taken for granted that if public opinion would support a program of this kind it would also insist that business men forgo all monopoly advantage. Enterprising men with new ideas would always be given a chance to demonstrate the value of what they have to offer, while the inefficient and the unimaginative would be crowded out. The situation might again become such a one as the proponents of free enterprise dream of—namely, one in which there is a steady procession of imaginative and efficient men into the field and an exodus of those who no longer have any contribution to make. Under such an arrangement there would not be socialization of the means of production, but there would be socialization of the purposes of production.

The economic monopolists, of course, would fight such a program because it would deprive them of the economic control now in their hands. But the small business man ought to recognize that only in a system of this nature can he exercise what he terms "the right of free enterprise."

Spending for High Consumption

THE United States has been a great industrial nation for so long that when people here are confronted with any kind of production problem, they naturally think first of the plant facilities that will be required. Whether it is a question of producing aluminum, tanks, aircraft, or ammunition, the first thing considered is the adequacy of the existing plant. If it is not adequate, additional facilities are built. Thus when the war broke out, our first job was plant construction. Today, after spending $15,000,000,000, the government owns 50 per cent of the country's aluminum plant, 92 per cent of its magnesium plant, 10 per cent of its steel plant, 100 per cent of its synthetic-rubber and high-octane-gasoline plant, 50 per cent of its machine-tool plant, and 90 per cent of its aircraft plant.

Altogether, our production facilities are now turning out new goods at the rate of $200,000,000,000 a year, roughly half of them being for the war effort. As a country we can produce the goods and services that make a high-consumption economy possible. But as individuals or families the majority of Americans do not have a plant that makes it possible for them to enjoy a high-consumption standard. We have the capacity to fill every home with modern furniture, kitchen equipment, radios, refrigerators, but many of these things would be grotesquely out of place in the homes of "the most poorly housed modern nation in the world." The home is where a high standard of living begins. That is where any kind of planning worthy of the name must start.

OUR HOUSING IS IN BAD SHAPE

Of 7,000,000 farm homes, only about 15 per cent have running water and electric lights. In most cases, if these burned to the ground, the insurance adjuster would have little difficulty in settling the loss for less than $2,000. In a high-consumption economy 90 per cent of our present farm homes would be as much out of place as a share-cropper's shack in an exclusive residential area.

Of 30,000,000 urban homes 2,300,000 require major repairs; 3,400,000 others lack private baths. Ninety per cent of our 24,000,000 single-family units are worth less than $7,500 a piece; the average value is less than half that sum.

When business men dream of the post-war world they see a great horn of plenty showering Americans with gadgets in return for their $64,000,000,000 of savings. But the dream is fantastic. Automatic heat, for example, is one of our greatest inventions. But in half of our 37,000,000 homes automatic heat would be ridiculously inappropriate. A really modern kitchen is a wonder to behold, and so is a well-equipped laundry. But where would the gadgets be placed in our 20,000,000 poorest houses, where there is hardly room to turn around? A house has to be designed for these conveniences if they are to be easily and effectively utilized. If all American families had adequate houses, it would be possible to conceive of a tremendous demand for comfortable beds, living-room furniture, air-conditioning equipment, F-M radios, and television receivers. But one look at our housing plant should disillusion us.

A pamphlet entitled "The Role of the Housebuilding Industry," published in July, 1942, by the National Resources Planning Board, contains a housing program which proposes that farmhouses be constructed at an average cost of $3,700, and urban houses at an average cost of $3,400. It should be obvious that a housing program keyed to this level means the continuance of a

$70,000,000,000-a-year national income. It would do little to raise our national income above the level of the 1930's. And if that is to be the post-war level, we do not need a housing program at all, because we are already over-housed—not, of course, in terms of human needs but in terms of what we can afford on a $70,000,000,000 national income. That our housing plant was better than we could afford during the '30's is shown by the fact that it deteriorated steadily during the whole of that decade, seeking a level that our income could support.

During the 1930's rentals did not pay for the economic value of the shelter provided. While this fact was not generally understood by tenants, it was understood by thousands of landlords, who could not obtain high enough rentals to prevent the gradual but steady depreciation of their properties.

If we recognize that we are now producing goods and services at the rate of $200,000,000,000 a year, and if we believe that a high-consumption economy will be possible when we convert to peace-time production, let us start to think in terms of houses that would cost $10,000 or even $12,000 to build according to present standards. Such a house belongs to a high-consumption economy and would support and stabilize it. A $3,400 or $3,700 dwelling unit does not belong and would help to make a high-consumption economy an impossibility.

A $200,000,000,000-a-year economy is no longer an ox-cart economy. It is rather a high-speed-airplane economy, in which a high level of production has to be maintained to keep it from stalling. Too many of our citizens are like the mother whose son joined the air corps in the last war. When she learned of it she asked him to promise her faithfully that he would keep close to the ground and not fly fast.

OUR CITIES NEED REPLANNING

Almost half of our population lives in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants. These cities are the despair of every person who thinks in terms of the more abundant life. Yet we must find a way to make them good places to live in, not only for people in early manhood, but for children and old people as well. That means we shall have to replan and rebuild them. And replanning must be bold and imaginative—on a large scale—in terms of square miles rather than of city blocks. But before the rebuilding can be undertaken, large areas must be freed from the bonds of debt. Creditors' claims can be amortized over a period of years. The federal government could properly absorb a large part of them in order to expedite the whole process of reconstruction. Also, through a public-works program, it might well take the responsibility for widening streets, laying out parks, and making the other improvements that are incidental to the creation of a neighborhood.

In areas where the government has contributed a large part of the value of the site, the condition might be laid down that no house built should cost less than $10,000. The cry would of course be raised that this was favoring the rich—unless it was understood that we were trying to keep an airplane above stalling speed, and that those houses were meant to set a standard that was to be adhered to in rebuilding America.

The field of rural housing opens a unique opportunity. Farm homes have never received much attention from architects. They deserve, however, very serious attention, for they must be not only places to live in but places to work in. Here would be a good field in which to try out some of the new techniques of construction.

Laboratory work in the field of construction has never been done because there is no organization big enough to undertake it. Nor would any firm be financially justified in doing it, since the ultimate findings would naturally belong to the whole building industry. This laboratory job is one that properly belongs to the government. It should be the first item on the housing program.

CONSTRUCTION AND PUBLIC WORKS

To promote a vast housing program involving the redesigning and rebuilding of our metropolitan areas, the government might have to spend $2,000,000,000 in order to encourage an investment of $15,000,000,000 of private capital. It must also spend large sums on public works. The redesigning of our metropolitan areas will necessitate new public buildings. If all our children are to be given the opportunity to go through high school, many new schoolhouses will have to be built. Much work still remains to be done on water-power, irrigation, and rural-electrification projects. By its operations in this field the government can take up a great deal of slack if unemployment develops. Plans should be made well in advance so that efficient use can always be made of available labor. A normal expenditure of $3,000,000,000 a year is contemplated.

While most of the money spent under a security work program might be considered protection against unemployment, at least 50 per cent of the expenditure, including the labor spent on reforestation, flood control, and conservation, could be considered a productive national investment.

MODERNIZATION OF OUR MANUFACTURING PLANT

After the war it will be found that many of our largest manufacturing companies have utilized the last few years to effect the complete modernization of their manufacturing plant and equipment. Smaller companies will discover that, from a competitive standpoint, they are in much weaker shape than they were before the war. Since the public, as well as the smaller companies, will suffer, the government could very properly make it one of its goals to help bring the manufacturing plant of the country as a whole to the level of the most efficient of the large plants. To this end it could grant loans for new plant construction and new equipment at between 1 and 2 per cent interest; it could also buy up more or less obsolete equipment and either junk it or export it. One billion a year spent by the government in this way might lead to an expenditure of two billion a year by industry for an indeterminate period of time.

NEW INDUSTRIAL AREAS

Magnitogorsk, Gorki, Sverdlovsk, Stalino, Zaporozhe, Kuznetsk, Komsomolsk are Russian industrial cities whose output has served to stop Hitler. Twenty years ago these industrial areas were non-existent. While ours may be the leading industrial nation in the world, we still have states with a total population of perhaps thirty million where the labor supply is only partially and very inefficiently utilized. During the next ten or twenty years we ought to build industrial cities in these states and make use of this labor. To force the inhabitants to migrate to industrial states would only complicate the problem.

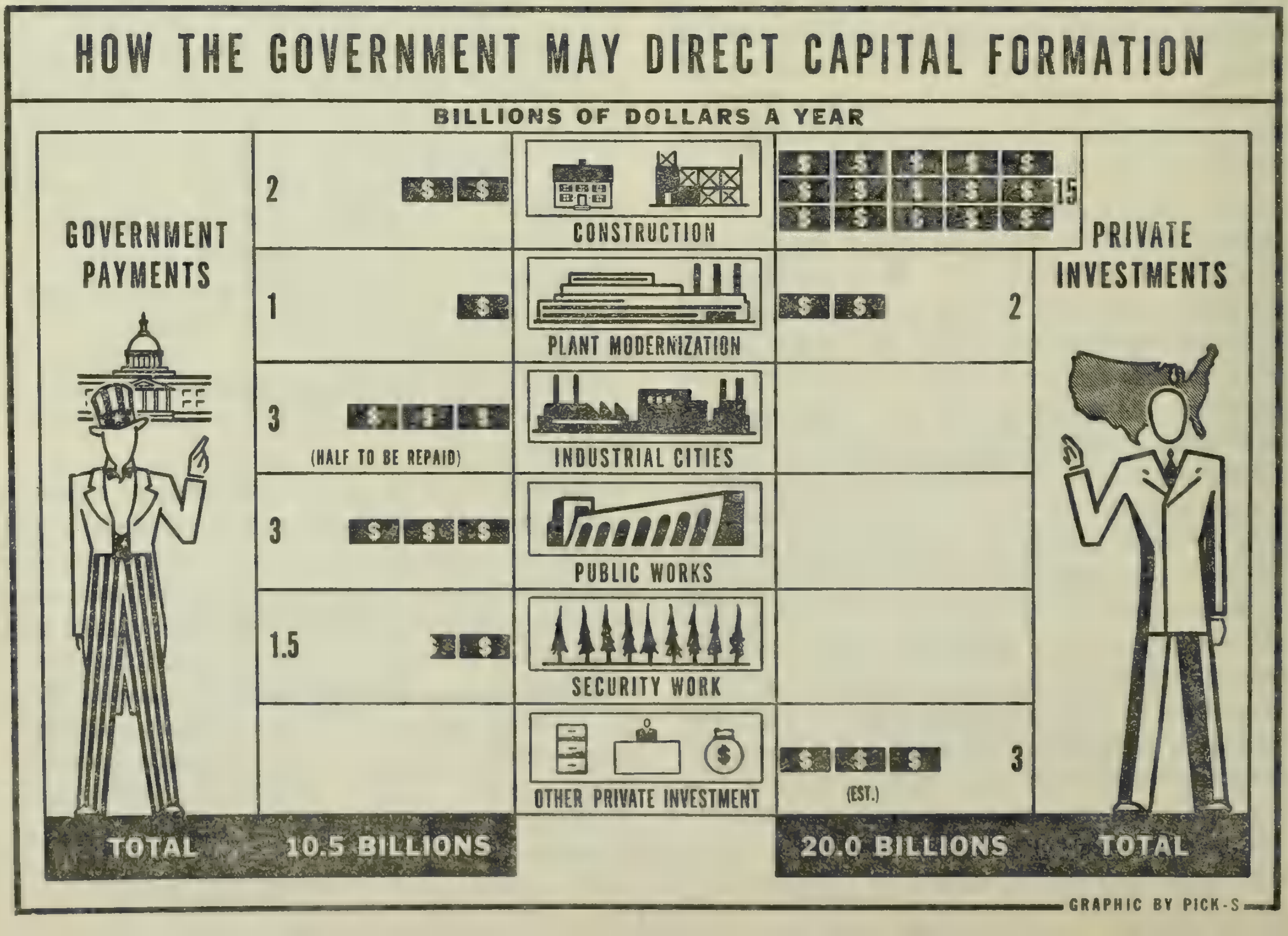
Here would be an opportunity for our ablest and most imaginative engineers and architects. Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City might come into existence, and Bel Geddes's Futurama after a generation might seem a commonplace. Willow Run would be an excellent place for a first experiment: here we have the world's greatest factory located in the open country where there is no place for people to live. While hardship has resulted, Henry Ford may have rendered a real service in blocking a housing program at this time, for there is still a chance to make this an ideal industrial community. What could city planners not do here, with each residential unit costing $10,000 at the minimum!

The chart that follows shows the various ways in which government investment can help to maintain a high-level consumption economy. It is estimated that a total government investment of $10,500,000,000 would stimulate private investment of $20,000,000,000.

CAN WE AFFORD IT?

A few years ago we were told by the spokesmen for business that a deficit of three billion a year incurred to feed some twenty million people would lead to bankruptcy. Now these same spokesmen tell us that we cannot afford to lose the war no matter what it costs, and that there is no danger of national bankruptcy. One eminent professor of economics at Yale has even calculated that we can theoretically carry a debt load of four trillion!

Most people will remember that when the national debt was very small we paid interest at about twice the rate of 1.9 per cent that we now pay. In fact, the theoretical justification for interest—paying people for deferring present consumption for future enjoyment—has virtually disappeared. During the last fifteen years people have been saving more money than they could invest, quite apart from the payment of interest. This suggests that if business men strike against the government



and refuse to invest their capital, the government might charge them a reasonable sum for keeping their capital idle.

The problem of debt as it affects government expenditures was well summed up by Alvin H. Hansen and Guy Greer in an article in *Harper's* last year:

> A government debt *internally held* is so completely different from an ordinary personal or business debt that it should hardly be called a debt at all. . . . The internal debt of a government need never be paid. It need never even be reduced, except (1) to prevent inflation (through taxation that produces a budgetary surplus); (2) to correct too great inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income; or (3) when it has become so large that taxation to service it disrupts the functioning of the economy.

These things, the authors went on to say, were all well understood by Alexander Hamilton 150 years ago.

A Strong Floor for Our Economy

THE Beveridge Report became a best seller shortly after its publication in England. The interest of the English people in it is not easily understood if we merely translate the terms of the Beveridge plan into similar provisions for this country, stated in dollars and cents. The sum of $8.08 a week for an unemployed man and his wife seems hardly enough to cause any excitement. Nor does $15 a week for a family with four or five children. But when we realize that the latter figure comes close to being an average weekly wage in many British industries, the plan appears in a different light. Translating shillings and pounds into dollars and cents does not give us a fair picture of what these shillings and pounds will buy for living purposes. The fact of the matter is that the allowances proposed in the Beveridge plan would provide the citizens of Great Britain with an income that would buy a passable standard of living.

The Beveridge plan did not propose drastic innovation in the British social-security system. Whereas the present social-security arrangements, public and private, cost £432,000,000 a year, the Beveridge plan would cost £697,000,000 to begin with and would increase till it reached £858,000,000 in 1965. Although the final cost would be only 25 per cent above what is now provided, it probably represents the maximum that the British economy could carry.

The plan has aroused such universal interest because it covers everyone, without regard to social status or wealth, and because the nature of the protection afforded is very full. It includes compensation for unemployment, disability, and loss of livelihood, old-age pensions, allowances for children, and special assistance to take care of sickness, childbirth, and funeral expenses. Since it protects the average man against most of the uncertainties that worry him, it would be a very real floor under the British economic system.

OUR BEVERIDGE PLAN CAN BE VERY SIMPLE

I believe we should adopt a plan that would call for the payment of $100 a month to all unemployed persons. While this may seem a drastic proposal, it would not strain our economy as severely as the Beveridge plan would strain the economy of Britain.

Such a plan is an integral part of a program of full employment. The amount may seem high in terms of the national income of the 1930's, but it will not be too high if we maintain substantially full employment. There are two reasons for saying such a plan is an integral part of a full-employment program. In the first place, the plan would be evidence that the promise of full employment was made in good faith. In the second place, public opinion would be ranged squarely behind the idea of putting everyone to work as soon as possible.

BANKRUPTCY OF OUR RELIEF POLICIES

During the days of the New Deal the liberals of the country were put in a difficult position by circumstances beyond their control. They were never able to make full employment the main issue. Instead, they were forced to choose between some kind of relief for the victims of our social blundering and no relief. The low-water mark in American political history was reached on January 13, 1939, when Congress voted against appropriating the money to continue relief at the pitifully low level then prevailing. The Republicans were almost solidly against the measure.

During the last year of the Hoover Administration the relief a destitute family received averaged less than $10 a month. Under the New Deal it rose to $30 or more during September of 1934. Then the tide started to turn. People who were reasonably secure began to be irked by the necessity of taking care of the insecure. By January of 1935 relief had dropped to $26 a month. At that time President Roosevelt proposed the security-wage system averaging $42 a month which came to be the WPA program. For a while this policy was held to, but public sentiment soon began to turn against the idea of boondoggling and made work. People came to realize that the whole WPA was a travesty on the efficient utilization of labor. I recall discussing this matter with the state manager of the WPA program in Wisconsin in 1938. When I suggested that they were not getting 30 per cent value for the money spent, he declared with some bitterness that they were probably not getting 10 per cent. In a sense it was the business community that was responsible for the WPA, because business men would not permit the unemployed to contribute their labor toward their own support or countenance large-scale public building. They objected to the latter on the ground that it would entail maintenance costs and higher taxes. Construction of roads, sewers, and other types of permanent improvements not involving cost of maintenance would have encroached on the field of other vested-interest groups.

The WPA program was politically indefensible, and if we ever try again to take care of part of the people outside the normal operations of the economic system, we shall experience the same unfortunate results. The standards of relief will drop lower and lower; the presence of a large number of unemployed will have a depressing effect on the whole wage structure; scarcity for all will become firmly established; and benefit will accrue only to the people holding the economic and political controls. We must base our program on the fact that the interests of all can best be served by utilizing the labor of everyone.

The preacher may exhort the members of his flock to remember that they are their brother's keeper. But it is not a popular doctrine, and it often happens that the more regularly a man goes to church the more likely he is to vote for a budget-balancer.

People react to the idea of providing relief for the unemployed just as they react to the idea of personally giving relief to any other class of people. If a natural disaster destroys the homes of half the people in a city, other people are generous and solicitous for a few months. But then the burden of helping their unfortunate neighbors becomes irksome. This feeling is soon rationalized into such ideas as: "The people who were burned out on the West Side always were shiftless," or "If they were any good they would be taking care of themselves by this time." Reports from Germany indicate that the inhabitants of rural areas feel the same way about refugees from Hamburg and other heavily bombed cities. People with fine country homes in England did not relish having them filled with cockney children from London.

Whatever we may do, we must never permit a situation to develop again where it is to the economic interest of one class of people to trample upon the class that is the victim of social insecurity.

In the 1930's there was rather general agreement that Negroes were not to have a place in our economy. This fact was well understood by union leaders and employment officials. I was told in 1939 in Chicago that many big companies refused to hire a person who had been on relief or who had had a member of his family on relief. Let us not make the mistake of thinking that this was merely the whim of some hard-boiled personnel manager. It was the inevitable outcome of a situation in which the people who were employed came to feel that they were carrying the burdens of the jobless. Naturally they felt that way—two-thirds of the people working part-time could not produce enough to provide plenty for all.

A large number of unemployed is of course a threat to the living standards of the employed, since there is bound to be competition between the two groups, and a small number in each group will cross back and forth. During the depression days some union leaders would have erected a barrier between the groups if they could have done so. Most labor leaders tended to see themselves as the representatives of their dues-paying members and had little interest in the unemployed. This was particularly noticeable during some of the hard fights for adequate relief in Congress.

We shall never be able to achieve abundance if we contrive things so that a majority can be made to feel that they will promote their own interests by working for scarcity. We must develop a willingness on the part of the majority to strive for the inclusion of all citizens in productive labor, and we must see that the cost of failure at any point does not fall on the victims of unemployment. During the 1930's advocates of the WPA program sought to convince farmers, business men, and employed workers that it was to the advantage of everyone to give the unemployed some purchasing power, but this argument was never very effective. People simply do not believe that a man who is not effectively employed should be properly paid. For this reason the chief emphasis should be placed not on the right of the individual to be efficiently employed but on the responsibility of society to see that he is efficiently employed. If society demands of a man that he accept work but is not prepared to give him a job, it is only reasonable that he should be properly paid as long as he is ready and willing to discharge his obligation to society.

ONLY UNEMPLOYMENT CAN CHEAT THE PEOPLE OF ABUNDANCE

A program calling for the payment of $100 a month to the unemployed ought to be accompanied by certain safeguards. It is only reasonable, for instance, that a person should not be paid more by way of compensation than he normally earns when employed. Certain people should perhaps not be considered to be among the unemployed. There are perhaps a million people in this country possessing only limited capacity for work. There are others who are just natural malingerers, and of course large numbers of young people come into the labor market every year who have had no training and, what is worse, have never learned what it is to work. For these there should be something combining the features of the C. C. C. and the N. Y. A., but more diversified in scope. Its purpose should be to train people and give them necessary work experience. There should also be a long-range program of continuing public works to meet such needs as reforestation, soil conservation, and flood control. The men engaged in this kind of work should be paid a flat salary of $100 a month, plus maintenance. Every citizen, so far as possible, should be permitted to learn any type of work for which he is fitted. A public-works program should not only give each individual a chance to secure training for a better job but also pay him enough so that he might eventually be economically free to try out ideas of his own.

This provision is an essential part of the $100-a-month simplified "Beveridge plan." It would give society the means of protecting itself from people who do not want to work, and it would also insure to the individual a minimal type of employment paying enough to allow him to make another start.

The Plan for an International RFC

A PLAN to set up an International Bank with a capital of $10,000,000,000 to aid in the rehabilitation of the stricken nations of the world and to facilitate the movement of raw materials in payment for capital goods is being discussed. This plan must be carried out if there is not to be chaos all over the world when the Axis countries have been defeated. Seven out of ten Americans now realize that in our own self-interest we cannot afford to revert to an isolationist policy. The American people will undoubtedly back a program calling on them to assume responsibility in the rest of the world, for they know that if we do not sit at the council table when a policy for managing the world is decided, this policy will be against our interest. The average man understands this instinctively, in spite of all the isolationist arguments.

AN EXPORT PROGRAM REQUIRES FULL EMPLOYMENT AT HOME

A number of sincere people, seeing that the world could probably use $500,000,000,000 worth of capital equipment in the next twenty years, regard this market as an outlet for any surplus of capital this country might possess. These people think that we shall probably have a high degree of economic activity for several years after the war has ended, that during the emergency we shall have to export large amounts of food and equipment to the rest of the world, and that when the emergency is ended we shall be able to export capital goods. They foresee an international RFC that will enable us to maintain over an extended period of time what we euphemistically term "a favorable balance of trade."

I do not believe that such a course will be acceptable to our people. For the past year the isolationist newspapers in the United States have worked hard to turn public opinion against it. It is my judgment, based upon campaigning for public office, that the American people will be easily prejudiced against furnishing the rest of the world with capital equipment. In 1929 the per capita income in twelve states was less than $200 a year. In three-fourths of our states it was well under $400. It would not be difficult for an isolationist politician to go to the people of these states and point out that the machine tools, the farm machinery, or the plant equipment sent to this or the other country could to much better advantage be used to raise their own living standards. It would be particularly easy if a large number of people were on relief.

The proponents of an export program would of course point out that the machinery would be paid for in raw materials and consumer goods, but unfortunately in a depression economy such an explanation would only make things worse. Industrial workers would be afraid that they would lose their jobs if imports to pay for capital equipment were to come in from any foreign country, especially a country like India or China with traditionally low standards of living.

Only with full employment at home could we go through with a program of this kind. It would be possible to do it then because working people would not be afraid of losing their jobs. With everybody working it might seem wise to export locomotives, rails, lathes, and other kinds of capital goods in return for cocoa, rubber, tea, hemp, silk, and even processed consumer goods, and it might seem a reasonable idea to permit a favorable balance of trade of several billion dollars a year. But if we think that we could do a huge export business with economic activity at the level that prevailed between 1933 and 1941, we forget the popular resentment resulting from the failure of our allies to pay their war debts after the last war and from the loss of some ten billion dollars exported between 1920 and 1929. Similar resentment will be aroused against further export of capital after this war if we do not first embark on a program reasonably calculated to obtain full employment at home.

That this analysis of public opinion is correct is indicated by a resolution adopted by the national convention of the American Legion last September. The resolution urged that "all immigration be barred from the United States from the date of the end of hostilities of the present war until unemployment has dropped to less than 1,000,000." In the course of the House debate on repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Law, Representative Allen of Louisiana offered an amendment embodying the Legion proposal, but it was held to be out of order. Otherwise it might easily have been adopted, for the temper of this Congress is not unlike the temper of the Legion, or the temper of the American people as shown in the November election.

An Appeal to Responsibility

AS WE come closer to the post-war world and people's hopes and aspirations for this period become reasonably clear, conservative leaders realize that there can be no return to the irresponsibility of 1931 and 1932. They still hope, however, to return to the conditions that prevailed during the first eight years of the New Deal. Beyond that, they would like to weaken labor organizations and to shift as large a part of the cost of government as possible to the low-income groups. This is well illustrated by the fact that the legislators of fifteen states have memorialized Congress to limit federal income taxes to 25 per cent. Labor, for its part, is coming to realize that the rights it has won cannot be put away in cold storage and still be available for use whenever occasion may require. Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation,* reported recently that workingmen in England are determined to keep the factories in operation after the war if they have to use machine-guns to do it. Workingmen in the United States also have a militancy today that was impossible during the pre-war period of curtailed operations.

A large part of Europe and Asia will inevitably come under the influence of the Russian idea after the fighting stops. Many of our responsible leaders are beginning to realize that the threat of Russia is not military in nature but ideological. The *United States News* of September 3, expressed this view succinctly:

> At bottom, however, the deep official concern is over Russia's example.
>
> First, Russia can make Germany work for her to replace destroyed goods. U. S. and Britain cannot do the same without interfering with private trade.
>
> Second, Russia can keep full employment, with government running everything. U. S. and Britain may face serious post-war employment problems.
>
> Third, Russia may give the appearance of post-war progress as undeveloped resources are exploited on a planned basis, often utilizing war-developed transport and machinery.

We did not feel the impact of this situation in the pre-war era of depression because not till 1937 and 1938 were Russia's accomplishments under its system of economic planning understood in this country, and then only by a few students of the subject. After that the menace of the approaching war absorbed our attention. In the post-war world the opinion-forming industries will not find it possible to poison the minds of the people against Russia in the way that they did before the war.

After the three-power conference in Moscow was announced, the semi-official Russian newspapers carried a number of articles by Professor Y. E. Varga, a Hungarian refugee who is now one of the leading academicians of Russia. These articles proposed that Russia should require Germany to furnish 10,000,000 laborers for a period of ten years to repair the damage caused by German armies in Russia, Poland, and the Balkans. This was something quite new and revolutionary to our mode of economic thinking. When Germany sought to send a large number of construction workers to build houses in France in the 1920's as the only way in which it could meet its reparation payments, the offer was refused. The significance of Professor Varga's suggestion will not be lost on the American people. They will see in it proof that Russia has an economic system that can provide an outlet for all the creative energy of its citizens and in addition utilize enemy man-power to advantage.

If Russia has full employment after the war while we continue to be plagued with extensive unemployment, this fact will make its impact upon the minds of the American people without regard to class or occupation. They will properly wonder whether Hitler and Hirohito did us harm at Pearl Harbor when they caused our gross output to jump from $119,000,000,000 to $200,000,000,000, or whether they did us a favor when they signed an armistice that caused us to drop back to our pre-war depression levels of production. And if the people who manage American industry can offer no leadership in achieving full employment, the people will see that this group is removed from future control. Throughout history ruling classes that failed to discharge obvious responsibilities have been harshly dealt with.

It was indicative of the spirit of our time that James Burnham's book "The Managerial Revolution" had such a vogue among business men a few years ago. So far as

A PROGRAM FOR PROGRESSIVES

American Labor believes that all Liberals and Progressives everywhere have a joint stake in the following minimum program for the war and post-war world:

¶ To wrest victory from the Axis Powers at the earliest possible moment. This is the cardinal task. All else must be subordinated to it.

¶ To insure the peace by permitting each free people to fashion the form of government and economy best suited to its needs.

¶ To encourage the free and untrammeled activity of the people's movements as the Allies advance upon the European continent.

¶ To oppose at home any grandiose plans for a new American imperialism.

¶ To insist upon an economy of abundance available to all men everywhere as a further guarantee of permanent peace. This program must assure full employment, plus a wide range of social security and decent national income levels.

¶ To continue close and constant collaboration among the United Nations, after the victory is won.

THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, representing 325,000 members working and living in 32 States of the Union, firmly believes that the Program of the CIO Committee on Political Action, endorsed and implemented by more than FIVE MILLION CIO members throughout the country, offers the best means for achieving the above desired ends. It envisions the mobilization not only of the FOURTEEN MILLION members of organized labor and their families, but also the MILLIONS of enlightened professionals, small businessmen and working farmers who have a joint stake in a world organized to elevate the living standards of all men in all lands in which the possibility of an expanding economy remains boundless.

The nature of the peace will be determined by the people. They have it within their power to fashion it after their own needs and aspirations. Organized and united, no force on earth can stop them short of their goal.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

15 Union Square New York City

I know, this was the first book on political philosophy that any substantial number of business men ever took the trouble to read. Apparently they were eager to be assured that they were performing an essential function and that, come what might, they would probably be secure as long as they continued in a useful capacity. When they try to give more thorough consideration to the nature of their responsibilities as managers they do not seem to get beyond following the leadership of the Chamber of Commerce or the N. A. M. Various polls taken by *Fortune* and other samplers of public opinion reveal that our business men, big and small, entertain precisely the ideas that were recently incorporated in the policy report of the American Bankers' Association.

Concerning this report the conservative *Financial News* of London made the following editorial comment in its issue of September 18:

> This report may be called the Bourbon Plan, on the evidence it offers of the inability of its authors to learn anything or forget anything. . . . According to the spokesmen of the American bankers, all that is needed to bring a happy post-war world is rigidly stable currencies free from any exchange restriction. And the way to achieve this ideal state of affairs is by the elimination of all form of government intervention ("obstacles to initiative and enterprise") and the termination of "deficit financing" through the strict balancing of budgets.
>
> Having read the abstracts from the report that are available on this side, one is inclined to rub one's eyes to make sure one is not dreaming. Is it really possible that well-informed and thoughtful people should allow themselves to be so blinded to realities by their belief in hard money at all costs?
>
> Have they failed to learn anything from their own pre-war experience?
>
> The A. B. A. lost many of its members a little over ten years ago through the widespread difficulties that affected bankers in the United States, and these difficulties were brought about by precisely those conditions whose restoration is now advocated by the survivors of the storm—who owe their survival, incidentally, to the very government intervention they are now so anxious to eliminate.
>
> There is absolutely nothing in the report which suggests that the bankers have realized the necessity for any measures to prevent the recurrence of the boom of 1929 and the subsequent slump.

After this glance at the problems that will confront us in the post-war world, let us look again briefly at the program that the American business man has in store for us. Here it is: (1) Reduce taxes. (2) Labor must be reasonable. (3) Observe constitutional morality in defining rights of property. (4) The government should balance the budget and refrain from interfering with business. (5) Let business men stabilize the economic system.

Do our business men who see themselves as the actual managers of the United States believe for a minute that the program they are advocating offers any reasonable hope of providing work for 15,000,000,000 men who will be unemployed if 1939 levels of production prevail? Do they believe that they will have discharged their obligations as a ruling class well enough to be permitted to continue in the positions they now hold? If they do, they ought to ask themselves seriously why it is that English financial editors, upon reading their program for the future, "simply rub their eyes" and say that this thing cannot be. Is it, indeed, possible that American business men have learned nothing since 1929?

Out of this war will come the rapid industrialization of congested India and China. It is arrant lack of realism for us to imagine that in the kind of world that is emerging, the Western Hemisphere, with a tenth of the world's population, can keep control of two or three times its share of the world's wealth without efficiently utilizing it. Only 55 per cent of the 170,000,000 people in North America can normally be said to be efficiently employed within the prevailing economy. Between the Rio Grande and Panama are 25,000,000 people, 90 per cent of whom live in a pre-capitalist environment in which they can eke out only the barest kind of subsistence living. In the United States during the '30's 11,000,000 persons, on the average, were unemployed, not counting the half of our 6,500,000 farmers who produce less than 10 per cent of the food that reaches the marketplace. Most of our colored people were excluded from participation in the economy. The situation in Canada was little different from that in the United States.

History tells us that those peoples have always prevailed that could support the largest population on a given area. But the greater efficiency that the peoples of one country seem to display in comparison with their neighbors may turn out to be short-lived, for historical change is being rapidly accelerated by the "locomotive of war."

A careful examination of our position in the post-war world should show people with a sense of responsibility that we must not attempt to return to the old order of things. Apart from considerations of national interest, our business and professional leaders ought to see that our economic forms have moved completely away from our social forms, and that a fundamental and revolutionary change is inevitable. People are going to demand that they be given a chance to function. The imperative of this period may be summed up in the term "full employment."

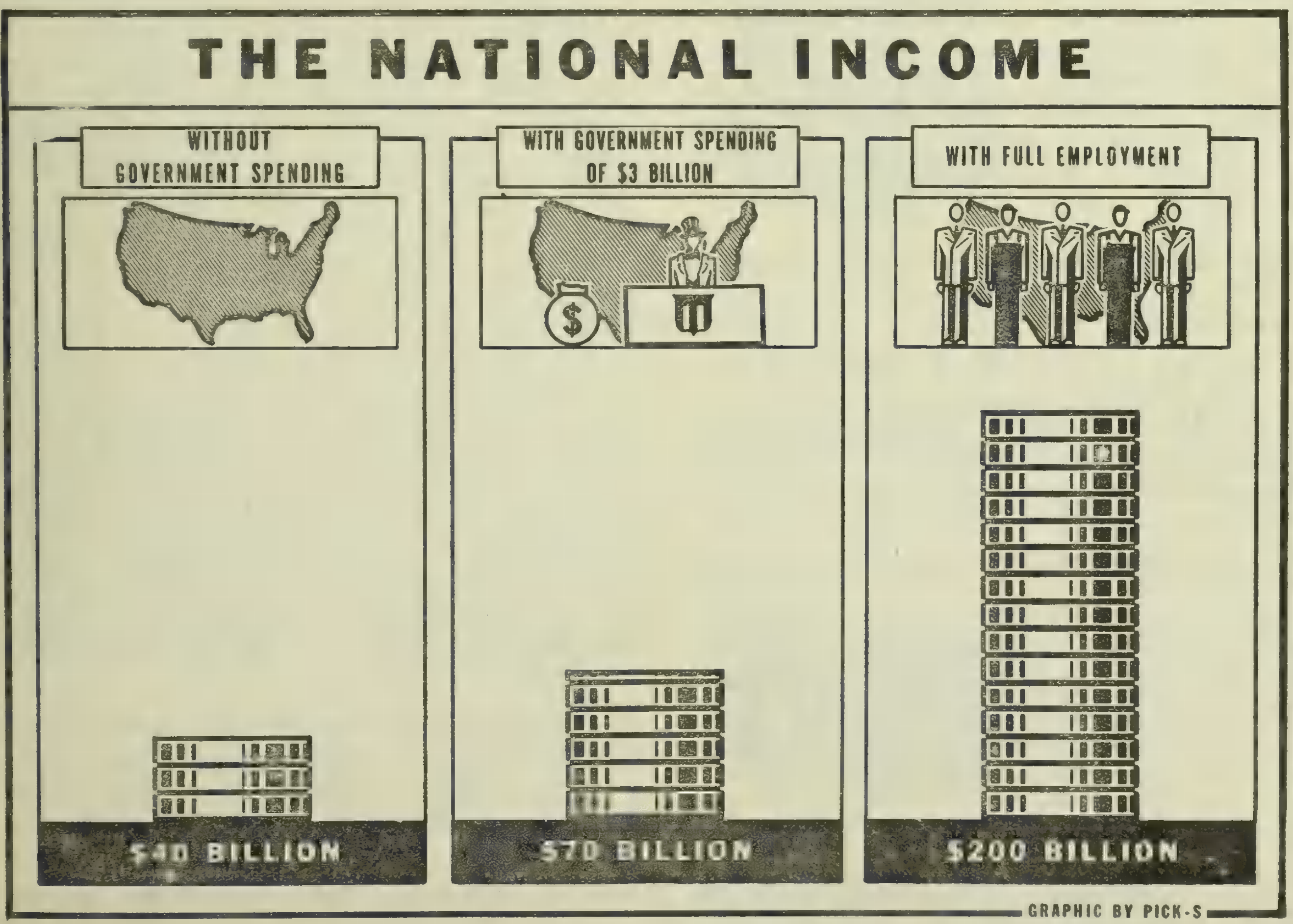
MARX OR KEYNES?

Russia's experience during the past fifteen years suggests that communism is one possible answer to the problem of how to attain full employment. The experience of this country and of England has shown that full employment may be achieved for the purpose of prosecuting a war. But critics contend that with private ownership of the means of production it is not possible to operate a planned economy for the purposes of peace. In reply, a large and growing number of economists would say that this contention is based upon theoretical considerations that no longer conform to reality. What the state does in time of war is not to socialize the means of production but to socialize the purposes of production to the end of winning the war. It accomplishes this by the simple expedient of becoming a coordinator of economic activities rather than just an umpire. In time of peace, these economists point out, the purpose of production ought to be to give all citizens the high living standards that our productive capacity makes possible. The state's responsibility as coordinator of economic activities would merely be to provide opportunities for the investment of savings and to make certain that those savings were channeled into investments. While followers of J. M. Keynes might disagree about the procedure to be followed, they would generally admit that this was the end to be sought and the broad way of achieving that end.

For responsible people, who feel it is obligatory to maintain full employment in peace as well as in war, there are two valid programs—the Communist program and the program of J. M. Keynes. The Communist program is distasteful to people now in a position of leadership in that it looks forward to their removal and their supercession by representatives of the proletariat. While this course has been eminently justified in Soviet Russia, the success achieved there has been at a price that does not need to be paid in countries with long traditions of democracy.

The French Revolution resulted from the refusal of the representatives of a feudal order to recognize the economic reality of a rapidly growing middle class. But after the revolution had been fought in France, it was unnecessary to fight it out in every other country. The world was not big enough for the ideas of feudalism and laissez faire capitalism to exist together. The Russian Revolution overturned the old absolutist order in Russia and socialized both the means and the purposes of production, thus permitting the participation of all citizens in the economy. In this shrinking world there is not going to be room for a system that provides full employment and full participation of its citizens in the organic processes of the economy alongside a system that is stabilized with two-thirds of the people inside the economy and one-third outside, while big business wields the real power.

During the last twenty-five years we have learned that it may be possible to by-pass the question of socializing the means of production by socializing the purposes of production. Thus we may eventually achieve, in the words of Professor Keynes, the "euthanasia of the rentier class." The many excellent and practical suggestions



made by Keynes for achieving this "euthanasia" with a minimum of social disturbance are valued so highly by the practical-minded British that they have rewarded the professor with a barony.

While a majority of American economists are in essential agreement with the views of Lord Keynes, few of them would dare confess this lest they be permitted to toil no longer in their respective vineyards. The diehard conservatism of our owning-ruling class perplexes British business men, who have the realism to see that "full employment" will be the imperative of the future and that if it cannot be achieved under present leadership, then other leadership must be provided. The members of the Union League Club, if they possess the intelligence that a ruling class must have for survival, will hang the picture of Lord Keynes in the place of honor. Otherwise the picture of Marx will be hung there, but they will not be on hand to see it.

A Program for Political Action

As I watch the political alignments that are forming for the post-war period, I have the feeling that the situation is not very different from what it was when I entered the political arena some twelve years ago. At that time people were dimly aware that our national income had dropped from $83,000,000,000 to less than half that amount through man-made failure rather than through any act of God. There was also a general realization that we had operated far from capacity in 1929 and that under the right management income might as easily have gone up $45,000,000,000 as down by that amount. People expressed their feelings by voting against Mr. Hoover, who had become personally unpopular. When Roosevelt assumed office, he had fairly complete support for any steps that he might have chosen to take. There was little in the program that he sponsored, with the exception of the Tennessee Valley Authority and support of labor's right to organize for collective bargaining, that might not have been sponsored by an intelligent conservative.

Writing of this period in *Harper's* for October, 1939, under the heading "Roosevelt, the Rich Man's Alibi," Elmer Davis said:

> I venture to suggest that there is one class in American society (besides federal office-holders) which owes him not only affirmative but enthusiastic support; which ought to back him not merely for a third term but for life tenure. This is big business. To the leaders of industry, commerce, and finance Mr. Roosevelt has been such a godsend as they could not have dared to hope for in the dark days of 1932. . . .
>
> They [big business] ought to be the most zealous third-termers in the country. So long as Roosevelt is in the White House they are spared the painful effort of trying to think; spared, it may be, the still more painful confession that even if they tried to think no thoughts would come.

THE REAL ISSUE IN 1932-40

At the time I felt very keenly that the real issue was not between irresponsible reaction and realistic conservatism. I had the hope, with many others, that it might be possible to show that the real issue was between the stabilization of the economic system at a low level, as the New Deal was doing, and a program of capacity operation and full employment. In 1933 I joined with others in calling a conference of liberals in Chicago. Out of this conference came the Farmer-Labor Political Federation, of which I served as chairman until another conference was called in 1935, at which the Farmer-Labor Federation became the American Commonwealth Federation. I continued to serve as chairman of this organization until March of 1936, when it became plain that organized labor believed that the lines were drawn between straight unintelligent reaction, as exemplified by the Republican Party, and Roosevelt's realistic conservatism, which had given labor the right to organize; this, it felt, was a first step that must be protected at all costs. Under the circumstances it was plain that if the Commonwealth Federation stayed in the field it would only play into the hands of the Coughlinites and other third-party factions. The Federation, with its program of full production, was therefore dropped.

From the vantage-point of the physical world of tomorrow it will be hard to understand how from 1932 to 1940 there could have been a struggle between pure negation on the one side and a program calling for the stabilization of the economic system at half of its potential capacity, with fully a third of the people completely on the outside, but this was in fact the issue that was posed. The great majority of liberals, together with all leaders of labor, felt that they had no choice but to fight with might and main for what they clearly perceived to be only the lesser evil.

THE OLD ALTERNATIVES ONCE MORE

As the post-war world begins to come into perspective, it seems clear that an effort will be made again to force us to choose between the same alternatives. But liberals simply dare not permit themselves to be completely outmaneuvered again. It is true that the alternatives will not be exactly the same, but the essential strategic aspects of the choice will be the same. If a liberal President is elected in 1944 he will almost certainly have a Congress as reactionary as the present one. He will have very little chance to put across any essential parts of an affirmative program. By his veto power he might save the country from some of the more ill-considered and unintelligent acts of such a Congress, but it is doubtful whether salvage of this kind would be worth while. The people would blame the President and his Administration just as Mr. Willkie is now blaming the President, amid plaudits from certain liberals, for acts that should more properly be blamed upon the reactionary majority in Congress.

Whether we have a Republican or a Democratic President in the immediate post-war period will not be a matter of great importance. Whichever party he belongs to, the Chief Executive is almost certain to be much more liberal in his economic and social outlook than the Congress with which he will have to work. In 1938 Congress took a drastic turn for the worse when some eighty liberals and midde-of-the-roaders were defeated by outright reactionaries. In 1940, though Roosevelt was reelected, the people eliminated some twelve or fifteen more middle-of-the-roaders, replacing them with conservatives. The trend continued through 1942, when some fifty fair-to-middling Congressmen were replaced by conservatives and isolationists, the Administration retaining control of the organization of the House by only a few votes. The present Congress is considered the worst that has sat since the Reconstruction Congress in 1866. The Congress that is elected next year may be as bad as this one or it may be worse; it certainly will not be a good one.

With a liberal President and a reactionary Congress the liberals would feel called upon to come to the defense of the President's program no matter how conservative it might be; it would certainly be more liberal than the program of an ultra-reactionary Congress. This is exactly what happened between 1932 and 1940. It seems to me that historians of this period may well write that the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt was mainly responsible for the defeat of Germany and Japan. But in order to gain the support of big business for the prosecution of the war, the Administration has been obliged to make so many concessions to it that it does not seem possible that Mr. Roosevelt can now provide the leadership for an adequate program of full employment in the post-war period. In the meantime, the war program has been launched on such a scale that the defeat of Germany and Japan seems certain to be achieved whether there is a change in Administration or not. On the domestic front the political power from 1944 to 1949 will be in the hands of the Congress of the United States and not of the President. On the basis of his record from 1933 until 1940, Mr. Roosevelt in the post-war period would perhaps be able to formulate a program that would reduce

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WHY CAN'T ROOSEVELT MATCH THIS?

I regard it as a definite part of the duty and responsibility of this National Government to have its plans perfected in a vast and practical scheme to make sure that in the years immediately following the war, food, work, and homes are found for all.

No airy visions, no party doctrines or party prejudices, no political appetites or vested interests must stand in the way of the simple duty of providing before the end of the war for food, work, and homes. They must be prepared now during the war. These plans must be prepared, and they must come into action, just like, when war breaks out, general mobilization is declared. They must come into action as soon as the victory is won.

On this far-reaching work, His Majesty's Government are now concentrating all energies that can be spared from the actual struggle with the enemy. The policy of waging war till victory would be incomplete and, indeed, spoiled if it were not accompanied by a policy of food, work, and homes in the period following the victory for the men and women who fought and won.—WINSTON CHURCHILL at the Lord Mayor's Luncheon in London on November 9, 1943.

unemployment to ten million under even more difficult circumstances than prevailed from 1933 to 1941. I put it in this way because I feel that President Roosevelt lost his real opportunity in March, 1933, because of his belief that proponents of large-scale public-works programs were guilty of "shallow thinking."

It is quite possible that Mr. Willkie would also be able to reduce unemployment to ten million. I base this statement not upon any public utterance by Mr. Willkie but rather upon the picture that Drew Pearson has given of him in his "off-the-record" talks to Republican leaders.

If a post-war program were left to the collective intelligence possessed by the members of Congress, it seems to me almost certain that unemployment would come to exceed twenty million.

FULL EMPLOYMENT WILL BENEFIT MANY GROUPS

In theory it ought to be possible to persuade various groups in our society which would benefit from a "full-employment" program that despite rivalry and bitterness in the past there exists the basis for cooperative political action. It should be relatively easy to persuade labor of its interest in a full-employment program, because working people know that from 67 to 70 per cent of the total national income is paid out in the form of wages. The important thing is that this sum should be around $143,000,000,000 as in 1943 and not $42,000,000,000 as in 1933. It should be possible to point out the same thing to the farmers of the country, for farmers receive roughly 10 per cent of the total national income. Though farm help may be harder to get as employment rises, the farmer's economic interest is directly dependent on the size of the national income.

Small business men, professional men, and men in the service trades, all have their eggs in the same basket. A large national income offers them the only possible guaranty against being combed out in the post-war world.

Big business men, collectively, are not primarily interested in making a profit. This group, which might more accurately be termed the economic-monopoly group, is more interested in political power than in immediate profits, for it knows that in the long run economic control depends upon political control. Even if the total national income should be reduced to half its present amount, this group would be able to survive, and to earn some profits as well as pay executive salaries. Its members would rather see a low national income with themselves at the controls than a high national income with responsibility shared with the government. Besides, a low national income would automatically solve some troublesome problems by eliminating a lot of shoestring business men as competitors and permitting further consolidation of economic power.

LABOR'S ROLE IN THE FIGHT FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

One of the important books of the last few years is "The Tragedy of European Labor" by Adolf Sturmthal. It is Mr. Sturmthal's thesis that European labor made a great mistake in carrying over the philosophy and the approach of trade unionism to the political front. The result was that the leaders of labor were never able to think in terms of the bold and comprehensive programs that might have provided a solution to their problems; they could not act with sufficient boldness to appeal to the imagination of people outside the trade unions. As labor leaders they had always fought with employers for a little gain here and a little concession there. When they moved to the political front they continued to act in the same way. This description of European labor applies equally well to American labor, but it must be added that in Europe labor had many excuses for its failure that do not exist here.

The steady trend toward conservatism in rural America since 1936 makes it very clear that the farmers of the United States have been completely estranged from labor's cause. The constant emphasis on strikes by the press and radio is even having the effect of causing men in the service to feel hostile toward labor. Their hostility will probably vanish, however, as soon as the men are demobilized and have reestablished their old contacts.

It even appears that a majority of the members of labor unions do not have a great deal of confidence in labor's political leadership. In a Gallup poll published August 20, 1943, people in the lower income groups were asked whether they would prefer rule by big business or rule by labor unions. Of this group, which was made up predominantly of union members, 33 per cent said they would favor rule by big business, 34 per cent preferred labor, and 33 per cent were undecided. A similar result was obtained when labor-union members were asked after the passage of the Smith-Connally bill whether they believed that labor unions ought to make contributions to political campaigns. Twenty-four per cent of union members expressed themselves affirmatively, 58 per cent in the negative, and 18 per cent "didn't know." The results of these two polls tie together very well. If the members of organized labor do not think that their leaders have any worth-while political program, no purpose would be served in permitting these leaders to make contributions to political campaigns. It also follows that if the labor movement as such does not have a political program that can gain the support of its own membership, it does not have a program that can be expected to arouse any particular enthusiasm on the part of farmers, members of the armed forces, or people with a middle-class point of view.

The program that is called for now is not one that grows naturally out of labor's trade-union experiences. The program must be much broader, so extensive that it can win over not only the great majority of wage-workers but also a majority of the farmers and white-collar workers. Above all, it must gain the enthusiastic support of the generation that fought the war. An agreement can be reached if there is first an understanding of the facts involved. Those facts are: (1) that we have a productive capacity that will enable us to fix in advance the extent of our national income at any point up to $200,000,000,000; (2) that this cannot be done by letting nature take its course, but only by putting in operation a program adequately designed to accomplish its object; (3) that all classes and groups within the country, except economic monopoly, will be benefited.

PROSPECTS FOR 1944

Most of the public-opinion polls that have been taken during the past year indicate that the American people would support a fourth term for the present Administration if the outcome of the war were still in doubt; but that they would be against a fourth term by a two-to-one majority if the war were over. While the war may still be in progress in the Pacific a year from now, the indications are that the back of the Axis will be broken by then. It would be reasonable to expect, therefore, that the President himself might not fare any better at the polls next November than would other candidates on his party ticket. For 1944 would not be

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a repetition of 1940, when so many candidates seeking reelection on the Republican ticket seemed to be completely confused about who this nation's enemies really were.

Many liberals believe that a fourth term is necessary if we are to win the peace. Unfortunately, however, it will be easy for the opposition to present the issue as if it were one between practical idealism and visionary idealism. And the Administration's program will be politically unrealistic unless we achieve full employment at home. The policies of world reconstruction advocated by Mr. Wallace, for example, presuppose a domestic program of full employment. Divorced from such a domestic program, they could not win and would not deserve to win.

The results of recent elections in Australia and Ontario suggest that a program calling for economic democracy at home and economic aid to political democracy abroad might win general approval even though the necessary educational foundation for such a program has not been laid. Waging a campaign on these issues would constitute the best kind of political education. If the issues could be posed in the 1944 campaign, it would be clear from then on that economic democracy was the alternative to economic monopoly. In an understanding of this fact lies the hope of an eventual revolution by consent.

In the time that remains it should still be possible to place on the ballot in the non-poll-tax states a slate of delegates to the Democratic National Convention committed to write into the Democratic Party platform a program that would call for "full employment" at home and a peace designed to permit the peoples of the world to achieve economic democracy. From this point the fight could be carried into the various Congressional elections in the fall.

Labor could well afford to spend a large sum to promote such a program. Win or lose, the campaign would help to define the issues on which the hopes of organized labor must finally rest. Viewed from the narrower perspective of 1944, this type of campaign would certainly have a far better chance of success than the Democratic campaign that is now under way.

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And in Books and the Arts section Joseph Wood Krutch (on leave) raises the curtain on the season's plays and players. When Mr. Krutch writes of the theater, playgoers in the large cities take careful note of his suggestions and those outside who seldom see a play, get a whiff of grease paint and a glimpse of footlights; known as one of the most sensitive of American drama critics he is also an author of several books about the theater, the most recent of which is "The American Drama Since 1918."

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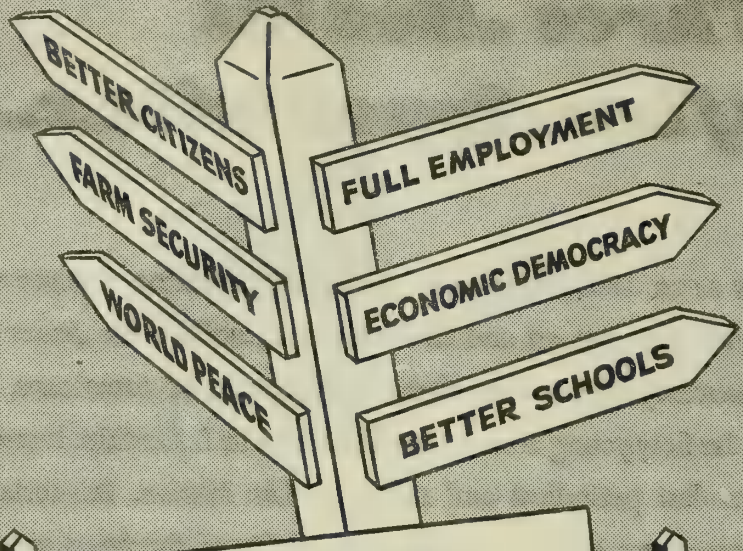

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POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The King's Men

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

ON NOVEMBER 9 the United Press reported that units of anti-Fascist volunteers which were operating in the Naples area under General Giuseppe Pavoni had been disbanded by Badoglio's orders, and that the men would be drafted into a regular Italian army under Antonio Basso, "one of the King's generals." The King's general "handles most dealings concerning relations between the Italians and the Allied authorities." He acts not only as chief of the reorganized military machine but also as "Badoglio's representative" in civilian affairs.

It is probable that the prefect whom Badoglio has chosen to govern civilian affairs in Naples—Enrico Cavaliere—is also under the jurisdiction of the King's general. Signor Cavaliere was prefect of Bari and of Palermo under Mussolini, and he, like other men who are serving in Italy today, certainly cannot be accused of having been a "premature anti-Fascist."

It is safe to say that Badoglio is acting with the full approval of London and Washington. An "Allied Control Mission" has been established to oversee the administration of the Badoglio government. "Victor Emmanuel," said the New York *Times* of October 24, "is the King, but the power behind his throne is the Allied Mission, and as things are shaping now, it is still going to be behind the throne when Victor Emmanuel is again King of Italy in Rome." The King was a rubber stamp for Mussolini. Now he is a rubber stamp for the Control Mission. Orders issued by Badoglio are the orders of the Control Mission.

On October 28 Robert D. Murphy, American Minister in North Africa, and Harold Macmillan, the British Minister, arrived in Naples with Badoglio to confer with prominent Italians about the future of Italy. The Italians declared that the King and his son must abdicate. Mr. Murphy and Mr. Macmillan returned to Algiers to report to their governments. The upshot of their report was soon evident. In the New York *Times* of November 3 the correspondent from Naples stated that "at present, as long as the Allied Military Mission sits at the King's side, he is immune." In fact, on November 3 the King paid a visit to Naples, and the *Herald Tribune* of November 5 described the "ovation" which he received on his tour through the streets. In a city of 900,000 people it is not difficult to gather together two or three hundred plain-clothes policemen to cheer the King lustily while protecting his person from less enthusiastic subjects. But, perhaps, on second thought, the King's reception was not quite as enthusiastic as the first report indicated. By November 10 the *Herald Tribune* correspondent wrote that the King had been pleased "by the lack of any hostile demonstration during his three-day visit to Naples." Whatever the truth, the Associated Press reported after the visit that "through his trip to Naples King Victor Emmanuel III apparently won the first round of his fight to retain his throne—at least temporarily."

The first round was won in London and in Washington, not in Naples. It was won on the day of so-called "unconditional surrender." The second round was won on November 9 in Italy, when the volunteers were disbanded and the control of the King's generals over Italian fighting forces was officially acknowledged. On November 10 the Associated Press made it clear that the Allied Control Mission would "prevent any group under or outside the Italian government from attempting to use troops to gain or retain power within the country."

To help Badoglio in the task of rebuilding the King's army, several Italian generals taken prisoner in Africa are being dispatched to Italy. Other Italian officers may be released after their backgrounds and their will to fight the Germans have been investigated.

In other words, the lives of American boys in Italy are not to be saved by volunteers who want to fight and who may have some conception of the true nature of the struggle against Fascism. They are to be saved by soulless bureaucrats of the old royal army, who, after covering themselves with glory in Ethiopia and Spain, have demonstrated their capacity in the present war. To be sure, the Associated Press has suggested "that Italian manpower will be diverted mainly to the task of rebuilding the country's crippled railways and highways"; so there is little danger that the King's men will turn the other way. One merely wonders how many lives of American boys will be saved by such allies. As for rebuilding railways and highways, no one is less qualified for that kind of work than an army chief. It is a job for civilian experts. But, of course, a general is sure he can do anything. If you ask a general to give birth to a child, he instantly and confidently goes to bed.

All these facts seem to imply that unconditional military surrender last September was coupled with a political deal by which the King and Badoglio were assured of their respective jobs. In return for that pledge, the two men will submit to any kind of indignity. The war of Italy against the Germans has definitely become the private business of Mr. Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt, the King, and Badoglio.

One may ask how these events can be reconciled with the solemn declaration issued in Moscow on November 1, according to which the "Foreign Secretaries of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union have established that their three governments are in complete agreement that Allied policy toward Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that Fascism and all its evil influence and configuration shall be completely destroyed and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles."

The answer is that words have lost their meaning not only in London and Washington but also in Moscow. The same solemn declaration told us that "the Foreign Secretaries of the United States and the United Kingdom declare that the action of their governments from the inception of the invasion of Italian territory, in so far as paramount military requirements have permitted, has been based upon this policy." These peculiar words were published on November 2. On the following day the King went to Naples to "enhance his prestige." On November 9 Badoglio—that is to say, the Allied Control Mission—gave orders that no Italian volunteers should be allowed to help save the lives of American boys.

[*A further commentary by Dr. Salvemini will appear in an early issue.*]

White Terror in Paraguay

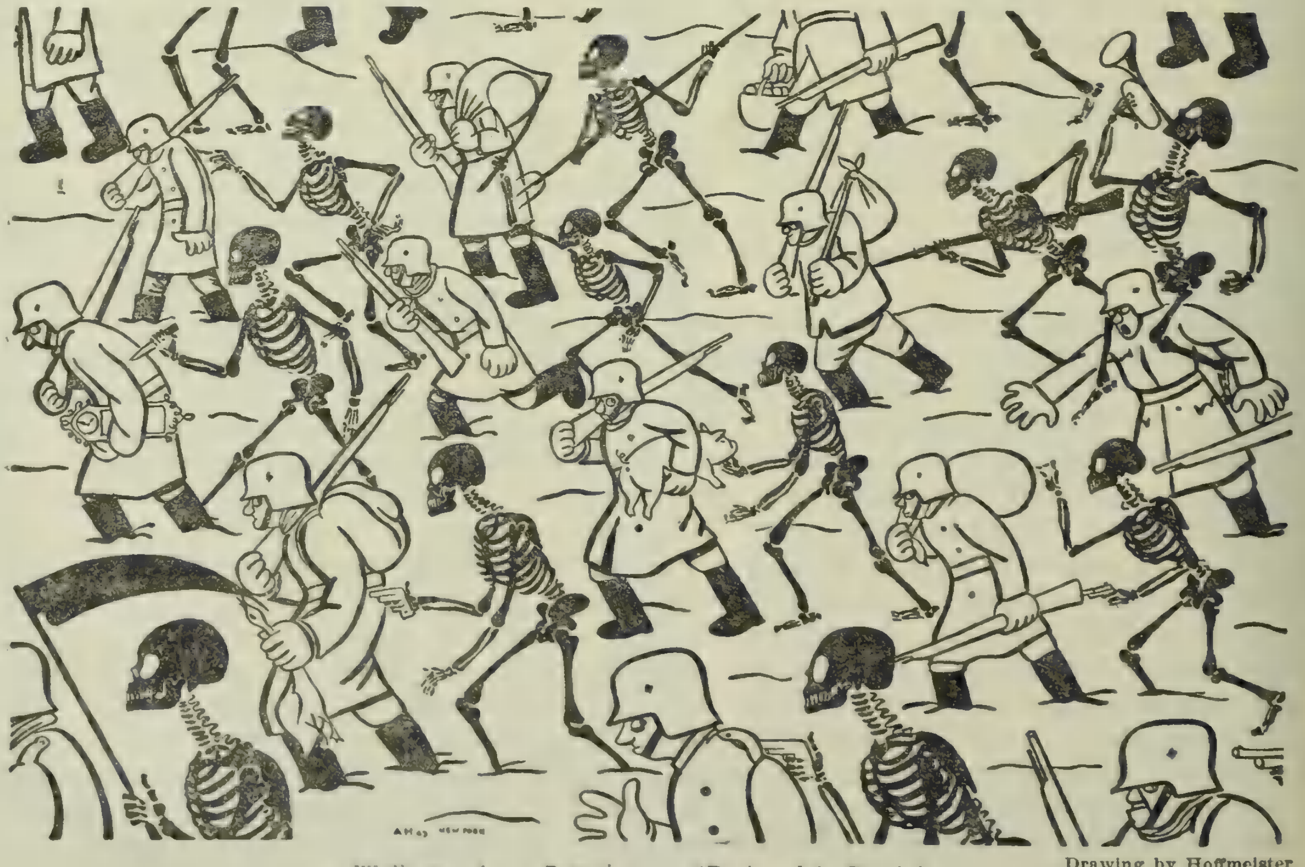
THE following details about the white terror in Paraguay have been received from the Argentine League for the Rights of Man:

"The information we have received sets forth the alarming condition of the well-known anti-fascist leader Augusto Cañete, who has been imprisoned for several months in an unhealthful cell in the public jail of Asunción. The cell, which has no roof, is flooded when it rains, and the prisoners often have to spend several days in water up to their knees, unable to lie down to sleep. With Cañete is the labor leader Cirilo Aguayo, cofounder of the Latin American Federation of Labor.

"Recently Alfredo Alcorta, student leader and ex-president of the Federation of Secondary Students, was arrested. For three consecutive days he was kept tied to a table and subjected to beatings with rulers, fine chains, and sabers. He is now in danger of losing an eye.

"Also in prison are the young students Arsenio Ibañez, Rafael Quintana, and Victorino Baez, all of whom have been beaten and subjected to electric shocks. Two boys, Julio Díaz and Britos Paris, were nearly asphyxiated.

"Besides these prisoners, many persons are interned in concentration camps in the Chaco area—Fort July Fourth, Ingaví, Isla Poi, Peña Hermosa, and others. They are subjected to forced labor, with insufficient food, and many of the sick lack medical attention."



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Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IF THE Stockholm *Aftontidningen* was as reliably informed as it claimed to be on November 4, a German general for the first time in this war has rebelled. It was only a little rebellion, but—. The rebel was a tank general named Oswald. He seems to have held some command in France. The civil administration demanded that he arrest a number of trouble-makers and have them shot. He refused—in these words, it is alleged: "Soldiers are neither policemen nor murderers." He was discharged from his post by a certain General Heyl, and it is not known what became of him.

On October 27 a jubilee was held in Cracow. The Government General of Poland celebrated its fourth year with great festivities. The Governor General made a speech. He said that Poland was the eastern bulwark of the Reich and that nothing could influence him to act differently. "Despite the opposition and the acts of violence which have occurred in this territory the German leadership will go on as hitherto."

But at the same time he told the Poles of a "magnanimous gesture" to be made by the Germans. A Chopin museum would be opened in Cracow. Even in the midst of a war the German administration concerned itself with culture. The gratitude of the Poles may have been somewhat affected by a slight act of pillage which was coupled with this magnanimous gesture. For the occasion was used to announce that the latest research showed Chopin to be, not a Pole with a mixture of French blood, but the scion of a "German-Alsatian family." The true name of the family was not Chopin but Schoping!

Germans usually announce the death of members of the family by paid notices or obituaries in the newspapers. War deaths are handled in the same way. The newspapers contain pages and pages of such black-bordered announcements. But there are, one might say, two parties represented in these notices. In some the text ends with the formula: "He died for his Führer and the Fatherland." Others are silent about the Führer. This omission of the Führer from the obituaries of the fallen is about the only open political act now possible in Germany.

The Swedish newspaper *Nu* has taken the trouble to engage in some statistical research on this point. It has examined the files of the *Völkische Beobachter* for the last two years and noted the number of death notices with and without mention of the Führer. It found that in the winter of 1941-42, while the victories were continuing, 90 per cent of the obituaries contained the words "He died for the Führer," or something similar. At the beginning of 1942, after the first hard Russian winter, this dropped to 40 per cent. At present the Führer is mentioned in only 20 per cent of the notices.

"Since my last visit to Germany about six weeks ago," reported the correspondent of the Swiss *Nation* on November 4, "the atmosphere of panic among the population has in no way abated." On the contrary, many people, he declared, are demanding peace at any price.

> People sum up their unhappy existence now in such words as, "It would be better to end the war as soon as possible before all our cities are in dust and ashes and Germany is completely ruined"; or, "If all our cities are erased, even the greatest victory will not help us." Whenever the talk is along this line, one hears two expressions used—*Ausradieren* (erase) and *Totale Vernichtung* (total destruction). Interestingly enough, both these phrases were coined by Hitler himself.

The same correspondent makes these observations about German reactions to Russia:

> Whereas formerly the Moscow radio was not so well liked as the London radio, even by workers, increased attention is now being paid to Moscow. As the Russian armies draw nearer to Germany, Russian broadcasts become more important. This does not mean that people who listen to Moscow are Communists. Communism has been too long described to Germans as an invention of the devil. Former German Communist leaders now in London or Moscow have largely lost their political power. Even people who have been bombed out of their homes and who, having lost all, might be expected to have the greatest sympathy with the Communists would prefer an Anglo-American victory. Their attitude is: "Stalin cannot conjure up decent new homes for us, for half of Russia itself must be rebuilt. England and America have gold and raw materials, and it will be to their interest to sell us their surplus products. They would be obliged to see that tolerable conditions prevailed in Germany so that the German people, with the products of their own labor, could buy English and American goods."

All this shows that the mass of the people in Germany are convinced that the war will finally be lost. Confirmation is found in another Swiss paper, the *Aagauer Tagblatt,* which on November 4 carried a dispatch from Vienna about the Nazis there. For a long time they were "bitterly disappointed," but "now they are trying not to lose the chance of participating in the new developments. Such 'reinsurers,' as they are commonly called, are numerous. They seek out former acquaintances, to whom they explain their changed views. And they try to secure their future by doing little services, such as making regular financial payments to the liaison men of resistance organizations or giving warning of impending arrests."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Flow Gently, Sweet Kaftan

AS AMERICANS, fighting for a just cause, we are of course bound to win the war. As the natural heirs of all that Moses, Jesus, Beethoven, Carrie Jacobs Bond, Adam Smith, the Marquis de la Fayette, the Marquis de Sade, Lincoln, Chester A. Arthur, and F. W. Woolworth fought for, we are just as sure—in the popular phrase—to win the peace. Just how, though, is hard to tell, no matter how faithfully you nail your nose to the news behind the news and the flaps of your ears to the *vox humana* of the commentators. Still every so often, a straw in the wind turns up, usually in one's eye, which seems to suggest a good deal. There is, for instance, a picture-article in *Life* for October 18 which may be recommended to your special attention. It would be missing the main point to attack this article. Like much of journalism and most thumbprints it is more profitably amenable to study than to criticism. Its photographs and captions are an accurate, rich, essentially impersonal embodiment of popular moods and meanings far more important, more interesting, and more depressing than a magazine article can, of itself, ever be.

The subject of the article is "Europe's Clothes." The subtitle reads: "The U. S. will dress liberated peoples in outfits that will make them look like Americans." The rest of the article is devoted to specifying just what that will mean. American manufacturers are even now preparing this clothing—which will be distributed by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Committee—for 10,000,000 people of "liberated" Europe. It will be "sold, bartered, or given away in cases of dire need." It "will cost $54,000,000"—an average of $5.40 per subhuman.

There is nothing in this article about what the ill-dressed liberated European man will wear; possibly he is not expected to survive—which might in turn help explain the look of the clothes for women. In any case the article is devoted purely to the prospects for women, young girls, and children. Heaven can wait.

"The dresses and pants and coats," *Life* indicates, "will clothe Europe in America's image." This rather sensational statement is followed neither by "The Star-Spangled Banner" nor by a penitential novena but by: "This will be all right for the hard-pressed Europeans, but it may disappoint some of the post-war American tourists, who, instead of finding quaint garb on the *rues* and *Strasses* and *vias* of the Continent, will find everybody looking just like Main Street."

Now the Europeans who get these clothes will be in no position to care, much, if all they get is potato-sacking; which considerably qualifies one's own right to care. That sort of concern is one of the nastier luxuries. On the other hand we may properly question whether anyone except the recipients has the right not to care. And one more look at those dresses and pants and coats makes the whole question too purely academic to bother about, anyway.

The captions begin, with almost unqualified uniformity, with the word "no." There will be no hem on the dresses. No zipper. No hooks, no snaps, no metal fasteners. No snap. No crackle. No pop. No button openings. No full linings. No squat, no stoop, no grunt. No pockets—a subtle touch. No fitting ("dress is loosely designed to fit a variety of shapes"—all of them, it appears, as unflatteringly as possible). There will be "no frills on kids' clothes"; and there will be "hardly any leather" in the canvas-and-composition shoes which look, at best, like discards from a push-cart mark-down, at worst like smoked alewives.

Half of these clothes are designed for cold climates, half for warm; none, in short, for the north temperate zone in which most of Europe lies. They are "designed to allow for national difference in shape and size." The same styles are used as often as possible for boys and girls. Teen-age girls are to be permitted no dresses; they will wear blouses, skirts, and half-wool, half-rayon sweaters, which were, probably, unconsciously derived from Garbo, the one European derivation, but which, more likely, are given the girls because their busts are not so large, even allowing for national differences in shape and size, as to make the garments a disturbance of the hard-won peace and, of course, because plenty of our very nicest Bennington girls look like models for Peck and Peck.

Barring the sweaters, all these garments are, as *Life* says, American in style; if you can call it style. The pathetic thing is, some of them do have a little. Some designers among all the merry butchers who dreamed up this future evidently had the idea, however blurred, that it might be kind of cute if, at no extra expense of course, these dresses were pretty enough not to break your heart to wear. The best looks like the once-best "basic" dress of a quite poor girl which an even poorer friend with a roughly similar figure has borrowed for a very special date which she knows will be nothing very special. Another, because it is one-piece, is allowed buttons up the back. Still another, an obvious pregnancy-dress, though this is not mentioned—we are not winning this war, after all, for the sake of Europe's birth rate—is a glaring print whipped into "not much of anything"—no buttons, fasteners, or cuffs; all the spare cloth goes for a rainy day. "But," *Life* adds with a brave little smile, "it's pretty." One is compelled to doubt that the writer, the designer, or the presumptive wearer can possibly believe that.

Outside a few rather piteous efforts at either common sense, prettiness, or both, these clothes could only have been designed by persons with a profound hatred for living. And even the attempts are defeated; needlessly so. It is open to question whether anything a machine turns out for direct human use is productive of any human good; but with any care whatever for the product on the part of those who manipulate the machines, it is possible to make fabrics which do not look heartsick, waterlogged, and insulted the minute they leave the loom, and to turn those fabrics into clothes which do not look as if they had been patterned with a meat ax and assembled with awls. These things must surely have been made by machines which long ago turned from a long lifetime of accumulated shame over their work to a concentrated, shoddy malignance toward the inferiors who squirt oil at them and the still deeper inferiors who permit them neither rest nor integrity.

It is seldom possible to see so concentrated a lack of heart, kindness, hope, intelligence, adequacy even to a simple job—far less "winning the peace"—as is revealed in these pictures. The famous crying Czech woman who heils Hitler is very free, compared to this—or compared to herself when, by purchase, barter, or the good fortune of dire need, she accepts one of these insults. We may rightly wonder whether, among the discarded sketches which never got into production, there were not a few which had some real life, imagination, charm, kindness at least of visible intention. We may still more pointedly wonder why they were discarded; the wonder must be purely rhetorical. It is easy to imagine that somewhere in the course of this disgrace some half-sensible human being suggested that qualified people from the different nations and regions which were to be clothed be called in, asked for help, put in charge. And it is only too easy to imagine how that suggestion was received. Every honest photograph betrays it: the bottomlessly vindictive contemptuousness of the Victorian benefactor for his victim; the half-explicit, immensely strong implicit desire to degrade and to gain dominion over him; the sleep-walking genius for the details by which dominion and degradation are accomplished; the boundless scorn—and terror and hatred—for the person who even mildly objects. He is, after all, the sort of post-war American tourist who is disappointed because he will not find sheer black mottoed panties, dirndls, and spaghetti skirts on the *rues*, *Strasses*, and *vias* of the Continent. The very photographs, the very models, brilliantly conspire to disappoint his decadent type, and to reassure every solid American who might fear that we are getting soft with these lousy foreigners who dragged us into their lousy war. The backgrounds and the lighting suggest the Arctic porcelain of cheap hotel washstand china; the poses have the queasy rigor of bodies in contact with such material; the models are either expressing their proper honest wretchedness or have been ordered to wipe off their silly grins, this is serious, and Europeans don't have teeth anyway.

It could be worse, of course. Always there is that joy one may feel in embracing the lesser of two evils. These clothes are, after all, hardly different from the dead average which has for years been fed to the bleaker levels of our own working class—what is bad enough for me is plenty good enough for you—and are, after all, made on the presumption that we will win the war. One shudders to imagine Americans feeling all right if the Japanese were in a position to send us muslin pajamas, pareus, and nostril-bones. But even assuming that we do win the war, and supposing that they had borne out, in any direction, the ideas of sentimentalists of our kidney—or yours—it could have been much worse. They could point proudly to the fact that there are three superfluous square inches of lint in mademoiselle's skirt—costing only an extra .003 per wearer—which creates a swirl in walking and makes all the difference in the post-war world. They might have tried dressing Europeans in the all-American image of what they wear—high heels, spade beard, and opera cloak for Frenchmen, hatboxes and knee-strangling checker skirts for midinettes (or is it bidets?); Chico Marx hats, garlicky kerchiefs, and hand organs for Italians; steel-rimmed glasses, knickers, and edelweiss-tufted homburgs (or is it hofbraus?) for deserving Germans; rhumba pants and black cigarettes, stogies, mantillas, and molar roses for male and female Spaniards, respectively; backscratchers and Liggett's sandals for our little yellow brothers who, despite their embarrassing pigmentation, are bearing up with such wonderful patience until we get ready to shoot a rubber-band-propelled whizbang boy's-club bomber, now and then, across the Pacific.

They might have gone American in Hollywood style. They might have modeled on *Esquire, Harper's Bazaar, Mademoiselle.* They might have sent dungarees, under the impression that a garment so pukka at Bryn Mawr could not but enchant the junior misses of Yugoslavia. Some of the Rational Dress diehards of around 1900 might have got in control. The return-to-religion people might have made the whole Continent look like a combination of an orphanage, a mixed-marriage paradise for those who truly understand one another, and an ad for breakfast food. Really tight-lipped utilitarians might have prescribed coveralls for one and all, with a jingle specially composed by Hindemith—gratis, for the cause—to put the idea over; adding the inducement that they would help reduce the manifold political and economic frictions in post-war-torn Europe. Those with a true and sensitive imagination for the heart of a people might so easily have won through to the throne and bestowed on each nation costumes of that period in which it reached its apogee—bakelite armor, nylon panaches, light-alloy excaliburs, invisible sans-culottes, and so on. If one had the ear of any truly creative force in the State Department one could suggest to him a scheme so much simpler than this slow, sickening murder-by-inches: we could infantilize all Europe overnight with the help of a hundred million snugglebunnies. What one would do with the ear afterward had best not be committed to print in a time when solidarity of purpose is so indispensable to those, at least, whose purposes one despises and dreads; but one is forced to realize, as always, that gloomy as things look, they would be ever so much worse if tyros like ourselves had our way. Democracy grinds slowly, but who wants a worm, anyhow? Or, as ten million grateful Europeans must surely find it in their hearts to say: Don't bite the hand that feeds you; go straight for the throat.

The Poetry of Angelica Balabanoff

TEARS. By Angelica Balabanoff. E. Laub Publishing Company. $2.

ANGELICA BALABANOFF is the well-known Russian Socialist who has been living of recent years in this country. The career of Comrade Balabanoff has involved her in political defeats which have brought also much disillusion in regard to personalities and movements.

She played an energetic and high-hearted role in the cam-

BURLINGAME

THE

MORAL FRONT

THE BATTLEFIELD of this war is the human spirit. It is there the war will be won or lost. The armies of Nazism will be defeated, but if we are to win the war the ideas of Nazism also must be defeated. And this can be done only by positive, aggressive democratic action.

Modern war is a political act. Those who say, "Win the war first and then we can think about the peace," have missed the point. If their counsel prevails we shall lose the war. That was the essential cause of Woodrow Wilson's failure. He conceived the war in purely military terms, and as a defense of democracy by force of arms, and believed the peace could be arranged at a conference table after the military victory. This time we cannot afford to wait. We must fight on the moral front with as much vigor as on the military front.

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH
distinguished poet and Librarian of Congress, will discuss the moral meaning of the war in the next issue of

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paigns of the Italian Socialists of the period before the First World War, and was a friend and confidante of Mussolini in his early pseudo-Socialist phase; she was a member of the Socialist minority who kept up the Zimmerwald peace movement in Europe in the teeth of the belligerent nations; joined the Bolsheviks in 1917, returned to Russia after the Revolution, and became first secretary of the Comintern. She remained on good terms with Lenin, but was unable to stomach the splintering tactics of the Comintern leaders and the provocative methods of the Cheka, and was eventually eliminated in a way that seems today relatively amiable and mild, at the end of 1921, in the days before critics of the official line were forced to appear at public trials and confess themselves guilty of treason.

She was, however, depressed and ill when she crossed by sea to Sweden; and to fortify herself against seasickness in the midst of a storm that came up she began to recite to herself and to translate into other languages poems that she had learned in her girlhood. Later, as she tells us in her autobiography, "My Life as a Rebel," too ill for political activity and "so weakened by work and undernourishment that I had felt like an old woman at forty-three," she began to compose poetry of her own "in various languages with the greatest facility. I seemed to be overwhelmed, carried away by a flood of rhythm." She wrote poems in all the languages she knew: Russian, German, French, Italian, and English. It was her method of recovering from collapse, and it has proved one of the consolations of her years of disappointment and retirement.

These poems have now been published in a volume which, though hardly a first-rate work of literature, must be unique as a literary curiosity and has its place in the revolutionary record. It is also a symptom of the pressure, in our time, of the need for an international language. We have lost medieval Latin and eighteenth-century French, and have not yet arrived at Basic English; and in the meantime we have to talk all the languages at once, like Marx and Engels in their correspondence, like Joyce in "Finnegans Wake," like Eugene Jolas in his polyglot poetry, and like Angelica Balabanoff in these poems. She developed a habit of writing the same poem in each of her five languages, and these pieces are not translations because there is no original: they are quite distinct treatments of the same theme. They are all written in the same kind of meter, very irregular, a little vague. The author is so completely internationalized that the versions in her native Russian do not even seem much different from or better than the others. She has relatively little sense of the metrical differences of the various languages, and it is hard to tell whether or not she even allows for the metrical value of the silent final *e* in French.

These poems are thus, in many cases, better for the platform than they are to read. Anyone who has heard the author recite them knows what effectiveness she can give them, and their usefulness as perorations before audiences of various nationalities seems to have supplied one of the motives that have impelled her to make so many versions. At any rate, they constitute a document that is worth while to reflect on at this moment. If anyone has been wondering what has become, in this climax of hideous mechanical warfare, spy-

My Uncle Abraham Reports...

by Ben Hecht

I have an Uncle who is a Ghost.

But, he is no ordinary Ghost like so many dead uncles.

He was elected last April by the Two Million Jews who have been murdered by the Germans to be their World Delegate.

Wherever there are Conferences on how to make the World a Better Place, maybe, my Uncle Abraham appears and sits on the window sill and takes notes.

That's how he happened to be in Moscow a few weeks ago.

My Uncle Abraham sat on the window sill of the Kremlin and listened with great excitement, to one of the Finest Conferences he has ever attended since he has been a World Delegate.

He heard every word that Eden, Molotov and Hull spoke.

Last night my Uncle Abraham was back in a Certain Place where the Two Million murdered Jews met. It is the Jewish Underground. Only Ghosts belong to it.

When the Two Million Souls had assembled, my Uncle Abraham arose and made his report to them as World Delegate.

"Dishonored dead," said my Uncle Abraham. "Fellow Corpses and Ghosts from All Over. Of the Moscow Conference I have this to report. The Conference made a promise that the world was going to punish the Germans for murdering all the different peoples of Europe—Czechs, Greeks, Serbs, Russians, French hostages, Polish officers, Cretan peasants. Only we were not mentioned. In this Conference, which named everyone, only the Jew had no name. He had no face. He was like a hole in Europe on which nobody looked."

A Ghost from the Lime Kilns of Warsaw spoke.

"Why is this?" asked this Ghost, "why is it that we who are dead are without a Name in the Conferences of Fine People?"

"This I do not know," said my Uncle Abraham. "I can only report what exists. Jews do not exist, even when they are dead. In the Kremlin in Moscow, in the White House in Washington, in the Downing Street Building in London where I have sat on the window sills, I have never heard our name. The people who live in those buildings—Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill—are afraid to speak of us. Why, I don't know. We were not allowed by the Germans to stay alive. We are not allowed by the Four Freedoms to be dead."

A Woman Ghost from the Dynamite Dumps of Odessa spoke.

"If they didn't mention the two milion murdered Jews in the Conference, isn't that bad for four million who are still alive? The Germans will think that when they kill Jews, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill pretend nothing is happening."

And from the Two Million Ghosts came a great cry.

"Why is this silence? Why are they afraid to speak of Us?"

My Uncle Abraham raised his hand.

"Little Children," my Uncle Abraham spoke: "Be patient. We will be dead a long time. Yesterday when we were killed we were changed from Nobodies to Nobodies. Today, on our Jewish tomb, there is not the Star of David but an Asterisk. But, who knows, maybe Tomorrow—!"

This ended the meeting of the Jewish Underground.

My Uncle Abraham has gone to the White House in Washington. He is sitting on the window sill two feet away from Mr. Roosevelt. But he has left his notebook behind.

Help prevent 4,000,000 people from becoming Ghosts

There are four million Jews still alive in urope.

They can be saved. Experts agree on hat.

Sweden and Denmark have just proved t by saving 6,000 Jews in a few days.

This Committee considers it a sacred duty o do all humanly possible to save them. Our offices and representatives in Washngton and in London, in Palestine and n Turkey, are steadily working in this irection, trying to get large-scale government action. This action will have to express itself in the creation of an Intergovernmental Agency to save the Jewish people of Europe and in declaring the doors of Palestine and other countries under United Nations control open for escaping Jews. For it is now strictly a race for time against death. *Every day that passes dooms thousands who can be saved.*

This Committee is asking the American people for a half million dollars with which it hopes—and believes—results can be secured effecting the rescue of the four million martyred Jews in Europe.

We need your financial help immediately. By your support will be determined the speed, scope and effectiveness of our work to save the Jewish people of Europe.

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pervaded police states, and streamlined political pressure groups, of Socialist internationalism, humanitarianism, and intellectual courage—well, here they are in this book. Baffled and driven underground, in the case of Angelica Balabanoff, by fascism, Communist chicanery, and war, they have burst through another outlet into expression. It is a relief at the same time as a surprise to find someone who has never doubted the dignity of the working "masses," and who still wants to educate and lead them rather than manipulate and drive them, who feels pity for their human sufferings instead of contempt for their animal helplessness.

And here you have, also, the present emotions of one who has given her life to the more generous Socialist ideals and has not been discouraged in her loyalty. In one of the most touching of her poems Comrade Balabanoff writes:

> J'ai cherché la vérité
>   Et je l'ai adorée,
> C'est à elle que j'ai immolé
> Ce que je suis et ce que j'ai été
> Et je meurs oubliée . . .
> Courbés sous le joug invisible
>   De leur misère,
> Je les vois tous les jours résignés et paisibles
>   Gravir leur calvaire . . .
> Tandis que mon coeur embrasse
>   Leur souffrance infinie
> Il se serre avec une atroce angoisse
>   Et ne bat plus . . .
> Je meurs saluant la mort,
> Comme un voyageur arrivé au port
> Après une longue traversée
> Qu'il n'a ni voulue, ni aimée . . .

EDMUND WILSON

All the King's Horses

THE LEGACY OF NAZISM. By Frank Munk. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF POPULATION IN EUROPE. By Eugene Kulischer. The International Labor Office. $1.50.

IN AMERICA a price and profit economy may survive the war with some modifications. In Europe Humpty-Dumpty has not merely fallen off the wall; he has been kicked, beaten, racked, gouged, and eviscerated, and not all the international bankers, economic experts, social workers, and graduates of the army school of civil administration can hope to put him together again.

If anyone has any illusions on this score let him read Dr. Munk's study. He describes it modestly as "a sniping expedition into a large village," but it is in fact a thorough reconnaissance of a huge, complex economic area now in enemy occupation. As a collection of data it is invaluable, even though it might have been improved by more systematic organization, while the opinions it expresses, if sometimes open to debate, are always suggestive.

Dr. Munk does not pay much attention to the actual physical destruction that has been caused by the war. Horrifying as it is, he thinks it may prove to be the most easily remedied of the evils wrought by the New Order in Europe. He points out, however, that bombs and shells are not the only instruments of "disinvestment" at work. Total war with its concentration on the needs of the military machine has meant a progressive deterioration of all forms of capital goods, from pots and pans to railroads. In this country too we are experiencing in a mild form this depreciation of accumulated wealth, but with our immense capacity for production we regard it as almost a blessing since we can look forward to a huge replacement market after the war to keep industry busy. In the less advanced European countries, however, the rebuilding of their modest pre-war stock of capital goods will be a long and painful process.

Even so, this is not one of the major problems created by totalitarianism. Much more difficult to handle will be the institutional changes that have been imposed on Europe in the last ten years. Take, for instance, the tragic movement of peoples back and forth across the Continent in accordance with the exigencies of Nazi economy or "race politics," or both. Dr. Munk devotes a chapter to this subject, which is also reviewed in statistical detail in Dr. Kulischer's monograph. The latter reaches the conclusion that at least 30,000,000 Europeans have been torn from their homes and "transplanted, deported, and dispersed." The repatriation, resettlement, and rehabilitation of this vast army, millions of whom will be suffering from overwork and undernourishment, is an essential preliminary to reconstruction. It is not hard to imagine the burdens it will impose on a broken-down transport system and disorganized food supply.

The psychological shocks suffered by European society have been even more devastating than the physical ones. Treated like animals, men have had to live like animals. "The individual is compelled," writes Dr. Munk, "to live in a twilight zone of amorality, to hide his true feelings, and, above all, to conceal his hatred of the invaders. . . . An understanding of the fact that all nations after the termination of Nazi domination will exhibit an abnormal social psychology is indispensable to any post-war planning." This is one of the many arguments developed in this book against any effort to reconstitute laissez faire economy in Europe after the war. That economy was already undermined before Hitler's advent, for as this book notes, the spirit of enterprise in Europe—and, we may add, not only in Europe—had been largely stifled by business devices to restrict output in the interest of preserving existing property and existing income.

The only hope for Europe is an expansionist economy, and we cannot expect to found that on the basis of a capitalist class steeped in the principles of monopoly. Besides, the capitalist class in Europe has been either bought up or wiped out by the Nazis. Even in Germany itself hundreds of thousands of small business men have been forced into the factories. In Eastern Europe the Jews, who as a class of small entrepreneurs and middlemen played an important part in the economy, have been liquidated. In other countries the Germans have usually gone about their depredations with some show of legality, but the results are much the same. With the aid of the revenues produced from "occupation costs" they have bought control of the key industries. Only those business men who have been willing to collaborate have had much chance to survive. Meanwhile German banks have thrust out tentacles in all directions; so that they now control all the financial business of Europe, while the whole Continent is littered with worthless German currency and I. O. U.'s. When the Third Reich collapses, militarily, morally, and economically bankrupt, the new order and the old will vanish together.

A new start cannot be made except on a planned basis. That is Dr. Munk's conclusion, but for his specific proposals I must refer the reader to his book. Here I can only mention his rather disparaging discussion of the many suggestions that have been made for promoting greater political and economic unity in Europe. He sees nationalism as the predominant element in resistance to the Nazis and believes that after the war it will be a stronger force than ever before. Consequently, he argues, any attempt to enforce unity by outside pressure will only heighten the nationalist fever. It is, I fear, undeniable that wounded and infected nationalisms are likely to prove one of the worst legacies of Nazism, but Dr. Munk is perhaps more than a little complacent in his insistence that the disease must be allowed to run its course. The reconstruction of Europe's economy cannot be accomplished in a series of watertight compartments, and planning of the kind advocated by this book will prove still-born unless it is Continental in scope. This does not mean that a United States of Europe is the only solution, but there must be some check on the autarchic tendencies which were so manifest before the war. KEITH HUTCHISON

Charting the Paths of Progress

THE PILLARS OF SECURITY. By Sir William H. Beveridge. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

CRITICS of the celebrated Beveridge Report who complained that Sir William had taken a too restricted view of social security should be effectively silenced by the present volume. The scope of subjects covered is breath-taking. In addition to summarizing and explaining certain aspects of his report, which he describes as an attack on the giant evil of Want, Sir William devotes considerable attention to each of the other four giants—Disease, Ignorance, Squalor, and Idleness. Other essays are devoted to such diverse topics as reorganizing the British government for total war, the five economic standards adopted by British church leaders, the massacre of the Jews, and the problem of small nations.

It is obviously impossible to summarize Sir William's thoughts on all these matters within the compass of a brief review. But let no one think that in discussing such matters as the conduct of the war or the organization of the peace the author of the "Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services" is getting beyond his depth. Sir William, as an experienced civil servant, has an extraordinary grasp of the basic principles of both political and economic organization. And his vast technical knowledge is brought into sharp focus by a social philosophy which is remarkable for both its clarity and its steadfastness of purpose. This unusual combination of qualities gives a stamp of great authority to his discussion of the diverse subjects covered in this volume.

For attacking the giant Disease the Beveridge Report pro-

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posed a comprehensive public medical service, providing free treatment of every kind—dental, ophthalmic, general, specialist, consultant, and nursing. Dealing with the giant Ignorance, Sir William stresses not only the conventional educational reforms—greater equality of education, raising the school age, and the provision of better teaching and equipment—but adult education. "All of us old people," he says, "are very ignorant of many things we ought to know. I believe that adult education *on a greatly extended scale* is almost as important as more education for the young." Four stones are selected for the attack against the "Goliath Squalor." They are: a planned use of land, a sane use of transport, the use of sensible architecture, and a reorganization of the building industry along efficient lines. Sir William's proposals for attacking the giant Idleness are not greatly different from those advanced by our own National Resources Planning Board. He believes the essence of such an attack lies in national planning for full employment. Such planning, he insists, can be carried out in peace as well as in war, and it can be developed without infringement on essential liberties. But it cannot be developed without giving up something—that something being what he describes as "our darling vice of not looking ahead as a nation."

Readers who are looking for a blueprint for a post-war Utopia will not find it in this book. No drastic reorganization of our political, social, or economic structure is proposed. The virtues as well as the limitations of private enterprise are recognized. Sir William's program, if we must label it, is a reformist program. But its sanity and sound humanitarianism should commend it to forward-looking people of all political persuasions. MAXWELL S. STEWART

AMUSEMENTS

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DRAMA

IN "The Innocent Voyage" Richard Hughes uses the old device of leading the reader into fantasy along "a bright trail of fact" that seems natural. By the time one arrives at the central situation—that of a group of children on a pirates' ship in 1860—it too seems natural, and the realistic behavior of the characters preserves the illusion. Mr. Hughes's fantasy is a relentless critique of the child as monster, and every element, from the ominous tropic setting to the Victorian manners of the children, is used with great skill and fine psychological understanding to create the atmosphere of a vivid nightmare, in which innocence plays the role of Evil and tough pirates become the pathetic victims of sly, unwitting fiends otherwise known as children.

Paul Osborn's dramatization (Belasco Theater) claims only to be based on the book. The "bright trail of fact" is missing—and I hardly see how it could be accomplished on the stage. More important, he makes many concessions to the view of the child as little darling, and since one such concession would be enough to shatter the sinister spell woven by Mr. Hughes, this version lacks the nightmarish unity of the original. The rich material elements, and the superficial drama, of the book have been taken over; the fearsome spirit has been domesticated and made respectable, but it breaks through often enough—and mainly in the acting of Abby Bonime, who plays the part of Emily—to add spice to what is essentially a spectacle in gay colors bearing the unmistakable, spare-no-expense imprint of the Theater Guild.

Abby Bonime indeed is so nearly true to the original that she and she alone provides the element of the monstrous (the other children, while they are extremely well trained, behave rather than act and are never anything worse than brats). And her acting makes Mr. Osborn's ending, which is quite different from that of Mr. Hughes, surprisingly effective. In the book the child never confesses to the murder of the Dutch captain (who has turned into a Swede for some reason or other) even though she knows that her beloved pirate captain will go to the gallows for her act. In the play she does confess—in a burst of hysteria which makes her story even more unbelievable than it intrinsically is, and just as damning to her friend as silence would have been.

Oscar Homolka as the pirate captain and Herbert Berghof as his mate give performances which make one reflect upon the virtues of a tradition of acting—which scarcely exists any more in this country. And if they produce the effect of being baffled rather than terrorized by their charges it is because the play prescribes it.

The settings and costumes are those of a "period" piece; no attempt has been made to invent a furniture of fantasy. Perhaps this is just as well, though one wonders if a less literal treatment might help to evoke, by a frontal and immediate attack on the visual sense, the primary illusion which Mr. Hughes creates with words. MARGARET MARSHALL

ART

MARC CHAGALL: Oils and Gouaches, at Pierre Matisse Gallery through November 27. *LIONEL FEININGER:* Oils, Water Colors, Drawings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, at Nierendorf Gallery through November 30. *JACKSON POLLOCK:* Oils, Gouaches, and Drawings, at Art of This Century Gallery through November 27.

CHAGALL'S art turns from the main stream of ambitious contemporary painting to follow its own path. It is pungent, at times powerful, but opens up no vistas beyond itself. Chagall's position, curiously enough, resembles that of Odilon Redon in the late nineteenth century. The present exhibition, composed entirely of work done in 1943, indicates a crisis in the painter's career. He is no longer mellowing in Paris; he is being challenged by events and by the imperatives of his artistic development. The soft, blandishing French tones, the harmonic suffusions, that have characterized his painting in the last fifteen years or more—never enough, however, to submerge his native robustness—are on the way out. Returned is something of the flatter, less tonal brushwork of his earlier period, its harshness too, but all much less crude, being modulated by everything Chagall has since discovered about the orchestration of frank colors. A new yellow plays a role, along with more ambitious or more surrealist subject matter—crucifixions and monsters. Usually when an artist exhausts one phase it takes time and error to assimilate the next. Chagall's two or three new major efforts—major in size and pretension—abound in patches of interesting painting, but none is fused into a complete and organic work of art. The variables of defined form are not related with sufficient visual logic to the murky, indeterminate *fond* that is the constant against which they appear. Yet lack of success in the new is worth any number of successful repetitions of the old. The most achieved picture at the show, the gouache "La Nuit se mêle au jour," happens to repeat Chagall's previous success with royal blue. I would gladly trade it—considerations of size and effort being irrelevant—for the large and unresolved "Crucifixion" with its yellowish malaise.

The Feininger exhibition covers the artist's work from 1911 to 1938. What began as a German marriage of expressionism with cubism evolved after 1915 into a province of Paul Klee's art. Until then Feininger's heavy and obtuse color oppressed his more genuine talent as a draftsman. Klee's influence seems to have lightened and thinned his color and perhaps made him realize that his eyes—like Marin's—conceived instinctively in darks and lights. The best pictures are those altogether in black and white and gray, as the pen-and-ink wash "Feininger am Kai," or those in which the palette is narrowest, such as the water color "The Barque," with its mere black, sky blue, lavender, and white. Feininger always paints with honesty and grace. He is not important in a large sense, but he has a very definite and secure place in contemporary painting.

There are both surprise and fulfilment in Jackson Pollock's not so abstract abstractions. He is the first painter I know of to have got something positive from the muddiness of color that so profoundly characterizes a great deal of American painting. It is the equivalent, even if in a negative, helpless way, of that American chiaroscuro which dominated Melville, Hawthorne, Poe, and has been best translated into painting by Blakelock and Ryder. The mud abounds in Pollock's larger works, and these, though the least consummated, are his most original and ambitious. Being young and full of energy, he takes orders he can't fill. In the large, audacious "Guardians of the Secret" he struggles between two slabs of inscribed mud (Pollock almost always *inscribes* his purer colors); and space tautens but does not burst into a picture; nor is the mud quite transmuted. Both this painting and "Male and Female" (Pollock's titles are pretentious) zigzags between the intensity of the easel picture and the blandness of the mural. The smaller works are much more conclusive: the smallest one of all, "Conflict," and "Wounded Animal," with its chalky incrustation, are among the strongest abstract paintings I have yet seen by an American. Here Pollock's force has just the right amount of space to expand in; whereas in larger format he spends himself in too many directions at once. Pollock has gone through the influences of Miró, Picasso, Mexican painting, and what not, and has come out on the other side at the age of thirty-one, painting mostly with his own brush. In his search for style he is liable to relapse into an influence, but if the times are propitious, it won't be for long.

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RECORDS

NOTHING in the first movement of Beethoven's Quartet Opus 59 No. 3 prepares you for the strangeness, the "remote and frozen anguish" of the second movement; and his Trio Opus 97 ("Archduke") offers another experience of this kind. Though the first movement has its involvements in the development section that bring agitations, urgencies, tensions, as a whole the movement has the calmly, serenely reflective character of its beautiful opening theme—the theme from which is derived the wonderful passage for cello answered by violin in the development (to be heard just before the end of side 1 of the old Cortot-Thibaud-Casals recorded performance, and a little more than halfway on side 2 of the new Victor set). The second movement is the scherzo of the work, unusual only in the spacious and varied treatment of the charming theme of the opening section, with a somewhat ominous middle section that is broken into repeatedly by a wildly boisterous episode. Both of these movements are in line with everything Beethoven has written previously; neither of them contains anything that prepares you for what comes now at the beginning of the slow third movement: the two statements of the piano, echoed by violin and cello, which constitute the theme for a series of variations, and the first communication, as far as I can recall, of what you will get repeatedly from the later works—the sense of experience mastered, suffering endured, profound lessons learned, all-comprehending resignation and inner illumination achieved. This is communicated in the theme, and—after the involvements that follow—with even more overwhelming effect in the last variation, which begins quietly as a restatement of the original theme, but digresses with new wide-ranging and profound implications, and expands into a coda which brings last involvements, final summations, and great conclusions. Then a transitional chord takes you to the finale, which leaves profundity behind for a wistful sort of gaiety.

The new Victor set (949, $5.50) offers a performance of the work by Rubinstein, Heifetz, and Feuermann. This does not stand comparison with the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals performance (discontinued by Victor, but still in the H. M. V. catalogue): it moves swiftly, smoothly, and on the surface, where the old performance is more spaciously reflective and probes more deeply with richer inflection; moreover, in the new performance you hear three virtuoso soloists playing together well, but not the wonderful ensemble team that Cortot, Thibaud, and Casals got to be; and in the new performance, finally, you hear Feuermann, a first-rate cellist and distinguished musician, but not Casals. However, when I heard the new version by itself a year ago (on test records) I found it excellent; and so, I am sure, will you.

The sound of the performance on the records is spacious but not bright; and the strings come off much better than the piano, which is dull and wooden and is often blanketed by the strings. On a Scott 23 with the light, wide-range Brush pickup there are disturbing buzzes and rattles which are much less perceptible when the heavy, limited-range Astatic Trutan pickup is used. And the surfaces of my review copy are a little—on a couple of sides more than a little—noisy.

On a single disc (11-8489, $1) is Lalo's Overture to "Le Roi d'Ys," a fine work by a minor master. The performance by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony is superb, and its recorded sound has the spaciousness and richness of color that have been heard from Victor's other recent recordings of this orchestra. With the Brush pickup there are a few disturbing buzzes and rattles that are almost imperceptible with the Astatic Trutan.

On another single disc (10-1058, $.75) is the Johann Strauss "Tritsch-Tratsch" Polka, enjoyable as played by the Boston "Pops" Orchestra under Fiedler, and well recorded. The reverse side offers a typically cute "pops" concert number—Lloyd del Castillo's "Cuckoo Clock"—which is also well played and recorded.

A reader, writing to me about Columbia's new recording of the Beethoven Quartet Opus 59 No. 1 (which I expect to review shortly), objects to the use of the Busch Quartet instead of the Budapest, and to the spreading of the performance over eleven sides, as against the ten sides required by previous performances. He noticed the same thing in the case of Columbia's recent recording of Beethoven's Quartet Opus 95. "The old Busch version of this took up four sides. The Budapest records occupy six sides, and for the extra sides and extra money the listener suffers a quite indefensible splitting into two of the last movement." And he wonders why and how artists are persuaded to lend themselves to this sort of thing.

Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 1 is one of the works which the Budapest Quartet recorded for H. M. V. (Victor did not, however, issue it here), and which by the terms of the contract it could not record again for another company. Similar terms in its present contract with Columbia will prevent it from recording for another company the performances of works that Columbia has recorded so badly; and we will get no better recordings of these performances unless Columbia itself decides to do them over again and does them better. In the second place, the Busch Quartet seems to assume that if it plays twice as slowly as anyone else it will produce something twice as profound; and I suspect that this tendency accounts for the eleventh side in Columbia's new set of Oput 59 No. 1. If the Busch Quartet doesn't play too slowly it plays too fast—one example of this being the way it rushed through Opus 95 on four sides; and it is probable that the more spacious performance of the Budapest Quartet required an additional side. Whether it required two more sides I don't know: as the recording is cut the fourth movement would not fit on one side; but there is the question whether Columbia could have cut narrower grooves and got the entire movement on one side. But even if Columbia is innocent in this instance the practice my reader objects to is one which record companies are guilty of; and I know of one instance right now. That brings me to the third point: only a very few artists are powerful enough to exact in their contracts the veto power which enables them to prevent the companies from issuing defective recordings or indulging in otherwise objectionable practices.

The same reader, thanking me for my remarks on the New Friends of Music audience, asks me to "get in a little advance criticism of the behavior of the Y. M. H. A. audiences at the Budapest Quartet concerts. Compared with the Y. M. H. A.-ers the New Friends people are models of listening decorum." B. H. HAGGIN

Next week in *The Nation*

"Arrival and Departure"
By Arthur Koestler
Reviewed by Diana Trilling

"The Fruits of Fascism"
By Herbert L. Matthews
Reviewed by Paolo Milano

Letters to the Editors

Where Are Those Idle Savings?

Dear Sirs: George Richmond Walker wrote a most interesting article in *The Nation* for November 6 entitled Tax Idle Savings! He assumed in this article that there is a vast fund of idle savings withheld from investment, so vast, indeed, that if "the tax on it were now in effect, the Treasury could borrow the funds it needs to finance the war without further recourse to banks and without any of the nagging, the parades, or the ballyhoo." In other words, these idle savings amount to billions!

Now Mr. Walker is the man I've been looking for since the panic of 1929 when the theory of "underinvestment" was born. At last I have him. During all these years I have been trying to find out how much of this idle money really existed and who owned it. Certain "old-timers" in the investment business are also very much interested in these funds. Mr. Walker, no doubt, is the man who has the figures or he would not have written his article. Will you ask Mr. Walker to reveal the amount of these funds, where they are hoarded, and, in a general way, who owns them?
OTTO S. MAYER

New York, November 5

Here Are the Figures

Dear Sirs: I cannot provide Mr. Mayer with a list of prospective customers, but—.

What is idle money? If a man works six days a week we regard him as fully employed, but if he works only three days a week he is half employed and half idle. Likewise with money. According to the governors of the Federal Reserve System the average rate of turnover of demand deposits during the period 1920-29 in 100 cities excluding New York was 34.8. In 1942 the rate of turnover had declined to 18.4, and in 1943 the rate has been even lower. This means that if money were working as hard as it was during the '20's our present volume of business transactions could be financed with about 53 per cent of our present money supply. In New York City the rate of turnover has declined from an average of 77.4 during the '20's to 16.3 in 1942. Money has become very lazy in New York.

Again, during the '20's the national income was about three times our money supply. Thus in 1929 currency and demand deposits together totaled about 27 billions and the national income was around 81 billions. At the present time the national income is running at the rate of about 150 billions, which indicates that we need a working money supply of around 50 billions. Actually it is about 84 billions, including government deposits. On this basis our excess money supply is in the neighborhood of 34 billions.

If Mr. Mayer wants further information I refer him to the reports on saving issued by the Securities Exchange Commission and by the Department of Commerce. The Federal Reserve *Bulletin* for October deals with the ownership of bank deposits. The booklet by Professor Slichter on "Present Savings and Postwar Markets" issued by the Harvard *Business Review* may also prove useful.
GEORGE RICHMOND WALKER

Boston, Mass., November 12

An English Trooper Comments

Dear Sirs: Being in the fortunate position of receiving copies of *The Nation* quite regularly from America, I was particularly interested in Reinhold Niebuhr's article entitled England Teaches Its Soldiers, which appeared in your issue of August 21. I myself have been "subjected" to the educational program in the British army for some time.

The first thing I would like to point out to Mr. Niebuhr is that he must not forget that we only started our educational scheme proper some three years ago and that it really didn't get going till the winter of 1942. The first we read about it was in the autumn of 1941; there were notices up saying that correspondence courses in various subjects—from algebra to zoology—could be arranged for us via the War Office, and that books would be put at our disposal. But just at that time, I am afraid, we were too busy in the London docks dealing with the blitz. So it took two years of war before we got going; is not Mr. Niebuhr a bit too hard on the American army authorities?

Last winter we were particularly fortunate; being stationed near one of the Scottish university towns we were given all possible facilities to attend evening classes free of charge and had visitors from the university coming regularly to our camp to give lectures on history, constitutional law, literature, etc. The attendance at the lectures was voluntary, always a sure sign that there is enough genuine interest to keep up a good-sized audience.

Great praise must go to the ABCA (Army Bureau of Current Affairs) people mentioned in your correspondent's article. We have a weekly ABCA period, and this as well as the popular Brains Trust of B. B. C. fame has done wonders to start and stimulate discussions in the army. Our last but one ABCA discussion was on post-war problems, which led to the subject of British agriculture in our last period, and our next one will be about government control—a very topical subject just now, after Churchill's speech in the Commons on the coal situation. All these discussions are led by our sergeant major, whose only function is to set the ball rolling. Whereas discipline is very strict in our unit, there is no distinction of rank in these ABCA talks. And a sergeant major is surely the last person one might think of as urging his men to air their opinions.

Need I state that this goes to show that the army definitely does want us to use our brains? Of course no one can as yet foresee the results of this educational crusade, but it is not likely to be harmful to the community after the war, is it?
TROOPER COLIN BARON

Edgware, England

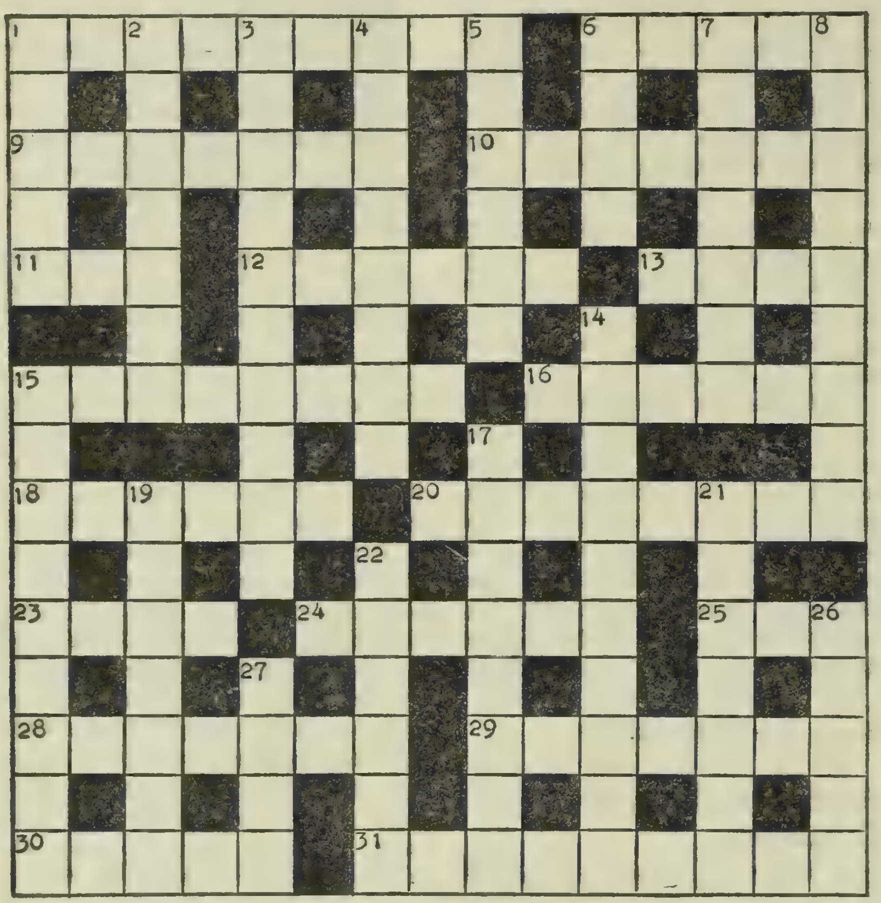
Teachers and the Public

Dear Sirs: In her discussion of low wages for rural teachers in the Middle West, in *The Nation* of October 23, Alice A. Tollefson committed the conventional error of placing full responsibility for conditions on the incompetence of the teachers.

Indubitably, there are hundreds of poorly prepared teachers whose primary interests are not in the classroom. For the employment of these unqualified men and women as teachers, the blame rests squarely on the shoulders of an apathetic public that is more concerned about "saving" money than having its children properly educated.

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 40

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 He is nothing if not parochially-minded
6 It's a fact!
9 Will make things go farther
10 Emphatic type
11 Out of date
12 Bacchanalian revels
13 Catspaw
15 Thoroughly tired out
16 The cowboy finds it useful when he wants to throw a little bull
18 "To the glory that was ------ And the grandeur that was Rome"
20 Easy good-nature, as they say in France
23 Uncommon sense?
24 To get it back in a certain time is really quite an idea
25 Communistic shade
28 The rest (anag.)
29 Sidney Smith found a little of this foodstuff useful in cultivating literature
30 Where good Americans go when they die
31 Spider which gave its name to a dance

DOWN

1 Divinity who is a match for you
2 This is altogether too much!
3 Backward view with a backward sorter starting it
4 Some of your furniture is probably made of it
5 Boots may be, but of course this admits of a denial
6 A backward poet is somewhat dull
7 It requires an excursion to get this North African place going
8 Fake some title or excuse for kissing a girl
14 The nation's capital (looks almost like a thinly-veiled plug for us!)
15 Doesn't make the instrument cease, as it says (two words, 5 and 4)
17 Surely the most valuable adaptation of an iron hook?
19 One of the longest lines in the world
21 A dainty musical item, though it might be more so from the sound of it
22 Stays like this of course, but had it started differently it might have suited an English county
26 The Greeks have a word for this alluvial deposit
27 Sometimes high, but always in season

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 IRONSIDE; 5 STUPOR; 10 FREEDOM; 11 ARBUTUS; 12 AGENT; 13 RESPECTED; 14 EXTRA; 16 TREEFROG; 19 BRAKEVAN; 22 AT SEA; 24 BASTINADO; 26 TRAMP; 28 EMITTED; 29 LURCHER; 30 SHERRY; 31 TSARINAS.

DOWN:—1 INFRA-RED; 2 OXEYE; 3 SIDETRACK; 4 DEMERIT; 6 TABLE; 7 POTATIONS; 8 RESEDA; [illegible] LASSIE; 15 TURNSTILE; 17 FLATTERER; 18 RAMPARTS; 20 VIANDS; 21 NOODLES; 23 OBSESS; 25 INTER; 27 ASHEN.

I well remember, when living in the Middle West some years ago, a member of a rural school board who paid a trainer of his race horses $100 a month, while the teacher of the district school was paid $30 a month for teaching the children.

When public opinion accords to education the dignity which is its due, and pays to teachers a wage that will enable them to live the life of educated, self-respecting human beings, the type of teacher of which your correspondent complains will vanish from the schools.

The public gets exactly the kind of teachers it pays for, and why shouldn't it? RALPH JOHNSON

Mercer Island, Wash., November 1

Erratum

Dear Sirs: I should like to note the following error in fact which appeared in my article, Unions, Restricted Clientele, in *The Nation* of August 14, 1943, pp. 178-80:

On page 178 I included the Commercial Telegraphers' Union among the American Federation of Labor affiliates which exclude Negroes by a provision in their constitution. I have since learned that the bar to Negro membership was deleted from the constitution of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union in 1935 and that this union now has Negroes in its organization.

HERBERT R. NORTHRUP

Detroit, Mich., November 10

CONTRIBUTORS

DONALD W. MITCHELL, professor of political science at Sam Houston State Teachers College, Texas, is at work on a history of the "new" United States navy since 1883.

McALISTER COLEMAN was for twenty-five years an associate of Oscar Ameringer in labor and Socialist activities. Mr. Coleman's new book, "Men and Coal," is dedicated to "Oscar Ameringer, Stalwart Fighter for 'the Men from the Picks.'"

GAETANO SALVEMINI, formerly professor of history at the University of Florence, is coauthor with George La Piana of "What to Do with Italy."

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE BEATING OF A SOLDIER—A HOSPITAL patient—by an American general is an incident so shocking to public sentiment about the army that its belated revelation has released a rather disproportionate amount of emotion. We do not take our stand with those who demand a court martial for General Patton. Such action on top of the unofficial but very real punishment he has already suffered would be merely vindictive. A more debatable question is whether Patton should be continued in responsible command in an active theater. The incident occurred halfway through the Sicilian campaign, and Eisenhower, rather than swap generals in the middle of a battle, gave Patton another chance. Since then the Seventh Army has apparently been held in reserve, and when it again goes to the front it may be under a new commander. The argument in favor of retaining Patton is that good combat generals are rarities and he has proved a brave and aggressive leader. But courage and drive are not the only attributes of generalship; cool judgment and emotional endurance are still more necessary. The story of the unhappy hospital scene suggests rather strongly that the general was afflicted by battle shock even more than the man he struck. A private in that condition has to be taken out of the line not only for his own sake but for that of his comrades. Can a general subject to loss of emotional control be safely left in an enormously responsible position? And if he is, will his men retain their confidence in him? These are the questions to which Generals Marshall and Eisenhower must still find answers, and in this difficult task they need the assistance of a medical board rather than a military court.

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BRITAIN'S POLITICAL MANEUVERS IN THE Near East begin to fall into a pattern that suggests something other than the Four Freedoms. Between the French and the Lebanese a truce has been reached which involves neither a compromise nor an understanding. The French have simply been forced to yield all along the line. In making the settlement General Catroux suggested pointedly that the British had intruded without warrant into a political situation that concerned only the French and the Lebanese. But while the British sternly curbed the imperialist inclinations of the French in Lebanon, farther south in their own mandate of Palestine they proceeded according to somewhat different principles. The village of Ramat Hakovesh was subjected to a house-to-house search for arms in the course of which all the male inhabitants are reported to have been rounded up and confined within a barbed-wire inclosure. One Jewish civilian is said to have been killed and eight others injured. Ten Palestinian newspapers were suspended for printing what British authorities called "highly tendentious" accounts of the raid. A group of Polish-Jewish soldiers, fleeing from the intensely anti-Semitic Polish army, had taken refuge in the town, and feeling ran high over the British use of Polish soldiers to conduct the search. Ramat Hakovesh sustained repeated attacks by the Arabs in 1936, and here as in other parts of Palestine the British are accused of rank discrimination in the matter of arms. No Arab communities have been searched for weapons, Arabs are permitted to carry hunting rifles, and a number of notorious Arab terrorists have recently been allowed to return from exile. The feeling is inescapable that what the British want is an Arab federation friendly to the empire. Neither Jews nor Frenchmen, it seems, will be allowed to block the way.

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AT THE MOMENT WHEN THE ATTACK ON General de Gaulle reaches a new crescendo of fury—an attack in which he is charged by reactionaries with the sin of reaction, by anti-Russians with belittling the Moscow pact, and by those who will not preside at the liquidation of the British Empire because he will not preside at the liquidation of the French—at this very moment a new champion of French democracy steps forward. None other than Marshal Pétain. The Marshal is a man with the courage of his convictions. Convinced that Hitler was almighty, he did not hesitate to scrap the constitution of France, liquidate its Parliament, and supplant Liberté, Egalité, and Fraternité with the drivel of fascism. Impelled to alter this conviction, the Marshal now, with equal boldness, and beautiful timing, proclaims himself the herald of the Fourth Republic, promises a constitution, and offers his new democracy as an alternative to a revolutionary clash with the Free French when the day of invasion arrives. The move is clever in a sordid way because collaborationists like Frossard, De Monzie, and Georges Bonnet, who prompted the Marshal to this scheme, well know that there are those in England and the United States who would gladly trade a De Gaulle for a Pétain. But it is late in the day. Without an army, a navy, or even the most tenuous hold on the people of France, Vichy's trumps are gone. It is bad enough to sell democracy for a mess of expediency, but it would be utterly senseless to sell it for the mess that is Vichy.

SEIZURE OF THE GILBERT ISLANDS IS NOT, IN itself, a major strategic operation. At most, the islands were merely outposts in the Japanese defensive system. They were not heavily guarded, and their possession does not give us a decisive advantage for future offensive undertakings. The chief significance of the attack lies in its demonstration of growing American naval and air strength. We have no specific information about the number of ships taking part in the Gilbert attack, but dispatches speak of the fleet as one of the most powerful ever assembled in the Pacific, and from the number of enemy planes destroyed, it evidently includes a number of aircraft carriers. The speed with which the Gilberts were overpowered suggests that our forces can similarly seize the Marshalls, Wake, Marcus, and even the Carolines, provided sufficient time is allowed to consolidate each gain. This threat of an attack directly across the Pacific when plans are known to be ready for a drive on Burma and operations against Rabaul are progressing, fully justifies the reports out of Tokyo predicting an early crisis in the war. The Japanese cannot counter our attacks without risking a substantial part of their navy. And if their fleet is destroyed, they will have lost the war.

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THE TAX BILL JUST ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE may well go down in history as the "Congressman's tax bill." Publication of the new table of surtax rates reveals a reduction of 1 per cent in the rate applicable to incomes ranging between $6,000 and $12,000. Since a Congressman's salary is $10,000 a year, the majority of the members of the House will benefit directly by this change. In contrast, the new bill provides a sharp rise in the taxes levied on single men and women with incomes of $1,200 and less—with the heaviest increase falling on those with the lowest income. In an effort to justify their failure to provide sufficient tax revenues to stem the tide of inflation, the Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee declared that the Administration's request would have imposed "entirely too great a burden on taxpayers generally." And the committee as a whole argued that the $2,000,000,000 provided by the bill was as much as "can be reasonably borne by the taxpayer without unduly disturbing our economy." These assertions make interesting reading in the light of a poll of tax experts recently conducted by the Tax Institute. Two-thirds of the experts—including tax economists, business men, tax lawyers, accountants, bankers, corporation tax agents, and heads of research agencies—were fully convinced that the government could and should raise at least $10,000,000,000 in new revenue by taxation. Since practically all the testimony before the Ways and Means Committee pointed the same way, it is clear that Congress alone must bear responsibility for the inflationary effects of its decision.

THE TREASURY'S PLAN FOR A WORLD BANK for Reconstruction and Development would serve two purposes. It would encourage resumption of the gold standard by making some of our own huge hoard available to other countries, and it would provide a means of financing American exports in the post-war period. The United States, by all economic logic, ought to supply the whole instead of a mere one-third of the $10,000,000,000 of capital required, but this would hardly win the approval of Congress and, in any case, would diminish the bank's international standing. The plan, prepared by Harry D. White of the Treasury, calls for an initial subscription of 20 per cent, partly in gold, partly in the local currency of the subscribing country. Few countries have enough gold to make any considerable subscription, and it would be better for us if those that did have some gold kept it to finance reconstruction purchases, most of which would naturally come from the United States. Our own country, as Mr. Stone points out this week in his letter from the UNRRA conference in Atlantic City, has to get rid of some of its gold and is badly in need of post-war markets. The World Bank would be a blessing both for the Treasury and for American business, though the plan will probably be attacked as another proposal for "TVA's on the Danube."

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THE TERRIBLE PUNISHMENT THAT IS BEING meted out to Berlin by the R. A. F. has again raised hopes that the German fortress can be cracked by the use of air-power alone. In an eight-day period the weight of bombs dropped on the German capital was nearly equal to that which fell on London during the entire 1940-41 Blitz. Moreover this tremendous attack has been pressed home at relatively light cost. New German defensive tactics have been countered by new British technique, and the Luftwaffe, a large proportion of which is concentrated to guard the home front, is showing signs of strain. But while we do not minimize the strategic significance of the present Anglo-American aerial offensive, we doubt if it can be regarded as more than a preliminary bombardment which must be followed by actual storming of the walls. Provided that the present tempo of attack can be maintained, Berlin itself may be knocked out by the end of the year. That would be a major victory, for, apart from its importance as an industrial and communications center, the city is the symbolic and administrative heart of the Third Reich. On the other hand, Germany is a large country whose industries have been widely dispersed. Many of its vital centers are still almost untouched and between it and invasion from any direction are thick cushions of non-German lands and peoples. So long as these outer works hold the inner fortress is unlikely to yield unless the bombings lead to general and uncontrollable panic.

Let Them Vote, But—

THE laws of politics being what they are, a Congressman would no more dream of opposing the right of soldiers and sailors to vote than he would of sponsoring a measure for compulsory polygamy. It does not follow that, in a given set of circumstances, he would not do everything possible to make that right meaningless. Thus some blend of the Worley bill in the House and the Green-Lucas bill in the Senate, designed to facilitate voting in the armed forces, is certain to get through, but its efficacy will depend on the extent to which Administration leaders can curb the effort of hard-shell Republicans and poll-tax Democrats to emasculate it. The blunt truth is that the soldier vote, by and large, is considered favorable to the Administration. Under the inept soldier-vote law passed in 1942, only 28,000 votes were cast by the services in the last election. By the fall of 1944 there may be as many as 10,000,000 men and women, including the merchant marine, in uniform and away from home. Their votes could very well be decisive.

Opposition to the Senate bill is varied and usually accompanied by a substitute proposal which would wreck it while leaving the wrecker still waving the flag. Senators Eastland of Mississippi and McKellar of Tennessee want the boys to vote, of course, but think that arrangements should be left to the individual states. In other words, as Senator Green of Rhode Island pointed out, "every unit in the field would have to be provided with information as to the laws of all the states, since the men in the service are not distributed according to geographical regions." Moreover, the state laws are in no sense adapted to the war emergency. A New York fighting man, for example, would first have to write to his secretary of state for an application blank; the secretary would mail the blank to him, and he would then fill it out and mail it back to the secretary, who in turn would send him a ballot, which in due course he would fill out and mail back to the secretary. Should the voter happen to be stationed in the Solomons—and stay put for the entire process—the five-way transaction might with luck be achieved in something like three months.

The question of constitutionality is another major battleground on which the opposition can take a patriotic stand. Senator Moore of Oklahoma wants the soldiers to "revere the Constitution" and feels that they would prefer to lose their vote rather than have that document interpreted broadly enough to cover a contingency which its creators could not possibly have foreseen. The constitutionality of the measure is in fact arguable, but it should be noted that the bill is merely a revision of the 1942 law, which was similarly open to question and was duly passed by both houses and signed by the President. Defenders of the measure rest their case on special war

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powers whose necessity overrides a literal reading of the Constitution which in any case violates its spirit.

Senator Brooks of Illinois, besides objecting to the inclusion of the merchant marine in the bill, considers the omission of printed names on the ballot a New Deal plot, since "the name of the President might be more readily remembered among the service men than that of his political opponent." But if the mailing of ballots has to wait for all the nominations to be made, many a soldier in Australia and many a sailor on the high seas will lose his vote—which may be exactly what Colonel McCormick's favorite Senator has in mind.

Numerous other objections have been advanced, most of them of the same caliber as the contention of the New York *Daily News* that "any top sergeant or chief petty officer who happened to be all slopped up with zeal for the New Deal could scare quite a few votes into the New Deal column." The few sober and obviously genuine objections to the bill have already been heeded and the measure modified accordingly. Senators Green and Lucas have both assured their colleagues that if the minority leaders object to either of the Republican appointees to be named by the President to the four-man War Ballot Commission, they will vote with the minority against confirmation. Going farther, the sponsors of the bill have accepted Senator Vandenberg's amendment that all decisions of the commission must be by majority vote, thus assuring the assent of at least one minority member.

Precautions against political intrigue have been taken, and the matter now resolves itself into the simple question of whether or not it is desirable for every soldier, sailor, merchant mariner, and woman auxiliary who is over twenty-one to have a voice in the 1944 election. It may well be that the Administration has political reasons to take the affirmative. Even accepting this over-cynical interpretation, there is more justice in upholding the soldier vote because it might favor the Democrats than in denying it for the same reason.

Mosley Is a Symbol

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE most important British action last week was not the bombing of Berlin; it was the freeing of Oswald Mosley. The effects of Mosley's release were less spectacular but they carried far greater meaning for Britain's future. The demonstrations and resolutions of censure were only the beginning, a warning of the mood of suspicion and rebellion which burns very close to the surface of the British working-class mind. The government will do well to heed it.

Superficially the affair was insignificant, and the government's act was in the purest British tradition. Sir Oswald and his wife and a number of his followers had been held in prison for more than three years—held without trial under a war-time security regulation. The conscience of the government was never easy about these administrative arrests, and Mosley was allowed many unusual privileges. He and his wife were housed in four adjoining rooms in Holloway Prison and permitted to have their own furnishings and radio. And when Mosley's health failed, Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, ordered him released.

Immediately questions were asked. Other prisoners had to put up with the hospital facilities provided by the institution; why not Mosley?—Well, because of his peculiar status; he had never been properly convicted.—But then should he not have been let out long ago?—No, because at an earlier stage of the war he might have been able to do some harm. Now he couldn't; and anyway the security officers would keep an eye on him.—But how about his wife, who was jailed as a fascist in her own right? Why should she come out? She's not ill.—Well, no, but after all she *is* his wife, and if he is not a danger neither is she. As a matter of fact, several other imprisoned fascists have also been released.—Because they are ill?—No, they are not ill, but they are considered harmless.—Then would Mosley also be released, even if he were not ill?—Oh, no. Mosley is being released because he is ill. That is the only reason.

And so British justice, nicely tempered with nonsense and a bad conscience and respect for upper-class privilege, ejected the country's leading fascist from jail—and found itself the object of fierce attack by all of organized labor and much of the unorganized public.

Why? What has generated so much anger over so normal and so English a procedure? What is all the row about, anyway? The row is only incidentally about Mosley, even though the marching workers carry placards denouncing his ugly record. The row is about something quite different. It is a popular vote of no confidence in the political behavior of the Churchill government. It is notice served on the government, including the Labor ministers, that the workers no longer trust its political intentions. The fact that Herbert Morrison has done a good job will not save him in the eyes of the workers. For the freeing of Mosley symbolizes the thing the workers fear—betrayal of the democratic aim for which they fight and work.

It is difficult to believe that Herbert Morrison expressed his own convictions as a person and a Labor minister in the matter of Mosley. More likely the decision was forced through by the Tory majority in the government, and the Home Secretary had to carry it into effect or resign. But by taking responsibility for the government's act he may well have forfeited his own political future. For the anger of Britain's workers has been clearly expressed. The Trades Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labor Party, and the National

Council of Labor, a body representing the two other organizations and the cooperative movement, have all condemned the action of the government. Alone among the official labor bodies, the Parliamentary Labor group has indorsed Mosley's release by a vote of fifty-one to forty-three. But this narrow margin in Morrison's favor, in a group whose freedom of action is inhibited by Labor's collaboration in the government, is small consolation. Herbert Morrison faces the opposition of every important working-class organization in Britain, as well as the open hostility of the rank and file.

For British labor is still fighting a war against fascism. To the ordinary worker Oswald Mosley is as much a fascist as Hitler, and as much an enemy. That Mosley is less dangerous seems to him beside the point. What concerns him is the meaning of the fight, and he finds that meaning dissolved, washed away, lost, in the soft justice meted out to a rich and titled fascist.

The Miseries of Midas

BY I. F. STONE

Atlantic City, November 26

WHAT Will Congress Do? "I don't think we've done anything here," a member of the American delegation said anxiously in the Claridge cocktail room the other night, "to which Congress could take exception." This is the shadow which haunts this first session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation conference. The other issues which divide or worry representatives of the forty-four United Nations in the UNRRA dwindle beside the question of whether Congress will authorize the necessary appropriation to start the new organization going. The various "hows" are far less important than the "whether." If Congress makes the appropriation, hungry people can be fed, devastation alleviated. Nothing else really matters.

Boondoggling Abroad? The chances are that the UNRRA will get its money, but increased grumbling may be anticipated about "boondoggling abroad." The announcement by the Treasury of plans for a World Development Bank may be expected to increase the irritation of the small-minded and provide new material for xenophobic demagogy. The truth is that we have grown so rich we've got to give some of our wealth away or choke on it. Charity has become an economic necessity. We have so much of the world's gold that unless we find some way to use it, it will lose much of its value. Its value depends on resumption of the gold standard. But other nations cannot go back to the gold standard unless they have enough gold. The many devices worked out during the past decade for clearing international payments and arranging trade without gold make it easier than ever to abandon the gold standard permanently. If that happens, we can use our gold to fill our dental cavities or adorn our fingers.

A Midas in Misery. From this point of view, the UNRRA is but one of many steps we must take to maintain our wealth by arranging to dispose of our surpluses. The World Bank proposed by the Treasury would make gold and gold credits available to the rest of the world to buy the excess products of our farms and factories. (Hold on to your seats a moment while I dwell on the fantastic character of the economy in which we live. The gold-buying policies of the Roosevelt Administration were a device to give goods away abroad. Its economic value in stimulating business at home lay in the fact that foreigners of course took goods, not dollar bills, in return for their metal. Now through the World Bank we propose to reverse the process, lending them back some of the gold with which to buy our exports again. This is how the merry-go-round of world capitalism operates.)

Food Surpluses, Too. It is pretty generally understood that our industrial capacity has been vastly expanded by the war; recent cries of anguish from the machine-tool industry provided the most dramatic example of our need for reviving markets abroad. Less understood is the fact that there has been a comparable expansion of agricultural production. Technological improvements, soil conservation, and enlarged acreage have pushed food production up enormously. Although one-fourth of our food is being used for military and lend-lease purposes, domestic food consumption per capita has reached the highest level in a generation. In 1941 and 1942 it was 10 per cent above the 1935-39 average, and it will remain 5 per cent above in 1943 and 1944. As the war ends, we can either plow this increased production under or give it away. We spent a half-billion dollars a year restricting farm output during the '30's. It would probably cost us three-quarters of a billion to push production back to the old levels now. That three-quarters of a billion multiplied by two is just about the amount we are being asked to put into the UNRRA, which will probably last two years after the war is over.

The Advantages of Charity. Shipping surpluses abroad instead of restricting output maintains a higher level of employment and economic activity at home. The process is no different from that whereby Britain before the First World War and the United States before the Second World War lent money abroad to make it possible for other countries to build railroads and factories and buy consumer goods. A large amount of this business was actually a gift, for many of the loans were wiped out in periodic economic crises and never repaid. But on net balance this foreign lending was profitable in maintaining economic activity. The difference between this older process of lending and what is being organized now through the UNRRA, World Bank, and other proposed devices is that the risk is socialized, like insurance, and power rests with governments rather than great private bankers. Unfortunately, though we are the world's greatest, if not the only, creditor nation, we still have a debtor-nation psychology.

What Will the Brass Hats Say? Next to Congress, the UNRRA's greatest hurdle is the ambitious attitude and covert hostility of the military. Under the basic UNRRA agreement the army decides when, where, and how the UNRRA shall operate. Interdepartmental committees began work on the problem of relief for liberated countries under the general chairmanship of Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson in June of 1942. The committee on food under H. A. Tolley more than a year ago recommended immediate action to buy and stock food for liberated countries. The Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation (OFRRA) under Governor Lehman submitted a detailed program of purchases to the War Food Administration last May. But no food has been bought. The OFRRA asked $300,000,000 and was given an allocation of $75,000,000 for the quarter beginning July 1, but this was canceled late in August because of military hostility. The army is not equipped to feed civilian populations and in Italy has been handing out too much in some areas, including meat, and too little in others, where it has provided mostly flour. Military power over procurement machinery in this country and over transport facilities abroad leaves the UNRRA dependent on the military, and the ideal situation would be one in which they worked together. Brass-hat contempt for civilians is the psychological "block."

Other Difficulties. As this is written, the Soviet delegation is still holding its cards close to its vest. Barring action from that quarter, the UNRRA will be dominated by Britain and the United States, exercising power through the Combined Food Board, an Anglo-American-Canadian body. The smaller nations are split into those which have no money and those which have. The latter—the Dutch, Norwegian, and French—have won the right to appeal over the head of the UNRRA and Lehman, its director general, to the Combined Food Board and thus obtain more than their fair share of scarce world supplies. The State Department and the British Foreign Office have an understanding to maintain the supremacy of the Combined Food Board and restrict the UNRRA's power. Confusion has also been created because no one yet knows whether Lehman's old OFRRA will be merged in the UNRRA or remain in Leo T. Crowley's new Foreign Economic Administration. The infant UNRRA has an adult collection of headaches.

Finland Waits Too Long

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

SECRETARY HULL was apparently wise enough to disregard the advice of those benevolent meddlers who urged him to plead Finland's cause at the Moscow conference. Although he saw Hjalmar J. Procope, Finnish envoy in Washington, on the eve of his departure for Moscow, there is no evidence that he sought to obtain easy terms for Hitler's halfway ally. If he did, the attempt was futile, for the Kremlin's stand on the question of a separate peace with Finland has stiffened if anything since the conference.

On the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Bolshevist Revolution Stalin, in one of his typical tirades, dealt caustically with the belated attempts of some of Germany's satellites to break away from the Axis. Referring specifically to Finland as one of the "participants in the Hitlerite coalition," he said:

> The leaders of these vassals, until so recently still obedient to their master, now recognize that the time has come to answer for their robbery, and they are taking to the bushes and trying to find a favorable moment to slip away from the robber giant.
>
> On entering the war those who would share in Hitler's gains decided in advance what pieces would fall to whom: to whom the cakes and the buns, to whom the bumps and the bruises. Of course, the bumps and the bruises were reserved for their enemies; for themselves, the cakes and the buns. But now it is clear that Germany and its vassals won't get the cakes and the buns; instead the Allies reserve for them the bumps and the bruises. . . .

Elsewhere in his speech Stalin spoke of the "Karelian-Finnish Republic" as one of the Soviet territories which the Red Army was going to liberate in short order. This is a revealing clue to the minimum demands which a victorious Russia may be expected to make on a defeated Finland.

The "Karelian-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic," to give it its official name, did not come into existence until after the Peace of Moscow (March 12, 1940), which ended the war between Finland and the Soviet Union. It was formed from the former Karelian Republic, a subdivision of Russia proper, and territory ceded to the U. S. S. R. by Finland. Stalin's reference to it, therefore, clearly indicates that in dealing with Finland he will insist, at the very least, on the boundaries established in 1940. (At present a large part of the Karelian-Finnish Republic is occupied by Finnish troops.)

Coincident with this reaffirmation, by Stalin himself, that the Karelian-Finnish Republic is to be regarded as an integral part of the Soviet Union, comes news from Moscow of intensified political activity by Otto Wilhelm Kuusinen, the Finnish Communist leader who headed the Terijoki puppet government after the Soviet invasion of Finland in December, 1939, and later became chief executive of the Karelian-Finnish Republic. A few weeks ago Kuusinen published in Moscow a pamphlet entitled "Finland Unmasked" which concluded: "The vital interests of both the Finnish people and the people of Soviet Russia call for the creation of reliable guaranties which would preclude a repetition at any time of Finland's bandit attack on the U. S. S. R." As head of one of the Soviet Union's sixteen constituent republics, and even more as one of the vice-presidents of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Kuusinen has considerable weight in the councils of the Kremlin, and the prominence given his views by *Pravda* and other Soviet papers suggests that he will be influential in deciding Finland's fate.

At this juncture, and in particular after the Moscow conference, it is hard to see what the United States or Great Britain could do to save Finland from being converted into a Soviet protectorate on the model of, say, Outer Mongolia if Stalin decided that the future security of Russia's northwestern border necessitated such an arrangement. The Finns have only themselves to blame for this situation, for they have ignored, or deliberately spurned, literally dozens of attempts made by American and British diplomats to take them out of the war while there was still time.

As long as Russia stood to benefit from Finland's withdrawal from the war, Allied intervention in behalf of Finland had a good chance of success. Only a few months ago the Finns could have had a fairly good separate peace for the asking, including perhaps even an adjustment of the 1940 frontiers. Unfortunately all moves in this direction were blocked by the Finnish militarists, who stubbornly refused to evacuate the Soviet-Karelian territory held by them. With the shortsightedness that so often characterizes military leaders, the Finnish General Staff insisted that military occupation of Soviet Karelia was Finland's surest guaranty of future independence.

There has been little if any fighting along the Karelian front for more than a year. At times it has appeared as if the Soviets, concentrating all their attention on the central and southern sectors of the 2,000-mile front, were completely uninterested in the barren northern tracts where the Finnish army was intrenched. But the virtual armistice on this front never had the political implications which some uninformed commentators have attributed to it. The Russians were simply biding their time in the sound conviction that, once Hitler's armies had been beaten, the Finnish sector would crumple. That moment is near today.

Hardly any other nation has banked so senselessly on the time element as the Finns. They hoped that by holding their ground where the high-water mark of the German drive had left them and fighting a purely defensive war they would place themselves in an advantageous bargaining position. If there had ever been a chance that the war in Russia would end in a stalemate and a compromise peace, that might have been a sound speculation. But only those who are profoundly ignorant of Soviet Russia could imagine that Moscow would settle for much less than complete recovery of the 1941 boundaries.

Ironically enough, the Finns, like the Rumanians, the Hungarians, and other Nazi satellites, hoped almost as much from the Moscow conference as did the United Nations. There is a widespread belief in Nazi-controlled Europe that the principal objective of the United States as the guardian of democracy and of the Atlantic Charter must be to save Hitler's small-time vassals from the consequences of their collusion with the Axis. President Roosevelt's recent message to Congress and even more the outcome of the Moscow conference have somewhat subdued, but by no means blighted, these hopes. Mr. Procope in Washington is still pulling wires—in the State Department, in Congress, in the press.

Whatever the Finns' cultural achievements and their lonely heroism in 1939, it is absurd to speak of the Finland of 1943 as a "democracy" waging a "private," "defensive" war against a "totalitarian giant"—the expressions used by Finland's apologists in this country. In no country which has admitted Hitler's legions, be it an occupied or an "allied" country, can democracy survive. Finland today is in the grip of a high-handed secret police and of a thoroughly Nazified military clique headed by Marshal Mannerheim. Only in the last few weeks has any serious attempt been made to remove the despotic chief of the Finnish secret police, Anthoni, and to replace him with a more "democratic" official (see the New York *Times* of November 8).

The silence of the Moscow declarations on the subject of Finland, coupled with Stalin's contemptuous remarks, have at last jolted the Helsinki government from its hopefully waiting attitude. In the last few weeks feverish activity has been noted in the Finnish capital. Three of the country's leading diplomats—T. M. Kivimäki, Minister to Berlin, Onni Talas, Minister to Rome, and Georg A. Gripenberg, Minister to Stockholm and a nephew of Marshal Mannerheim's—have been recalled for consultation. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Finnish rubber-stamp Diet is in almost permanent session, and according to the usually well-informed Stockholm *Social-Demokraten,* Finland's ace trouble-shooter and three-times peacemaker, Juho K. Paasikivi, is "standing by" for another trip to Moscow. Now that the sands are running out in Finland's hour-glass, the bankrupt politicians of Helsinki are moving heaven and earth in a last-minute attempt to stave off disaster.

All signs point to a coming Finnish peace bid—much too late to accomplish anything. But the official press still insists that as long as the Finnish army has not been eliminated Finland will never accept unconditional surrender.

What, then, has Finland to offer? The Germans, according to reliable reports, have already removed the bulk of their troops from the Finnish front, leaving only a few skeleton divisions to cover the retreat. So Finland can no longer offer to immobilize, or at least force the withdrawal of, a sizable German force. There is as yet no evidence that the Finnish army will be voluntarily withdrawn to the 1940-41 boundaries. Nor is there, thus far, the slightest indication that the three men primarily responsible for Finland's present plight—President Risto Ryti, Finance Minister Väinö Tanner, and Field Marshal Mannerheim—are prepared to resign. All three are absolutely unacceptable to the Kremlin. In the circumstances, it will take almost a miracle to make Moscow even consider a Finnish request for a separate peace.

The Moral Front

BY ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

WE HAVE had a great deal to say about the plain meaning to our enemies of the Moscow conference. Its plain meaning to ourselves is certainly no less obvious and no less encouraging. The Moscow conference offers the first clear indication that we have learned at long last to read the history of the First World War. We do not propose, regardless of what we may have said on this subject in the past, to "win the war first" and talk about the peace afterward. We do not propose to divide the war from the peace as Wilson divided them. We propose instead to create the peace in the process of fighting the war and as its principal objective.

Down to November 1, 1943, we were apparently reading the history of 1917-18 to mean, in the words of the current epigram, that it is a mistake to win a war and lose the peace that follows. From which we concluded that history's lesson for us was the lesson that we must win the war first and then make sure to win the peace as well. Which meant in practical terms that this time we must be as smart as Clemenceau, or this time we must keep the President at home, or this time we must say our unmistakable say to any little band of Senators who might set themselves up against the people's will. It does not seem to have occurred to us that the epigram was merely an epigram: that you cannot win a war and lose the peace; that if the peace is lost, the war is lost. The real lesson of 1918 was the lesson that if you wait to win the peace until you have won the war, you will win neither.

The fundamental mistake of Wilson's leadership was that he attempted, as some of our contemporaries, here and in England, have attemped in the present war, to "win the war first." Wilson believed that once the war was won, he could sit down around a table with the men of good-will and draft a better world. It was this split in Wilson's thinking between the war and the peace which produced the tragic irony of his failure.

On December 4, 1917, in one of the greatest speeches of his great career, Mr. Wilson made that fissure evident. Answering his own question, "When shall we consider the war won?" the President told the two houses of Congress:

> First . . . this intolerable Thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, this menace of combined intrigue and force which we now see clearly as the German power, a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations; and, second, . . . when this Thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace—when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the

> bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world —we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace, and to pay it ungrudgingly.

First the German Thing must be destroyed, and *then* a just peace would be made. The assumption was basic. It was repeated more than once "Let it be said again," said the President, "that autocracy must first be shown the utter futility of its claims to power or leadership in the modern world." "Not until that has been done can right be set up as arbiter and peacemaker among the nations." The war would end when the German people, putting aside the German Thing, admitted the wrong done and agreed to repair the damage, in so far as they could repair it, and to accept a settlement based upon justice. When this had happened, peace would be discussed. Peace would be "made."

The echo sounds very near. It was a speech a man might make today. It was a speech, indeed, which men *have* made today. And not in passionless imitation but in belief and hope. Wilson was never nobler than when he declared the reasons for his confidence that a just peace could be made. The "voices of humanity" were in the air. "They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere." "Statesmen must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide awake and fully comprehends the issue invoked." "The thought of the plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all governments must henceforth breathe if they would live." No representative of any self-governed nation would ever again dare attempt "such covenants of selfishness and compromise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna." We have heard sentences like these in our own time. But with us men speak not of the Congress of Vienna but of the Conference of Versailles. The tragedy of our time is the reenactment in so short a space, not of the sufferings only, but of the hopes of men.

Wilson's mistake was not, as some of us seem ignobly to have concluded, that he hoped too much. Wilson's mistake was that he hoped too little. Like all decent and humane men, he hated war. He refused therefore to admit even to himself that a war could be an affirmative political action. A war to Wilson, however offensive its military strategy might be, was by its nature politically defensive—politically a means of countering your enemy and nothing more. Political affirmations belonged, in Wilson's world, to the conference table, after the war was won. And to us also, before the Moscow conference, they seemed to belong to the conference table. To us also a war was not capable of political meaning but only of military effects. To us also the final wisdom was the reminder that first we must stop our enemies and that only then would what we proposed to do be determined.

And yet the record of 1918 was there for anyone to read. Mr. Wilson's preliminary conditions were fulfilled to the last syllable. The German people did, as Mr. Wilson had said they must, renounce the German Thing. They did admit their responsibility for the war and agree to make good the damage. Upon the basis of these German acts peace was discussed, as Mr. Wilson said it would be discussed. Everything happened as he said it must happen. And there was no peace. There was instead a conference beside which the Congress of Vienna need not blush, an exhibition of political pettiness, particularly in this country, which equaled if it did not surpass previous exhibitions, a sick and uneasy armistice of a generation or less, a second German Thing worse by far than the first, and a Second World War as much more deadly than the first as the first was more deadly than anything that had gone before it. It was not the peace that was lost. It was the war that was lost. And why? Because our arms were inadequate? No, our arms were successful. Because we divorced, in our minds and in our words, the military war from the political peace.

But there is more in the record of 1918 than the lesson that you cannot win the war first and the peace afterward. There is also affirmative proof that if the peace and the war are made together as parts of a common action, both can be won. Mr. Wilson did accomplish one of his principal objectives, the objective which he put in his Mount Vernon speech of July 4, 1918, as the foremost of the ends "for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace." That objective was "the destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world. . . ." The arbitrary powers which had made that war were destroyed. But they were not destroyed at Versailles; they were destroyed as a political consequence of the actual fighting.

In his reply to the German request for an armistice of October 12, 1918, the President, through the Secretary of State, called the attention of the German government to the Mount Vernon declaration and stated: "The power which has hitherto controlled the German nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German nation to alter it." The effect of that declaration and of the subsequent declaration of October 23 is now history. On November 9 the Kaiser abdicated. He would be a bold man who would contend, with the chronicle of Versailles before him, that the autocratic governments of the Central Powers would have been destroyed if this objective like the others had been left to the council table to debate.

The lesson of the last war, I most earnestly submit, is not that Senator Lodge was a vain and petty man, or that Clemenceau was as vindictive as he was blind, or that

President Wilson should have stayed at home. The lesson is that you cannot run a modern war in two sections like a fast express—a war action followed by a peace action. Because if you do, neither section will arrive; and for this reason—that a modern war is itself a political action, is indeed the most expressive and assertive of all political actions. To deny it—to believe, or to pretend to believe, that the military war has no political implications and can have no political effects—is to frustrate the war effort and to defeat its purpose. A modern war is an action of entire peoples which absorbs their total will and every interest of their lives. It must be worthy of the effort it demands. If it is not, if it is presented as a military action only, it may be brought to an end, but it will not be brought to achievement. For it is not possible to summon up that will of millions of men and women a second time, after the announced and asserted end has been accomplished, to push still farther forward to the real objective.

There are those who resent being told that this war is a war of ideas, but neither they nor any of us can escape that fact. This war, whether we like it or not, is a war for the moral and political domination of our time and of the time after. Those who made it, made it in the belief that they could impose upon men their conceptions of society, rightly estimating that if they could succeed, everything else—economic advantage, territorial advantage—would follow. They struck—they dared to strike because they were restrained by no respect or reverence of their own—at the heart of human power, at the essential principle of faith. Whether we admit it to ourselves or not, this war is a war fought by our enemies on that level and in those terms. And as things now are, we run the risk of losing the war itself to enemies our armies have defeated; of seeing the moral revolution of our enemies overthrow the moral order we defend even though our enemies themselves have been destroyed.

By the mere action of making their war at the political and moral level our enemies have won terrible victories already in the field they chose. Their initial advantage—and it was an overwhelming advantage—was precisely that they were willing to challenge the moral sense of civilized mankind. It is no new thing in the chronicle of the human spirit to see the scoffer, the derider, the blasphemer, win victories against belief and faith. What is new is to see a government, a nation, committing itself to a great war in the cause of contempt, the cause of blasphemy, the cause of the worthlessness and ignobility of man. But in one case as in the other the initial advantage is the same. The advantage is the advantage of *daring* to deride, *daring* to despise. The advantage is the fact of the attack, the fact that the forbidden words are spoken.

It is foolish to talk of the Nazi propaganda in this war as though it were the dissemination of evil. If it were only that, it would be weak indeed. What is dangerous in the propaganda of our enemies is the fact that it is an attack *against* the good. There is no need to use the propaganda agencies of a great power to disseminate evil. Evil existed in the world, all forms and kinds of evil, long before Hitler and Goebbels and the rest. What the moral and political attack can do is to break down the moral preconceptions, the implicit and accepted beliefs, which hold the social infection of evil in restraint.

The obvious example is the Nazi racial propaganda. There was no need for the Nazis to set up radio installations to infect the world with racial hatreds. The seeds are very old. They are scattered everywhere. But the seeds in a healthy and sane society germinate, if at all, in little pockets of corruption which are sealed off from the common healthy life by the virulence of their poison and by the cleansing current of the common public decency and the common self-restraint. In a free society which is strong the infections of racial hatred are checked by the inner sanity and order of the nation. It is this sanity, this restraining order, which the Nazis have attacked. Our enemies know—know better, apparently, than we—that the basic strength of a free society is its belief in the dignity of man as man, of every man, no matter what his tongue or race. They know that this belief depends for its vitality upon its practice. They know that its practice rests upon the inner social discipline which alone restrains its violation. They know that once the unspoken restraints are publicly broken down, once the weave of common agreement, common self-discipline is broken, the entire garment will begin to ravel out.

And it is this precisely that they intend. They have used racial hatreds not for the sake of racial hatreds but to destroy the moral order without which the democratic world cannot survive. They have won victories already, as every honest man who is willing to face the facts admits. The great and terrible question of this year is whether we shall permit them to win further victories—to win the final victory they propose; whether we shall permit them, though defeated in the war itself, to win their moral victory over the democratic order which many millions of us still believe the war is fought and suffered to defend.

What the final answer to that question will be no living man can know. But of one answer even the living can be certain. We cannot win this war in the political and moral field unless the war is fought there. But to fight the war there *means* to fight the war there. It does not mean to fight the war as a purely military operation, leaving the moral and political issues for a conference on the peace. No conference, no treaty of peace, can restore by articles of agreement the authority of a moral order. Only a great and overwhelming affirmation of the faith of mankind, of the conscience of humanity, can give force and power to belief.

If we fight and win this war as a purely military operation devoid of political and moral objectives, our victory will, it is true, have meaning. Any victory has meaning in the memory of mankind. But the meaning of our victory, if we fight the war on those terms, will be only this—that our military skill and our man-power and our resources of industry and wealth were superior to those of our enemies.

Really to win this war—to win on the dangerous and threatening level where the war is truly fought—our victory must mean far more than that. It must be a victory not only for our wealth and strength but for our conscience and our truth against the lie which has attacked them. It must be a victory which will discredit, in actions which every eye can read, the pretensions of our enemies, a victory which will mean to all men everywhere that democracy is strong and living and cannot be overcome.

To those who mistrust words and their uses, the definition of our objectives in this war will seem a trivial thing. It will seem to them unimportant whether this war is fought for unconditional surrender first and a pious approval of international cooperation afterward, or fought literally and precisely for the Four Freedoms and the world the Four Freedoms imply. It will seem to them irrelevant whether our actions in the war prove to the world that the war is one for the reaffirmation of democracy or only a war to be won. But words are not trivial or irrelevant things, even in the midst of fighting. It makes a difference to the entire future of the world how we answer for ourselves the question Wilson asked —"When shall we consider the war won?" It makes a difference to the future of the world and of this country and of ourselves, each one of us, whether the victory we set ourselves to win is the moral and political victory the President defined twenty-three months ago when he told us for what ends we fought or the purely military victory to which many voices on both sides of the Atlantic have attempted to commit us.

It makes the difference between peace and war.

Early in 1918 the editor of the Manchester *Guardian* said to an American observer in England: "Things are moving very fast and are going wrong. There is no one to look to but President Wilson, but the danger that confronts us is that the President may find the control of his ideas taken out of his hands." History never altogether repeats itself. But no one. I think can read these words in the autumn of 1943 without a recognition, like the recognition of a dream, that we have passed this way before—and must awake. It is possible to believe—indeed, it is necessary to believe—that there has been an awakening and that the declaration of Moscow is its outward form.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE FORMAL ABDICATION of the Kaiser removes an important legal obstacle to the reconstitution of Germany on other than a monarchical basis, if that is desired. What the new form of government will be, however, is wholly a matter of speculation.—*December 7, 1918.*

KARL LIEBKNECHT has been humanity's witness at the heart of Germany. Eager, earnest, unquenchable, he has shouted into the unwilling ears of German ministers and judges what we have said in the safety afforded by Allied bayonets. And now the fortunes of war have taken this man from jail and set him on high. Three years ago he raised his voice alone; now great masses of men look to him for direction.—*December 7, 1918.*

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY, with some 300 parliamentary candidates in the general election now in progress, has made its campaign on a platform of thoroughgoing social reorganization. A published summary of the more important provisions of the platform includes a special tax on capital, free trade, no tariffs, immediate nationalization of all lands, immediate nationalization of vital public-service systems, better housing conditions, free public education, freedom for Ireland and India, "hands-off" democracy with immediate withdrawal of troops from Russia, no conscription, equal rights for women, a peace of reconciliation with no secret diplomacy and no economic war, the charter of labor to be incorporated in the principles of a league of free peoples.—*December 14, 1918.*

THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA is the break, in the north, of that better day which has been predicted so often by all the prophets and looked for so long by all the children of men; all: the day of the redemption of His people: "When the proud were to be scattered, the princes put down from thrones, and those of low degree exalted; when the hungry were to be filled and the rich were to be sent away empty."—"CHRISTIAN" [LINCOLN STEFFENS], *December 21, 1918.*

THE DEATH OF EDMOND ROSTAND, which took place on December 2, will neither eclipse our gaiety nor darken our wisdom. But it robs our time of a talent of almost alien brightness and colorfulness, as blithe and as unrelieved in its splendor as those Mediterranean shores by which the poet was born and to which his imagination always returned. —LUDWIG LEWISOHN, *December 21, 1918.*

BY WAY OF CONTRAST with the amiable and liberal utterances lately exchanged by Italian diplomats and American statesmen, it is interesting to read in recent dispatches from Paris that the representatives there from Yugoslav countries are "becoming disturbed." Perhaps the failure of President Wilson and the representatives of Italy to discuss the Italian claims "in detail" may be the cause of this seemingly unreasonable state of the Yugoslav mind.—*December 28, 1918.*

Diary of the Future

BY VERNON BARTLETT

[This is the fifth instalment of "a cautionary tale . . . a rash attempt to write history before it has happened," by a distinguished British journalist and member of Parliament. Previous instalments have described the chaotic conditions in Europe following Germany's collapse and the growing political tension in Britain. The scene now shifts to Washington.]

V. The Peace Conference Opens

SEPTEMBER 13. Back in Washington. I was here in May, 1943, and I don't like the change in the atmosphere, even though it is fun to meet so many old friends. The gap between Congress and the Executive is wider than ever. The very fact that the President has fought so consistently to assure that the United States shall shoulder responsibilities consonant with its material wealth and influence turns thousands of Americans against the acceptance of these responsibilities.

I hadn't anticipated so much bitterness against Europe. Very few people admit the right of these small countries to feel as nationalistic as the big ones do. The Yugoslavs have just had a political crisis, even though their government was backed by America and Britain. This seems to have made the State Department nearly as angry as it was over the De Gaulle business in 1943. Never were the United Nations so little united, and Walter Lippmann foresees a terrific row between the great and small powers.

September 15. Lippmann was right. The President seemed tired when he opened the Peace Conference, but made, I thought, the best speech of his career. But from the appointment of Darlan onward, some of his advisers have used Europeans whom most Europeans hate and despise. General de Gaulle, who has a good many snubs from the State Department to forget, and who has a very retentive memory, came out as the spokesman of the smaller European nations, each of which has had its contribution to make to civilization. He received an embarrassing amount of applause. The second surprise came when the Soviet delegation staked its own claim to leadership. Anthony Eden, who is so much better than he sounds in his speeches, was obviously hampered by the uncertainties of the crisis at home. (If Polish influenza had not kept the Prime Minister away, we should have had a much more forthright speech, but one doubts whether it would have been so liberal or so delicate in its dealings with the Soviet Union, France, and the lesser European states.) One had the feeling that the conference was getting a little out of hand, and the breakdown of supplies in Europe lessened the authority of the great powers.

September 16. Alan Moorehead of the *Daily Express* has just arrived here from Warsaw, Budapest, and Bucharest. His account is too terrible to be printable. Years of undernourishment and hardship have so weakened resistance that the Polish influenza is killing even more people than the Germans killed. Its ravages are particularly marked in Germany itself, where it is helped on by a kind of "despairing apathy."

This confirms an article by John Gunther about the breakdown of distribution arrangements in Europe. In Eastern Europe, where the need is greatest, there is still sporadic fighting between the advancing Russians, a few Polish bands, and a few German regiments, commanded by men whose fear of communism is so fanatical that it prevails over the general apathy. According to Gunther, this very fanaticism is only another symptom of bewilderment and despair. At one moment the Poles and Germans are allied against the Russians; at the next they are murdering each other. In either event, no distribution of seed or livestock is possible, and the plight of the peasants is heartbreaking.

September 17. The conference, after a stormy plenary session, has appointed a Directing Committee which, after a stormy private session, has appointed six commissions. This, I think, is more sensible than it sounds, although the composition of the Directing Committee is the result of a piece of unnecessary bullying. It is, after all, the fate of Europe that is being decided, and the European states have to agree upon two delegates to direct the conference with three other delegates representing the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain. Naturally enough, one of these two delegates will be a Frenchman. How one other man is to represent the interests of such diverse states as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Norway, and Holland nobody knows.

The sensible decision is to make the commissions technical rather than political, as far as possible. A delegate to each commission will be appointed by each European government, but he will not be able to bind his government. That can only be done by the full delegates in the plenary conference. What created a bad impression was the insistence by the great powers that the plenary sessions would be expected to accept almost without discussion the majority reports of these commissions. This was not a very polite way of telling the European governments that their technical advice would be welcomed but their political interference would not, and upon men like General de Gaulle it had the effect that anybody could have foreseen. He is being given a leadership over Europeans he could never have won on his own merits.

The Juridical Commission has to advise on the fate of war criminals, on the establishment of a permanent European Court of International Justice, and on the preparation of a new Declaration of the Rights of Man—a praiseworthy American proposal to overcome the old objection to international interference with the national sovereignty of any state. The Transport Commission has to overcome objections to the international ownership and control of all transport. It has the initial advantage that every government needs supplies from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and the UNRRA has been able to take over transport for the purpose, but the final enemy will not be the governments so much as the big private interests. Big business in London and New York is already actively organizing opposition to a procedure which, if successful, would ultimately be extended to Britain and the United States.

The most bitter discussions are expected in the Commission for German Reeducation—some delegates wanted the deletion of the prefix "re." This is bound to be political, despite its name, for every government will have to make up its mind what sort of Germany it wants, and which side it is on in the unconfessed international civil war—on the side of privilege or on that of the common man. But perhaps the most important commission will be the Economic and Financial Commission. So few people understand the fundamental difference between "Bancor" and "Unitas"—I certainly don't—and protagonists of the Keynes scheme or the White scheme are as bitter and intolerant as the narrower and more fervent protagonists of some religion.

The Restitution and Reparation Commission is likely to have less trouble; it will easily reach agreements even though they may not easily be enforced. Every delegation has a formidable list of national treasures stolen by the Germans, and none is likely to protest that his neighbor is exaggerating.

The restitution of economic wealth is, of course, a much more complicated business. France, and other countries in which the state is to have much more control than it used to have, won't do so badly; all stocks and shares in French enterprises standing in the name of German individuals or the German government will simply be transferred to the French state; and it will become a matter of French internal politics, after the new constitution has been adopted, to decide which of these industries shall go back into private hands and under what conditions.

Czechoslovakia, Austria, and to a lesser extent the other occupied countries have assets as well as claims. It is only now, when the war is over, that one can appreciate the extent to which Hitler had to transfer and to disperse German industry. Austria has become one of the highly industrialized states of Europe, and the collapse came so quickly that very few of its factories were badly bombed. The development of Upper Silesia, too, will greatly benefit Poland, and the number of small industries in the overpopulated and impoverished region between the Baltic and the Black Sea will help to raise the standard of living there—if this cursed Polish influenza leaves enough population to do the work.

The last of the conference commissions is the Armaments Commission. Here again there will be a great fight between the public and private interests. There is likely to be agreement on only one point—that Germany must be disarmed; that has been done anyhow under the military occupation.

American and British aircraft companies seem equally determined to keep out any government control so that they may compete with each other after the war is over. That being so, it will be very difficult to build up an International Police Force. President Benes and other Europeans who followed the long and depressing discussions on disarmament in Geneva between the two world wars have, I believe, prepared a very complete plan for an International Air Police which would both disarm Germany and discourage any aggressor in the future. The document is confidential for the moment, but Slavik, who has been working on it, considers that the whole conference will turn upon its acceptance. Frankly, I don't believe the present British government will accept more than the part that deals with the unilateral disarmament of Germany.

September 22. Great argument still going on as to whether the conference should sit in secret. Eden and Richard Law arguing in favor of publicity, the former because he remembers the extent to which the vain attempts to keep things secret in Geneva gave a wonderful opportunity to every delegate with an ax to grind, and the latter because he remembers the fiasco of the exclusion of the press from the Food Conference at Hot Springs sometime in 1943. The President, on the other hand, is said to be opposed because he wants as little material as possible to be available to the isolationist papers.

Their wrecking tactics are appalling. In particular, their virulent attacks on the Russians are having a very bad effect. Already Mr. Molotov has made an official protest to the State Department and was apparently entirely unconvinced when Mr. Hull emphasized that the Administration had no influence over the newspapers. His reminder that the President himself was the object of constant and merciless criticism brought such a reply from Molotov about the irresponsibilities of the democratic system that the two men separated on the worst

HOW WELL ARE

Is There Something You Could Have Done to Save Millions of Innocent People—Men, Women, and Children—from Torture and Death?

Nazi Massacre of Kiev's Jews Told by Witness

Victims Stripped, Lined Up at a Gulley, Shot; Babies Merely Thrown in Alive

(*By United Press*)

German troops massacred Kiev's Jews during the first days of the Nazi occupation of the now-liberated Ukraine capital, robbing them of their clothes and jewelry and lining them up naked at the edge of a gulley, where they were shot, the Russian Tass News Agency reported yesterday.

Tass quoted an eyewitness story written for the Moscow newspaper, "Izvestia" by Dmitri Orlov, a resident of Kiev.

"Several days after the Germans entered Kiev (on Sept. 20, 1941) I went to Lvovskaya Street. An incessant procession of people was streaming through it, and both sidewalks were lined with German patrols. . . . The Germans were driving the Jews to Babyi Yar gulley, beyond the city.

"I also stealthily made my way to that place. I was able to stand the sight of what I saw there only for ten minutes, and after that everything went black before my eyes.

"The Germans forced the people to undress, and then methodically gathered their clothes and loaded them on trucks. In separate trucks they put underwear.

"Then they tore from the naked people—there were men and women among them—rings and watches, if they had any, and ranged them up, shivering from the cold or from mortal terror, at the edge of the gulley and shot them.

"The Germans did not waste any bullets on little children, but simply hurled them alive into the gulley.

"Those who were waiting their turn stood silently. Some sang or even laughed. I could see that those who laughed were already insane.

"And this thing lasted three days. All those whom the Germans had not, as yet, driven to their death knew what was in store for them. The old men put on mourning clothes and gathered in their homes for prayer. Then they went to Lvovskaya Street. The invalids were supported by others, and some were even carried. And all of them were killed."

With the irresistible advance of the heroic Russian armies, regaining their native soil, the monstrous treatment the Germans mete out to Jews receives new confirmation. Stories of horror which must shake the conscience of humanity—if civilization is to survive—are being published by eyewitnesses. One of these horror stories is reproduced on this page. Have courage and read it!

Perhaps you will recoil. It may disturb your sleep at night. But it may also fill you with anger, with zeal to do something to stop such atrocities, to rescue the Jews who survive.

Not because they were Poles or Dutchmen, not because they were peasants or officers—just because, and only because, they were Jews, more than two million men, women and children have been deliberately murdered by the Germans.

The Jews of Europe have suffered more fatalities from atrocities than all the European Nations combined. In the face of such a tragedy it is folly, indeed it is sinful, to debate whether Jews are a religion, a nation, or a race—to insist on calling them "refugees"—and thus to remain passive to their disastrous plight, ignoring it and surrounding it with silence.

They are a specific group of human beings whom our common enemy has publicly threatened to exterminate entirely. This Committee believes it is an inescapable duty of all Americans to actively oppose Hitler in this respect also, and to do all that is humanly possible to save the four million Jews who are still alive in Europe.

These Four Million Can Be Saved!

Experts agree on that. Sweden and Denmark have just proved it by saving six thousand Jews in a few days.

They are safe for only one reason: the doors of a neighboring country were unlocked.

And because of *that* fact, the escaping Jews found the resources and energy to reach these doors of safety. What Sweden did so simply, so humanely, other nations are being urged to do, *must* do if their consciences are to be clear for the peace to come!

Read what this committee has already accomplished, what its further plans are.

Our Program of Action!

AT THE EMERGENCY CONFERENCE HELD IN NEW YORK ON JULY 20-25, 1943, EXPERTS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES FORMULATED A PROGRAM OF EFFECTIVE ACTION THAT CAN AND MUST BE TAKEN NOW TO SAVE THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE. THEY URGED THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS TO ADOPT A PLAN EMBRACING THE FOLLOWING OUTSTANDING MEASURES:

1. To create a Governmental Agency specifically charged with the task of saving the Jewish people of Europe.

2. To seek guarantees from the Axis-satellite countries, through the International Red Cross, neutral countries, or the Vatican, to insure Jews the same treatment given to other nationals.

3. To relieve the starvation and disease which are decimating the Jewish people in Axis-held territory.

4. To insist that the Axis-satellite countries, which now seek to gain the good will of the victorious Allies, withhold their Jews from Hitler's slaughterhouses and permit them to leave their borders.

5. To urge neutral countries—Sweden, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and Turkey—to grant the Jewish people temporary asylum.

6. To request neutral countries to grant transit facilities to all Jewish people passing from Axis-controlled lands to any United Nations territory, regardless of whether the persons involved be refugees, immigrants, or repatriates.

7. To obtain from the Governments of the United Nations temporary asylum with the understanding that after the war these refugees will be removed from their territories if they are not wanted.

8. To insist that Great Britain, pending this tragic emergency, open the doors of Palestine, where 600,000 Jews have expressed their desire to share their homes and food with their suffering brothers, thus putting an end to the discriminatory immigration laws that exclude only Jews from their own country.

OU SLEEPING?

THIS COMMITTEE CAME INTO EXISTENCE TO ACHIEVE THE RESCUE OF THE JEWS OF EUROPE

Here Is Part of Its Record

Our offices and representatives in Washington and in London, in Palestine and in Turkey, are urging the respective governments to undertake large-scale action to save the four million Jews in Europe's death trap.

We brought the problem of the Jewish disaster to the masses of American people by nation-wide advertising in the leading newspapers in this country and through national radio-broadcasts, as well as through books, periodicals, and leaflets.

We organized mass expressions of public opinion demanding immediate action, through a mass petition movement, mass rallies and dramatic pageants.

We organized the pilgrimage of five hundred Rabbis to Washington.

We requested and obtained the week of compassion and prayer by six thousand Christian Churches.

We initiated the movement to pay tribute to Sweden and Denmark.

We organized the protest against the omission of the Jewish disasters from the Moscow statement on atrocities.

Now, we are able to state with satisfaction that the President, at his press conference on November 6, and Secretary Hull, in his historic appearance before the joint session of Congress, specifically mentioned their concern with the Jewish tragedy. The ring of silence around the catastrophe of the Jewish people was broken.

More than that. In all our activities, we put forward as the first and most immediate demand, the creation of a specific Governmental Agency with the task to effectuate the rescue of the millions of Jewish people still alive in Europe.

Now a Bipartisan Resolution Has Been Introduced In the Senate and House Demanding the Creation of Such an Agency

This resolution recommends to the President: ". . . The creation by the President of a commission of diplomatic, economic and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of immediate action designed to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany."

This resolution was introduced by leaders of both Parties: in the Senate by Senator Guy M. Gillette and eleven of his colleagues; in the House by Congressmen Will Rogers, Jr. (D.) of California, and Joseph Clark Baldwin (R.) of New York.

The hearings of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House have opened. We hope that hearings of the Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee will begin soon. Prominent men from all walks of American life are testifying, urging this resolution's passage. Wendell Willkie declared this resolution of *"paramount importance. The urgency of the situation demands immediate action. The bill deserves the wholehearted support of every American."*

You Can Do Your Part, Too!

Wire or write to your Senator and Cogressman. Write also to the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. Demand their cooperation!

You can do your part, too, to carry out our tremendous plan of activities. You can help us mobilize public opinion from coast to coast. You can help us keep alive our headquarters in Washington, London, Palestine, and Turkey to continue our work for a people in deepest agony and despair. For each day dooms thousands that can be saved. *This is strictly a race against death!*

This Committee is asking the American people for substantial financial support with which it will be enabled to carry on its work for the rescue of the Four Million martyred Jews in Europe.

We need your financial help *immediately*—NOW! You can sign your name below and enclose your contribution to speed the effectiveness of our work to save the Jewish people of Europe. Whatever you give is evidence of *your* conviction that human life is worth saving!

Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe

ONE EAST FORTY-FOURTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. **MURRAY HILL 2-7237**

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By a ruling of the Treasury Department contributions to this Committee are tax exempt

Emergency Committee
to Save the Jewish People of Europe
1 East 44th St., New York 17, N. Y.

I hereby join your efforts to obtain immediate United Nations action to save the Jewish people of Europe. I enclose my contribution to enable you to carry out this tremendous task in the sum of $.........

Please make checks payable to
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of terms. Edgar Ansell Mowrer is convinced that this incident, small in itself, might be decisive in Moscow, where Stalin is said to be making up his mind whether or not to come into the war against Japan.

September 23. Conference overshadowed by the news from Burma. The British attack on Rangoon and Akyab has failed. I once flew over the territoy from Akyab to Bangkok—mountains rising to upward of 12,000 feet covered with thick jungle and populated by pigmies with blowpipes and poison darts. Since that flight I have always doubted whether we could reconquer Burma except at the cost of very extravagant losses. In no other terrain is mechanized warfare more handicapped. The most serious part of the Burma defeat is the unanimity with which the American correspondents state that the British fought half-heartedly. Some of them are reported as saying that they had no interest in winning back territory that wasn't theirs anyway and that they didn't see why they couldn't go home now that the war against Germany was over. A *Herald Tribune* editorial states quite bluntly that Americans have too often accused the British of an imperialism which, in fact, had ceased to inspire them even before the First World War. Partly for that reason Great Britain had become almost ashamed of its empire, and the men of its younger generation were in no mood to defend it.

Talked to G. about this, since he has had much military experience in India and Burma during this war. He is furious that the G. O. C., yielding to pressure from Whitehall or Washington, should have attacked at a time when the desire to get home was inevitably first in the soldier's mind. He claims that nothing has been done to give the ordinary soldier or airman "a general political picture" of the war. Especially just after the defeat of the Germans a course of political training was needed before we carried out an attack outside Europe.

September 30. Ribbentrop has died in Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The last thing I heard of him was a typical example of his stupid arrogance. Each Allied government has been asked to submit its list of war criminals, and if the conference agrees, these are to be handed over to the respective governments to be tried by courts martial. Ribbentrop is, of course, on every single list, and topped only by Himmler—Hitler being dead before the lists were sent in to the conference secretariat. His perverted vanity is such that he has been boasting in camp because he is considered a greater criminal than Goebbels, Streicher, Ley, and the others.

Now Freddie Kuh has come along with the story that Ribbentrop was deliberately murdered by other Nazis at Sachsenhausen who considered him a traitor. They were presumably less angered by his readiness to compromise with the Allies—many of them would do that in order to save some remnants of their system—than by his denial of the Nazi faith. It's rather confusing, and I'm not sure in my own mind that Ribbentrop ought not to have been made the puppet head of Germany and compelled to sign the provisional peace, and then dealt with, in due course, as one of the worst of the war criminals. Otherwise, as at Versailles, the signature may be that of some relatively progressive and democratic German who will also be signing his own political death-warrant. The men who started the war will again escape the odium of admitting defeat.

In the Wind

SWEET CHARITY: The Treasury's objection that a sales tax would fall most heavily on low incomes puzzles Dr. Harley L. Lutz, professor of public finance at Princeton. The "small-income group," he writes in the *Tax Review,* is "so vague as to size and location as to be almost an abstract statistical concept. . . . If an adjustment of some sort be necessary on the basis of need, by all means let it be made. But it should be confined to those who need it, and determination of the cases should be a responsibility of the local welfare departments."

THE REVEREND GEORGE W. COOKE of Rochester, New York, makes this objection to John Roy Carlson's "Under Cover" in a letter to the Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle:* "Has it come to the place in this country where, unless we accept the philosophy of Marxian atheism, the 'New Deal,' and other social 'crackpot' ideas, that we are compelled to hold our speech?"

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST has instructed all his editors not to review or otherwise mention the movie "North Star," but to accept advertisements of it nevertheless.

SPECIAL FOR WAR WORKERS! From an advertisement in the New York *Times:* "The Antoine Hour. In the privacy of a studio. Antoine will study your features and personality . . . he will give consultation lessons to his clients . . . he will create individual coiffures from the most informal to the most glamorous . . . he will make an exciting, drastic change in your looks and personality. Appointment by letter only. $50 an hour."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The average life expectancy of workers condemned to forced labor is six months. . . . The manager of an Oslo insurance firm was surprised to learn recently that a local Nazi official had been put on his pay roll as personnel director at a salary of 11,000 kroner a year. Previously the work had been done by a girl for 2,000 kroner. . . . Bird life in Holland is threatened with extinction. Hungry people have been stealing their eggs.

[The $5 prize for the best item received in November goes to Joseph Kaufman of Lynn, Massachusetts, for the story of the suppression of his newspaper column. The item appeared in the issue of November 20.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The Breakdown of Vichy

BY JULES MOCH

[Jules Moch was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies as a Socialist in 1928 and later held important posts in the two Blum governments. He was one of the eighty deputies who voted against Pétain and capitulation. Arrested shortly after the armistice, he was kept in prison until the end of 1941. After his release he took an active part in the resistance movement until last February, when he was forced to flee the country. He then went to London and is now a commander in the Fighting French navy.]

THE fall of 1943 finds the mood of the French people one of increasing hostility toward Vichy. The so-called "New Order" is disintegrating. Some of its most faithful servants are looking about for excuses to sever their connection with it. Various measures ordered by Laval or imposed by Hitler explain the acceleration of the break-up.

The law drafting Frenchmen for compulsory labor in Germany has aroused universal anger. Hundreds of thousands of young men have taken to the woods in defiance of the mobilization order. Families which rallied to the old Marshal because they hated communism or feared a new Popular Front have made a complete volte-face now that their younger members face the danger of being shipped to the Reich. An official Vichy document gives the quotas set for certain cities between May 8 and 21, 1943, and the number that could be rounded up for deportation:

	Number Called	*Number Sent*	*Percentage Sent*
Aurillac (Cantal)	66	26	39
Beziers (Herault)	101	11	11
Carcassonne (Aude)	89	67	75
Le Puy (Haute Loire)	78	35	45
Macon (Saône et Loire)	349	7	2
Montlucon (Allier)	108	45	41
Narbonne (Aude)	50	34	68
Nîmes (Gard)	450	28	6
Toulon (Var)	200	4	2
Valence (Drome)	109	3	3
	1600	260	16

The rural population has complied no more willingly with the decree requiring men to do guard duty along railroad rights of way to combat the systematic sabotage of German supply lines. Farm owners are particularly irked by the order as the number of agricultural workers held as prisoners of war in Germany has created an acute labor shortage.

An idea of the extent of the sabotage is gained from a report recently received from France listing 336 operations carried out by underground organizations between April 15 and June 1, 1943, against the occupation and its allies. The operations, which were of course but a fraction of the total number of acts of sabotage committed in the whole country during the same period, were classified as follows:

Derailment of trains and destruction of rolling stock	96
Destruction of telegraph and telephone lines	66
Stoppages in factories due to explosions or sabotage	33
Destruction of trucks and garages	10
Canals and locks put out of operation	3
Destruction of model airplanes	2
Destruction of windows in government buildings and homes of collaborators	23
Bombs in establishments occupied by the enemy	18
Seizure of gasoline, enemy food stocks, and ration tickets	19
Liberation of prisoners by force	1
Assassination of policemen	6
Execution of traitors	12
Attacks on enemy units	40
Miscellaneous operations	7

The tax on metals is extremely unpopular because the French people regard it as a means of building up metal stocks for the German war effort. Complaints about the food scarcity are mounting as underfed children succumb to disease. (The German army of occupation is still disposing of the lion's share of food. Mediterranean cities report that thousands of tons of oranges are unloaded from Spanish boats directly into German trucks; not a single orange is left for the French.)

The militia created by Laval to counterbalance Doriot's gangsters and to support his regime "meets continuous hostility from the people," according to an official Vichy report. "The occupation forces," according to another Vichy document, "are imposing more and more severe restrictions; their arbitrary actions and mass arrests have aroused growing enmity."

Each social class has reacted in its own way to post-armistice conditions and made its own contribution to the evolution of this mood. At first the industrialists had a different attitude from the merchants, who were hard hit from the beginning. The big business men believed in collaboration and began to figure out ways of profiting from it, though often, to rationalize their position, they said they favored collaboration only in order to help the hundreds of workers in their factories. Soon, however, the more intelligent of them realized that any hope for profit was illusory owing to the lack of raw materials, the disorganization of transportation, and the widespread corruption of the Nazis. Later the transfer of French technicians to Germany and the huge drafts of man-power almost drove them out of business. Many of them then became as anti-Nazi as their workers.

The middle bourgeoisie, whose influence has been compromised by political failure and the rise to power of a "mafia" of new men, hopes for the collapse of the government and is undermining whatever authority Vichy still has. It sulks and criticizes and contributes in some degree to the underground resistance.

Career officers, dismissed from service when the army was dissolved in November, 1942, after having served the Marshal for two years, now dream of revenge. Reactionary as a group, they at first accepted the defeat which rid them of the Republic, and denounced the "treason" of De Gaulle. Many of them were rallied to the Allied cause in November, 1942, when Darlan and Giraud placed their movement under the banner of the Marshal. Those who are still in France are now openly hostile to the politics of collaboration, which deprived them of professional employment. Many have joined the resistance movement and through their new contacts gained a new political perspective.

The majority of the clergy took a decided stand against collaboration after the passage of the anti-Semitic laws and particularly after the deportation of Jews. Several bishops made truly noble protests against these acts. Many religious establishments offer asylum to Socialists and Communists who are being hunted by the Laval-Hitler police. If some priests still defend the "New Order" as the protector of the church, most of them believe that such support compromises the Catholic cause and fear that after liberation it will result in a fierce wave of anti-clericalism. The resistance of Catholics to Vichy has sealed their union with the Republicans who form a majority of the population. This entente holds great promise for the reconstitution of the Republic.

With the exception of the municipal officials, some police officers, and the bureau chiefs in government ministries, the civil-service employees have not been purged, probably because there were no competent men to replace them. Teachers and postal workers are keeping very quiet to avoid dismissal, but they retain their left views and hope for an Allied victory. A large number of them are working in our secret organizations.

Even the police force—or rather the police forces, for Vichy has created a dozen new special departments—has become infected. Many young men have entered it in order to escape service in Germany. "Eighty per cent of its effectives," wrote a high Vichy official, "are Gaullist and reveal their sentiments without the slightest embarrassment. They rejoice in the possession of weapons which will enable them to do good work when the great day comes." When I was in prison with other members of the Blum government in 1940-41, I found that many of our jailers were in sympathy with us. And if I avoided arrest on several occasions after my release from prison, it was because policemen affiliated with our organizations warned me in time.

The French peasants, knowing that they owe their lands to the Revolution, are solidly Republican. In their view the Marshal is trying to wipe out 150 years of history; he is a "Coblentz émigré of 1792." They are also intensely nationalistic, and the occupation of French soil has fanned their old hatred of Germans. The countryman clings to his liberties and dislikes laws which oblige him to declare how many acres he has under cultivation, how many bushels of wheat or gallons of wine he has produced, how many chickens he owns and how many eggs they lay. Vichy's regimentation has made him an enemy of the New Order even though he suffers less than city dwellers under rationing and can often sell his produce at a comfortable profit on the black market. Moreover, it is easier to listen to British broadcasts in isolated farmhouses than in the city. In one mountain village which I visited to see a comrade who was in hiding I found that 106 of the 136 homes had radios, and that of these 106 families 102 listened to the Free French and B. B. C. broadcasts every evening. Peasants are the more ardently Gaullist because Vichy has not obtained the freedom of the war prisoners, whose absence handicaps the rural economy severely.

The workers to a man are on the side of the resistance forces. Vanguard Republicans all, they have been the principal victims of Vichy and Berlin—hunted down for their opinions, imprisoned, deported. As their wages have not risen in proportion to the increased cost of living, they cannot even obtain the necessities of life. It is not surprising therefore that since 1940 they have been active in the underground organizations and that the victories of the Red Army arouse equal enthusiasm among Communists and non-Communists. The worker believes that the failure of his hopes for social change in 1919 made possible the Second World War. He does not intend to make the same mistake twice. Militantly Gaullist as he is, he is also ardently revolutionary.

Thus aside from a small group profiting from the occupation—the several hundred ministers, high functionaries, police officers, and prefects risen from nowhere, and the several thousand mercenaries of Déats, Doriot's, and Laval's fascist bands—no one in France defends collaboration any longer, or even Pétain himself. The price of French resistance has been thou-nds of executions, hundreds of thousands of intern-ents and imprisonments, and 750,000 deportations to ermany. Nevertheless, it continues to flourish, sound-g its battle cry in underground newspapers which ousands of young men distribute throughout the coun-y at the risk of their liberty and even their lives.

In one of these heroic bulletins, No. 34 of *Défense la France,* dated June 20, 1943, the fighters on the me front of France wrote: "Born of the Fighting ench and the resistance, the greatness of France will e again in the world. We want France to become, more an ever before, the land of great men, of bold individ-ls whose personalities transform the world, the land of nts, of scientists, and of philosophers, of heroes, lonizers, and martyrs. France's greatness is to conquer en rather than territory; to make men equal to great eas and great causes; to nourish men who will bring manity more light and more love. It is to convince the orld that the true greatness is that of the spirit."

This is what the Free French, in their prison-country, e saying to the world, and by their words they are viving the tradition of the immortal France of 1789.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ON NOVEMBER 13 Goebbels returned to a subject which for some weeks he had left alone. In s weekly article he again advised the English to make ace with Germany, pointing out to them in great de-l that their true enemies were the Russians and the mericans.

> The British Empire is fighting today in alliance with partners who wish to succeed it against an enemy whose interests lie in regions which have no vital importance for England. Where are the traditional farsightedness and clarity of English foreign politics? . . . England need only recall the magnanimous offers which the Führer made again and again to London before the outbreak of this world conflagration to see clearly what a mistaken policy it was to refuse all those offers. Perhaps the English people will consider the question more soberly when the fifth winter of war begins.

He added:

> We know that a hue and cry will be raised in London because we broach this matter so openly. But Germany, in the fifth year of war, stands so firm that it can afford to speak out.

Now neither in London nor elsewhere has any hue d cry been raised. Indeed, not the slightest notice has en taken of Goebbels's effort. Yet what a commotion uld have been caused if this almost humble appeal to gland's "traditional farsightedness and clarity" had en made two years ago! The world's newspapers would have been full of it for weeks. The present lack of response is another illustration of the fact that what we may call the German propaganda potential is exhausted. With the wind of success in its sails Berlin could set the world by its ears with the stupidest stuff. Under present circumstances Goebbels's sly peace offer didn't rate a couple of lines in the newspapers.

The Nazi propaganda potential is almost as completely played out at home as it is abroad. "No official communiqué, report, explanation, or exhortation can now pierce the people's apathy," declared the *Journal de Genève* on October 27. And in the Lausanne *Gazette* of the same date a Swiss recently returned from Germany reported that propaganda had no effect any more on the German people, "for the simple reason that they are no longer interested in official utterances."

> If you go into a cafe [he said] you will sometimes see a queue waiting for the daily allotment of cakes made of potato flour and *Ersatz* cream or on the chance that some ice cream made with saccharine will be obtainable, but no one waits for the news broadcasts or a newspaper. The last time Hitler spoke, after a long silence and at a particularly critical moment, more people probably listened to him in the outside world than in Germany. At the announced hour in Berlin I saw thousands of people crowding into suburban trains to escape a possible air raid and hundreds of others standing in line outside the Gloria Palace cinema on the Kurfürstendamm. In the enormous Cafe Trumpf next door only seven guests and the orchestra heard the Führer's harangue.

The estimate of a Swedish correspondent that at least a hundred persons a day are now executed in Germany seems somewhat too conservative. In general only the local papers record the executions. If one could look through them all every day, one would undoubtedly arrive at a higher figure. In most cases routine reasons are given: "spreading rumors," "listening to the enemy radio," "undermining morale" are the most frequent, though often the crime is some act connected with rationing. Thus a rationing official in Stuttgart and two shopkeepers were executed because they had embezzled a total of 900,000 ration points; a post-office employee in Düsseldorf because he had stolen packages containing tobacco. Occasionally the reasons vary from this norm. Three persons from a village near Brunswick were beheaded "for having been insolent to a bombed-out family." On November 4 announcement was made of the execution in a small town near Bielefeld of two married couples described rightly or wrongly as Communists. They had been sentenced to death for "committing high treason by holding illegal meetings and giving instruction courses." This was the first official admission that there is not only individual opposition in Germany but an attempt to form cells of resistance.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Revolution and Neurosis

LIKE "Darkness at Noon," Arthur Koestler's new novel, "Arrival and Departure" (Macmillan, $2), is essentially a novel for intellectuals, for that section of society for whom the rise and decline of the radical movement, in its broadest aspects, is perhaps the prime fact of the last decades. I do not mean that it lacks dramatic interest, or that it is particularly difficult to read. I mean, simply, that its drama is largely philosophical and that its suspense is more a matter of wondering where the theoretical cat will finally land when it stops jumping than of concern for the human fate of its hero; this may not diminish its fascination and, given the emptiness of current fiction, may even mark it as something of a literary event, but it does deprive it of the emotional overtones and wider references of the very best novels. Even the fact that Mr. Koestler deals with psychoanalysis and devotes a large part of his novel to the description of a case of hysterical paralysis, while it may increase the popular appeal of his book, does so as it were under false pretenses. For psychoanalysis is only the new armor in which Mr. Koestler has chosen to dress science for its old battle against faith.

Faith wins, but the manner in which Mr. Koestler conducts the fight—and by my reading of the book "Arrival and Departure" is more fight than novel, however disarmed and disarming its author may appear to be—is as tricky and unconvincing as it is brilliant. Mr. Koestler is investigating the problem of the relation between neurosis and conduct, specifically the relation between unconscious guilt feelings and the radical impulse. He tells the story of Peter Slavek, a middle-class intellectual and dissident Communist who has suffered terrible physical tortures in his service to the radical cause. The European war has begun, and Peter has escaped from his own (unnamed) country to Lisbon (also unnamed), where he intends to join the British forces. While he waits in Lisbon for his papers, he has a brief love affair with a girl, Odette, who is awaiting passage to America. Peter, too, is offered the possibility of escape to America, and respite from the old struggle. But his devotion to the political cause for which he has suffered so much is in such conflict with the desire to follow love and find peace that, not knowing which way to move, he "resolves" his conflict by becoming paralyzed in one of his tortured legs. It happens that a family friend, Dr. Sonia Bolgar, a psychoanalyst, is in Lisbon, and she cures Peter of his paralysis by uncovering the childhood roots of his need for martrydom and showing him that his devotion to the cause of the weak springs from guilt at having "accidentally" killed the younger brother of whom he was jealous. Having regained his health, Peter is now free to seek personal freedom and follow Odette to America. But at the last moment he rejects this escape and refuses to join Odette; instead, just as he had originally planned, he goes off to fight against fascism with the British.

Now at first glance—and accepting the identification of revolutionary activity with anti-fascist activity as an expedient, literary or political, which for present purposes we need not pause over—what Mr. Koestler seems to be saying is that a revolutionary can be psychoanalyzed and still continue to be a revolutionary—a very proper and useful thing to say. For "revolutionary" we might even substitute "painter" or "priest" or "mathematician," and I daresay that psychoanalysis itself would be the first to thank Mr. Koestler for exempting it from the wearisome accusation that it destroys or invalidates the volitional nature of human activity. But then what shall we make of Mr. Koestler's fable of Pythagoras, which is intended to remind us that if Pythagoras had been analyzed and shown that his interest in triangles was an obsession with his wife's fidelity, he would never have discovered the Pythagorean proposition? No synopsis can indicate it, but actually what Mr. Koestler is saying all along the line is quite the opposite of what the general movement of his book promises. His hero, for instance, is not a political idealist who also happens to be a neurotic; he is a neurotic whose guilts are clearly shown to be the whole source of his political ardor. Yet when these guilts are presumably removed, Peter continues to function according to his old political pattern, and not, apparently, on any new basis. The only difference between "his first crusade, which had ended with his breakdown on Sonia's couch," and the second, on which he departs at the close of the novel, is that "the first time he had set out in ignorance of his reasons; this time he knew them, but understood that reasons do not matter so much." In other words, Mr. Koestler, at some pains to recognize neurosis and grant psychoanalysis its healing powers, ends up by saying, *not* that Peter, cured of his neurosis, is free to act unneurotically, but that Peter, with the knowledge that he is neurotic safely under his belt, is free to continue to act neurotically; and this is tantamount to saying that, at least in political conduct, it makes no difference whether or not our motives are neurotic. Or, to put it another way, while Mr. Koestler seems to give determination and volition each its due place in human activity, actually he refuses to make any distinction in value between determined conduct and volitional conduct—which is surely an unfruitful attitude in a novelist.

But the point is, of course, as I have said, that Mr. Koestler, for all his impressive talents as a novelist, is writing not as a novelist but as a polemicist. His book is an elaborate structure of argument fashioned to support the foregone—mistaken—conclusion that psychoanalysis is at odds with revolutionary activity. To the revolutionary mind, even at its most dissident, Freud persists as the arch-enemy, and Mr. Koestler's method of combat is first to take the enemy into camp and then help him commit suicide. Nor is his true antipathy to psychoanalysis disclosed only in the broad errors of argument which I have suggested: while appearing to be utterly fair to the analytical side, in detail after detail he does his best to prejudice the reader against it.

hus, though he grants Dr. Bolgar the ability to cure Peter f his gross paralytic symptoms, he also shows her as a erson with "roots in the air" and no social principles—uite as if rootlessness were a prescribed psychoanalytical osition—and he also makes her a nymphomaniac Lesbian! r the only other patient of Dr. Bolgar, besides Peter, to hom we are introduced is a Nazi whom she has "adjusted" o Nazism. One cannot help wondering why, if analysis is o little a threat to the revolutionary impulse as in theory Ir. Koestler maintains, he is at such extremes to discredit it.

And I suppose that with this much unease and sophistry ehind us, we should have been prepared for the contrived nd desperate mystical note on which Mr. Koestler concludes is novel. Having given us "scientific" proof that it is all ight to be a radical, Mr. Koestler finds it necessary to reject ne science which, he believes, questions this right in favor f an imperative taken from religion. "Arrival and Departure" nds on a statement of faith—a poor little bastard-of-pragnatism kind of faith, but evidently enough to support acion. "If one accepted a faith, one should not ask because f what—the 'because of' should be taken for granted, beond questioning. He who says 'because of' will be open to lisillusion. He has no firm ground under his feet. But he vho accepts in spite of his objections, in spite of the imperections which are manifest to him—he will be secure." It is n these weak but willing words that Peter Slavek sums up vhat we must take to be Mr. Koestler's position as he coninues in the political struggle.

I know no novel of recent years so interesting in theme s "Arrival and Departure." To be sure, its intellectual preoccupation limits its range as a novel; and the movement nd conclusion of its argument give us much to quarrel with. But these objections cannot constitute a whole judgnent of a book which leads us to such high controversial ground and offers so courageous a challenge.

DIANA TRILLING

Mr. Matthews on Fascism

THE FRUITS OF FASCISM. By Herbert L. Matthews. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

WHEN the United States entered this war, Herbert L. Matthews, who from 1939 on had been the New York *Times* correspondent in Rome, was interned for five months by that same Benito who in better times had bestowed upon him the cross of a Knight of the Italian Crown. Rumor has it that in the leisure of his internment Mr. Matthews read Gibbon's famous history, and felt a commendable desire to become the Gibbon of Mussolini's Decline and Fall: that is, to sum up his long experience of Fascism, this time not as a reporter but as a historian. The result might have been provocative, coming as it does from a sincere and repentant sinner who, by his own admission, had been "an enthusiastic admirer of Fascism once."

"The Fruits of Fascism" is "a book with a premise, an argument, and a conclusion. The premise is that Fascism is an impractical and evil way of life; the argument is twenty-three years of Fascist history; the conclusion is that Fascism has failed." Apart from the complaint Aristotle might have against Mr. Matthews's syllogism, the reader will soon notice that the substance of the book is really summed up by the author on page 164: "While Italian genius could work out the system of Fascism, it could not carry it through in practice." The fact is that Mr. Matthews reassembles the materials he gathered in his years of sin, and that, though he is now as much of an anti-Fascist as any of us, he still clings to what may be termed the Badoglio interpretation of Italian history. For such converts Fascism is still a commendable domestic experiment, to which, inexplicably enough, a crazy foreign policy was added *after* the Ethiopian campaign. "The tragedy for Italy was that she needed long years of peace to conclude such programs, and the Duce's foreign policy inevitably tended toward war." But where Mr. Matthews's first studies in Fascism ended in praise, this one records a series of disappointments. It is not that the author finds much more to blame in Fascism now than he did years ago; it is just that the sum comes out differently. The fault lies not so much with the experiment as with the experimenters.

As to Il Duce, he too has failed, it is true, but his greatness can hardly be denied. He was a "modern Icarus" with "no streak of cowardice"; he "hates oratory"; he stands comparison with Augustus, Napoleon, and the libertarian tribune of fourteenth-century Rome, Cola di Rienzi. (It must be true that a hero is sung by the bard he deserves. Cola di Rienzi had Petrarch, Napoleon had Stendhal, and Mussolini has—Marinetti.)

The epigraph to "The Fruits of Fascism" is borrowed from Gibbon: "An enlightened age requires from the historian some tincture of philosophy and criticism." What puzzles me is how, having taken Gibbon's adjuration for his own, Mr. Matthews could write a full-length "history" of Fascism without quoting one anti-Fascist work. Salvemini's very name—let alone his books—is utterly ignored. So are Rosenstock-Franck's important studies of the corporate state, Daniel Guérin's solid analysis of Fascist economy, A. Rossi's critical account of the rise of Fascism, etc. The source most often listed in the index is G. A. Chiurco's five-volume "History of the Fascist Revolution"—a half-literate storm trooper's super-official account. (Its publisher once proudly boasted to me that not one copy of the book had ever been sold to a private purchaser.) Anti-Fascist journals of the last two decades—*Stato Operaio, Giustizia e Libertà*, among others—a knowledge of which is simply indispensable to the historian of Fascism, are never mentioned.

Is it any wonder, then, that Mr. Matthews solemnly absolves Mussolini of the accusation of having founded *Il Popolo d'Italia* with French money; that his account of the Matteotti murder is cautious and confused ("Mussolini . . . had apparently not been consulted"); that misspellings are not infrequent; that he calls "an aristocrat, a lawyer, a poet . . ., the finest type of Fascist" Minister de Vecchi, an irresponsible moron whose brutalities in the golden years of castor oil used to disgust even his accomplices, and who once, as governor of Rhodes, ordered all the roses of the island to be cut, because "roses are un-Fascist and effeminate."

"The Fruits of Fascism," sincerely meant as the author's warning to America, is really one more example of how fruitless a complete innocence of socialist thought can be in dealing with contemporary events. "No apologies will ever be made by me for my love of the Italian people," declares Mr. Matthews obligingly. I believe that he does like the Italian people. I am not sure that he respects them. I cannot forget that when General Clark's army entered Naples, Mr. Matthews, reporting in the *Times,* found the starving Neapolitans' delirious reception "to say the least, not very dignified." Today he might have to apologize to the guerrillas of Lombardy and Piedmont for having written that "there is no man in the world less revolutionary than the Italian of today." He may have to bow to the Roman, too ("the Roman, indifferent, blasé, cynical, goes his way through the years and the centuries"), for on entering the Eternal City with the Fifth Army he will see and hear about the twelve-day struggle of the workers of the Trastevere district against Nazi tanks and machine-guns.

PAOLO MILANO

Coal-Diggers

MEN AND COAL. By McAlister Coleman. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

THE coal miners have struck four times this year; each time they were impervious to President Roosevelt's back-to-work pleas, each time they awaited a signal from John L. Lewis. I drove through several mining towns in western Pennsylvania on the morning that Mr. Roosevelt had designated for resumption of work during the first walkout. At 10 a.m.—the White House deadline—the newspapers and milk bottles were lying untouched on the porches; the editorial pages quivered with futile rage; the miners were using this historic hour to catch up on their sleep. "Mac" Coleman's book is a warm, colorful account of how American miners got into that mood—a mood in which they frankly told the commander-in-chief and the rest of the nation that they were taking orders from Lewis, nobody else. Now that the furor over the coal strikes has subsided, a great many people would profit from reading Coleman.

Most journalists have written about the coal-diggers as if there were only one and his name was Lewis. In a large section of this book Lewis is a secondary figure; the miners themselves emerge from anonymity. Coleman has talked with them, eaten with them, lived with them; he has discovered the sources of their discontent and their defiance. But this isn't a social worker's manual on backward areas. In its early and best chapters it articulates better than anything else I have read the miners' view of their own world—their sense of isolation from the rest of the country, their pride and humor, their conviction that any luxuries they extract from life will be wrested by shows of strength and solidarity. In recent months the coal operators have assumed all sorts of patriotic postures while the miners were raising hell; Coleman makes clear that much of the hell-raising can be blamed on the long, sordid era in which the coal magnates, aided by press, police, and other agencies, imposed their feudal will upon the miners. He recalls the classic retort made by one operator to charges that the miners were suffering: "They don't suffer; why, they can't even speak English."

The mines in which they work and the communities in which they live shape the outlook of the miners. Work is tough, dangerous, insecure; life is dreary and unrewarding; changes for the better have been slower and less continuous than in any other key industry. When the union was rebuilt after 1933 the miners vowed they would never let it collapse again. It was in this atmosphere that the strikes occurred. The miners read newspapers for comics and war news, not editorials; they listen to the radio for music and gags, not profound thoughts—unless Lewis or F. D. R. is on the air. They buy war bonds, send their sons to war; they strike under a traditional slogan—"No contract, no work." The government has no lines of effective communication to them. They listen to Roosevelt, but Lewis is their union president. Having been treated so long as a group apart, lacking kinship with others, they cannot be awed by "outraged public opinion." Public opinion is the miner next door.

Coleman has provided new and authentic insights into the thinking of the miners. He has also rehearsed the history of the Miners' Union and of Lewis, and some of these sections are open to much more detailed debate. Although Coleman records some of Lewis's worst follies—his dreary post-war record, his war against the progressives, the development of his ruthless machine—the portrait is on the whole sympathetic. One wishes that he had explored the U. M. W.'s last real election contest, in which honest, idealistic John Brophy contested Lewis's rule. Similarly, the petulant, savage war waged by Lewis against Philip Murray is passed over too lightly. Coleman sets forth but does not elaborate what seems to me a basic question provoked by his book: why has the United Mine Workers' union done so little to brighten the lives and enrich the environment of its members? Once upon a time, even in the dreariest coal town, the U. M. W. was a democratic, vital institution. It might have transformed whole communities. But Lewis clung rigidly to the methods of a "business unionist."

There are a lot of other questions about Lewis's early and recent conduct of the U. M. W.—and of his own affairs—which Coleman touches sparingly or disregards. But this is a good book about miners; by writing intelligently and feelingly about them Coleman has explained a good part of Lewis's strength and the government's weakness in the recent crisis.

JAMES A. WECHSLER

The Roots of Russia

ANCIENT RUSSIA. By George Vernadsky. Yale University Press. $5.

THIS book ends where Russian histories usually start: the last event recounted is the seizure of Kiev by Oleg in the year 878. Professor Vernadsky believes that what he calls "the historic roots of the Russian people" extend into the Sarmato-Gothic era (200 B. C.–370 A. D.), and even into the age of the Cimmerians and Scythians (1000-200 B. C.). Accordingly, he devotes a substantial section to each of these periods. To complete the time span, there is also an admirable chapter on the prehistory of the area which the Russian empire eventually came to occupy. The Huns and the Avars, the Khazars and the Bulgars, and the other peoples which successively or simultaneously controlled the Eurasian plains in the middle centuries of the first millennium receive ample attention; so that it is only in the last third of the book that one comes to matters with which it might be expected to deal, such as the Varangian question, the Russian Kaganate, the distribution of the Russian tribes, the career of Riurik.

Cultural developments are not neglected, but interminable migrations and wars make up the bulk of the story. Professor Vernadsky has brought a large erudition to the telling of this involved and on the whole rather dreary tale. He is thoroughly familiar with the sources, as well as with the investigations of other scholars in the field, including the most recent research. He has all the available data at his finger tips and is able to make fresh approaches to old problems. Unfortunately, as our author is well aware, the evidence upon which the historian must rely is meager and dubious. He likens his task to that of "restoring a broken vase out of fragments of which only a few remain intact." He is compelled therefore to rely upon guesswork and, indeed, is perhaps a little too free with his conjectures, which are not always convincing. Moreover, a surmise once made is apt to reappear a little farther on in the guise of a certainty. Another flaw in the work is its lack of concentration. Although the author insists that he wanders far afield only in order to bring back spoils that will enhance his picture of Russia proper, the fact is that he tends to dwell a good deal on irrelevant matters, with the result that the scene is cluttered rather than illumined. Nevertheless, here is a valuable introduction to an obscure and difficult subject.

The present volume is the initial contribution to a history of Russia conceived on a grand scale. There are nine volumes to follow, the first five to be written by the author of the work under review, and the remainder by Professor Karpovich of Harvard. The progress of so ambitious and important an undertaking will be watched with keen interest.

AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY

DRAMA

"WINGED VICTORY" (Forty-fourth Street Theater) is both a pageant and a play. The script was commissioned by the army, which gave Moss Hart every facility for research and observation, including the use of an army bomber. Mr. Hart studied hard, flying 28,000 miles in the process, and then wrote his play—in six weeks. This is all very efficient, and Mr. Hart's exposition of an airman's education is undoubtedly authentic. But the process of education, even that of a flier, is not in itself dramatic. To offset this difficulty Mr. Hart raises six men from as many family backgrounds into sufficient relief to provide a story and individual interest. He also introduces their wives and sweethearts, and he pulls out all the emotional stops in a long tale that begins in a back yard in Ohio and ends on an island in the South Pacific.

Inevitably the piece has an official, well-filtered air. It also exudes a sheltered collegiate atmosphere which makes the ugly fact of war seem more rather than less remote. It gets off to a particularly unconvincing start in the first scene,

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which three young men in a small Ohio town are waiting be summoned for training. One of them is married; all e presumably eighteen or over. All of them have a passion r flying which one does not question, but when an airplane asses over they act not like young men, however adolescent, ut like boys of twelve or fourteen. And there is a difference.

From there on, Mr. Hart's characters behave like college oys rather than high-school kids, and that is an improvement; it is well known that young Americans in army camps o act like college boys. But a dramatist should know also iat this behavior is in part at least a defense; and in this ontext even horse play takes on irony and a kind of dignity. 'hese overtones are missing from Mr. Hart's play. The raw eality of war is never made manifest, and the last scene, in hich he tries to picture a night of terror in the South acific, is the most unreal of all.

What we get, in short, is an authorized version of life in ie Army Air Force with all the terror and the boredom left ut—and most of the horse play as well. The production is andsomely mounted and well directed, though its pace hould be quickened—the speeches of the chaplain and others vould be no less realistic for being shorter. The acting is ompetent, but there are no outstanding performances, partly ecause of the limitations of the play itself. The burlesque f the Andrews sisters is the funniest thing in the show. ts raucous spirit is authentic, and a few more such outbursts vould add reality as well as fun to Mr. Hart's otherwise far oo tame and well-behaved version of military life.

As pageant, "Winged Victory" is lavish, colorful, and nformative. As play it is feeble and at times boring. There re touching episodes, and the G. I. cast itself makes an rresistible appeal to the affections. But for all one's willingness to be moved, the deeper emotions are not tapped, and ne ends by wishing that Mr. Hart knew less about air training and more about human nature.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Film Notes

"THE CROSS OF LORRAINE" is a melodrama about French soldiers in a German military prison. Tay Garnett, who made "Bataan," directed it, and did an even better job. Half a football team worked on the story, yet except for a foolish coda it is one of the most edged, well-characterized, and naturally cinematic scripts of the year. There are no performances below pretty good in the whole of a large cast; I especially like Hume Cronyn as a born appeaser, Gene Kelly as his opposite, Jean Pierre Aumont as a man in the middle, Sir Cedric Hardwicke as a priest, Joseph Calleia as a leftist, and Tonio Selwart as a Nazi. There is some second-rate theatrical, literary, and merely political mannerism, but a surprising amount of it comes to life. There is also a good deal of shock and brutality, for which Mr. Garnett seems to have a special talent. Some of the camera work is very good.

"Cry Havoc" is a sincere fourth-rate picture made from a sincere fifth-rate play about nurses on Bataan. By fourth-rate I mean it is incomparably less offensive than "So Proudly We Hail." In fact, in spite of many very bad things in it and its intrinsic staginess, I was often touched by it, simply because the members of the cast (Margaret Sullavan, Ann Sothern, Joan Blondell, Ella Raines, and several others) seemed to care a great deal about the thing they were re-enacting.

"Government Girl," a comedy about war-time Washington, is Dudley Nichols's first shot at directing. Some of it is awful, especially some of the things gentle little Miss De Havilland has to do for the laughs of the canaille. But some more of it has a crude energy and lack of timidity and polish which are a pleasure even when nothing much else is doing. And here and there—especially with the surprising Sonny Tufts and other men—Nichols gets down some sharp, nasty, funny comment on business men and politicians.

JAMES AGEE

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IN NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE OF
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RECORDS

WHEREAS Nos. 2 and 3 of Beethoven's "Rasumovsky" Quartets Opus 59 have the dramatic intensity and vigor we associate with Beethoven in his middle period, No. 1 has a first movement which is quietly reflective and expansively lyrical, an extraordinary *scherzando* second movement which is delicate, graceful, relaxed in its wonderfully mingled lightheartedness, capriciousness, and wistfulness, a quiet and deeply affecting slow movement, a finale which is gracefully lilting. All these qualities are realized in the performance by the Roth Quartet that Columbia has had in its catalogue for several years—a performance itself relaxed, lyrical, delicate, graceful, and also beautiful in physical sound. On the other hand, the performance by the Busch Quartet newly issued by Columbia (Set 543, $6.50) is full of excessive accentuations, inflections, and clippings of phrase-ends which are crude and harsh; the performance, then, is almost totally lacking in delicacy and grace; in addition its physical sound is made unpleasantly brash and coarse by the recording, and even worse by the noises of the defects of side 10 of my copy; and on several sides there is wavering of pitch. As for the eleven sides of this version, as against the usual ten, my guess was wrong: the Busch Quartet does play the slow movement more slowly than the Roth, but not too slowly, and in fact quite well—better than the other movements; and it is the second movement that is on three sides—with considerable blank space on each—as against the Roth version's two.

Schubert's Sonatina Opus 137 No. 1 is a work of little consequence which, however, one might like to listen to for Szigeti's playing if the sound of the playing were not made so unpleasant by the recording (Set X 238, $2.50).

Well recorded, on the other hand, is the beautiful sound of Risë Stevens's voice as she sings *Divinités du Styx* from Gluck's "Alceste" and *Ah! mon fils* from Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète" with good musical style; the orchestral accompaniment conducted by Leinsdorf is, however, insufficiently audible (71486-D, $1). Voice and orchestra are better balanced on the older Victor record of *Divinités,* but Traubel's powerful voice is clouded by a strong tremolo.

Columbia has issued its recording of Beecham's performance of Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set 538, $4.50). The work is delightful; Beecham plays the first and third movements superbly; for the second, unfortunately, he adopts one of his occasional over-deliberate tempos; and one feels a little of this holding back in the whirling finale, which otherwise is excellently done. The recorded sound is bad in the first and last movements—dull, poorly balanced, noisily confused in *fortissimo* with the Brush pickup, merely a little brighter with the Astatic Trutan; it is quite good in the second and third—well-balanced, clear, normal. There is a great deal of wavering pitch in my copy; and there are noises from surface and processing defects. The old Victor set, as incompletely as it reproduces Koussevitzky's marvelous performance with the Boston Symphony, is still the one to get of this work—though I have had reports of bad surfaces in recently bought copies.

As it happens, Columbia's record classic this time is Volume 1 of the Delius Society (Set 305, $7.50), offering superb performances by Beecham with the London Philharmonic which were recorded in England with the rich-

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ss of sound and cleanness of defini- n that are lacking in the American :ording of the Mendelssohn sym- ony; though I must add that on some the sides of my copy of this repress- g the sound wavers a little in pitch. ne orchestral works are the Nocturne 'aris," written in 1899; the finale of e opera "Koanga," written between 95 and 1897; "Eventyr," inspired by orwegian legends, and first performed 1919; and an Interlude and Serenade om the incidental music for "Hassan," ritten in 1923. In all of them there the characteristic gorgeousness of und which is enriched, elaborated, btilized in the later ones; and where- when I heard them last I liked the rst two better than the others, I now nd them all equally pleasant to listen . But the two songs on the last side— To the Queen of My Heart" and Love's Philosophy," well sung by the nor Heddle Nash—I still do not care or.

Unaware of Leonard Bernstein's inch-hitting for Bruno Walter with ie New York Philharmonic, I listened some of Schnabel's performances at ie Frick Collection. He played with onderful rhythm and humor and grace Beethoven's Bagatelles Opus 33 and ie scherzo of Schumann's G minor onata; but the occasional tendency to verload a phrase with significance dis- orted the exquisite form of Mozart's ondo K.511 and made its delicate con- ent ponderous, and it over-sentimental- zed the lovely slow movement of chumann's Sonata and some of the lower passages in the finale.

Later in the afternoon Toscanini's roadcast performance of Debussy's Ibéria" with the N. B. C. Symphony eemed to me the best I had ever heard rom him—relaxed and plastic in the irst two movements, and integrating all he changes of pace and style in the ast movement as it seemed to me I had iever heard him do before. It may be hat he was doing the same things as ie had always done and that it was I who was hearing them for the first ime; but I have heard performances rom him that were astoundingly dif- erent—a first movement of Beethoven's Ninth, for example, that was taut and elentlessly driving, another that was elaxed and spacious; so perhaps this erformance of "Ibéria" did surpass all nis others. And he did a magnificent ob with Gershwin's "American in Paris," which I think is the best of Gershwin's ambitious works.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH, Librarian of Congress, is a distinguished poet and writer on public affairs. His books include "Conquistador," "America Was Promises," "The Irresponsibles," and "A Time to Speak."

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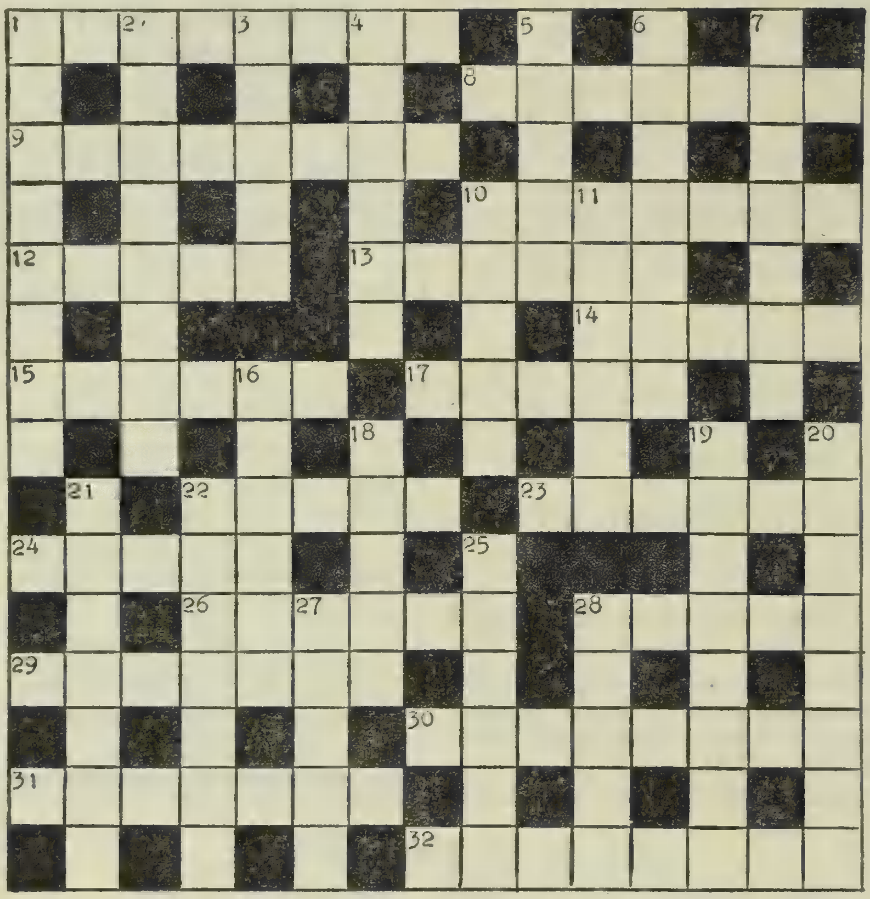
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 41

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Our next President will be, beyond any question of doubt
8 A diplomatic case?
9 Is it the ink in them that prevents sidelong glances?
10 Bad writing of which many of our best authors are guilty
12 Descried
13 One sort of collar
14 Cut that is just short of being serious
15 England's Mr. Bevin sounds determined
17 A superior kind of porter
22 Not a happy name for anyone's family, especially an abstainer's
23 "I counted two-and-seventy - - - - - -es, All well defined, and several stinks" (Coleridge)
24 Tuneless slumber song
26 Might one call it the prince of birds?
28 Colloquially, one ruined beyond recovery
29 Chirpy insects
30 Their liberality is carried to extremes
31 A railroad one has nothing to do with the lowering of fares
32 Resent it? Not when it's a dividend!

DOWN

1 Am unlike good wine, sprung on you unawares
2 Books *en masse*
3 Like some writers after a dip
4 The Dark Continent
5 Sought by cooks and investors
6 This place of amusement naturally includes a bar
7 English poet who was shy about some French girl
10 A bad thing to be out of
11 Outcome of turning an ulster
16 There's a lot of good stuff here, but you want to twist it about to see how it drapes
18 They are supposed to have a paradise of their own
19 I accompany a devout lady with fruit and fill to abundance
20 Ravenous (hyphen, 5 and 3)
21 Wanting what *you've* already got, possibly
22 "- - - - - - - the keen air, and carols as he goes" (Goldsmith)
25 Effort to change trains
27 These are to your credit
28 Dress of a French duke

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 40

ACROSS:—1 VESTRYMAN; 6 DATUM; 9 STRETCH; 10 ITALICS; 11 ATE; 12 ORGIES; 13 TOOL; 15 OUTSPENT; 16 LARIAT; 18 GREECE; 20 BONHOMIE; 23 NOUS; 24 NOTION; 25 RED; 28 TETHERS; 29 OATMEAL; 30 PARIS; 31 TARANTULA.

DOWN:—1 VESTA; 2 SURFEIT; 3 RETROSPECT; 4 MAHOGANY; 5 NAILED; 6 DRAB; 7 TRIPOLI; 8 MISTLETOE; 14 WASHINGTON; 15 ORGAN STOP; 17 KOHINOOR; 19 EQUATOR; 21 MORCEAU; 22 CORSET; 26 DELTA; 27 SEAS.

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

SECRETARY MORGENTHAU DESERVES HIGH praise for his valiant fight for the Administration's $10,500,000,000 tax program. His criticisms of the feeble substitute passed by the House were unanswerable. He pointed out, for example, that the taxpayer would have to make as many as eighteen different computations before he could fill out his return for the House version of the Victory tax, and that at best no more than $161,000,000 would be derived from the 9,000,000 married couples affected by this tax. Mr. Morgenthau also criticized the increased corporation taxes proposed by the House on the ground that the change would only affect a few companies and these not the most prosperous. He answered the Republicans' allegation that income-tax payers could not stand a further increase by pointing to the fact that personal incomes had risen $80,000,000,000 since the start of the war, while personal income taxes had gone up only $19,000,000,000. Although Mr. Morgenthau failed to budge the rock-ribbed Finance Committee, he made it clear that the responsibility for our reckless and irresponsible program of war financing lies directly at the door of Congress. On the other major sector of the anti-inflation front, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, prospects seem slightly brighter. Led by Senator Taft, several influential opponents of the subsidy program have proposed compromises which would, in effect, permit a continuation of the present program but would prevent the roll-back promised by the Administration. While acceptance of this compromise would avert an immediate collapse of the stabilization program, it would add new force to labor's demand for a revision of the Little Steel formula.

*

LAST JULY AND AUGUST, HAVING NOTHING better to do while Congress was in recess, Senator Butler of Nebraska made an intensive study of Latin America. Covering twenty countries—at an average of three whole days to a country—the Senator, who happens to be a Republican, found out that while the Good Neighbor policy had really meant something in the days of Hoover, Coolidge, and even James G. Blaine, under the New Deal it has degenerated into "rich uncleism," upsetting

BURLINGAME

the whole economy of Latin America and exposing this country to hate, suspicion, and contempt. Butler has prepared an unsolicited 176-page report to show that despite our investment of six billion dollars in "boondoggling," Mexico today is "extorting tribute" from us, Peru is defaulting on old debts while contracting new ones, Paraguay is preparing for war against Argentina, Brazil is displaying a lack of reciprocal spirit, Argentina is using American money to compete with our own Standard Oil Company, and all the Latin American states are hoarding lend-lease war materials for eventual use against each other.

*

FORTUNATELY THE SENATOR'S REPORT IS more colorful than accurate. The Senate Appropriations Committee has all the figures available, and its acting chairman offered to go over them with Butler in advance of his presentation. Threatened with facts, the Senator hurried to the floor to tell all before it could be made generally known that we have spent not six billions in Latin America but approximately two, that of this amount well over one billion was for critical war materials, and that all items of expenditure have been approved by the two Congressional appropriations committees. Actually the Senator could not afford to change his report, however ignorant, because he had already compressed it into an article for *Reader's Digest* called Our Deep Dark Secrets in Latin America. (Note: the *Digest* plans to publish the piece in its South American edition together with refutations which its North American readers have not been privileged to read.)

*

WITHIN THE PAST WEEK A SPANISH Republican committee, under the name of the Junta Española de Liberación, has been set up in Mexico City. Created in the name of unity and apparently claiming recognition as a provisional governing group, the new junta seems destined to accentuate existing factional divisions. Indalecio Prieto, former Minister of Defense, is the leading figure in the movement, although for tactical reasons he has declined to head the committee. The junta claims to represent five parties and other organizations, but already the validity of its pretensions has been challenged. Some of the organizations represented in the junta are themselves divided and the dissenting factions are protesting the adhesion of their groups. Other important organizations have been left out altogether or have refused to join. It is known that the two powerful Spanish labor bodies, the U. G. T. (General Workers Union) with a predominantly Socialist membership, and the C. N. T. (National Workers Federation) which represents the workers of syndicalist tendencies, are outside the junta. So is the Communist Party. So are other elements represented in the Negrín Government. The position of the government was explained in detail by J. Alvarez del Vayo in *The Nation* three weeks ago. United action among Spanish Republicans is essential if the struggle against the Franco regime and the maneuvers of the Monarchists is to be effective. But there is little use applying the word unity to a new alignment which serves only to organize and crystallize existing political differences.

*

EVEN SYMPATHETIC FOLLOWERS OF THE career of Senator Gerald P. Nye regard him as a man who has traveled far on very little. Judging from the new line of argument the Senator has worked out, we would say he has traveled too far. "The American people," Nye told a press conference recently, "ought to become more isolationist if this peace becomes the incubator of a new world war." What follows? That Senator Nye wants us to see to it that the peace does not incubate a new world war? Not at all. "Every nation," he continued, "must retain its sovereign rights to be able to declare war whenever the people see fit." In other words, the Senator no longer thinks of isolation as a means of avoiding war but rather of war as a means of promoting isolation. Nye has long traded on a reputation as a pacifist and a liberal, an honest man who opposed American participation in the present war out of real conviction. But now the pacifist in him cries out for the divine right of sovereign states to make future wars, while the liberal in him, having denied the anti-fascist nature of this war, is determined that the war shall not disprove him by becoming anti-fascist. "The German people," he insists, "must be given the right to go back to fascism after the war if they want it." And together the pacifist and the liberal that make up the person of Senator Nye advise the world that "fascism essentially is not militaristic or aggressive." A million graves from Badajoz to Stalingrad testify to the enormity of that lie. When the Senator comes up for reelection next year, we hope the voters of North Dakota will agree that, whether faker or fool, Gerald P. Nye is ripe for retirement.

*

SOME OF GENERAL CLARK'S MEN WHO ARE now inching through the hills before Rome will not live to read about the concern for states' rights which 42 Senators have found more precious than soldiers' rights. Others will come home one day, but not more than a handful will ever read the devious debate which led the noble 42 to deny them the privilege of voting while at war. That is fortunate for the Senators, because their rejection of the Lucas-Green bill to guarantee the vote to the fighting forces was a day's work in which selfishness was compounded with hypocrisy. The measure was done to death, as Senator Guffey maintains, by "an unholy alliance" of Republicans, who knew the soldier-vote would favor their opponents, and Southern Democrats to whom states' rights and the poll-tax take precedence over every other consideration. It may well be that a few Senators voted to leave the soldiers' balloting to the necessarily ineffectual control of the states out of a genuine concern for constitutional law, but the comments of the victors reflect the real spirit of the debate. "The bill for establishing a Federal ballot commission," says Senator Moore, "was a bold last-ditch effort to herd our American boys into polling booths the world over and vote them en bloc for the New Deal." The oil millionaire from Oklahoma does not explain why a full vote would constitute "herding" or how the men could possibly be voted "en bloc," but it is easy to see what was on his mind. Nor is it hard to fathom the motive of Senator Eastland, who announced jubilantly that this vote "has put an end to any chance for the enactment by Congress of anti-poll tax legislation." There are 42 names here for service men to remember.

Cairo and Teheran

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

POLITICAL events are moving on two levels. One is the diplomatic level, and here great strides are being taken toward coordinating the strategy and aims of the great Allied powers. The start made at Moscow has been carried further at Cairo and Teheran. No longer will Britain and the United States plan joint action without regard to Russia's moves. No longer will Russia conduct its separate war in suspicious and hostile isolation. No longer will China, like a very poor relation, be expected to suffer and do its duty but not to ask for an equal voice in the councils of the Allies. The personal meetings of the four leaders have ended a long and dangerous period of political anarchy. This is a bad blow for Hitler; no tricks of Axis propaganda can blur the clear and ominous fact that his major enemies are at last planning and fighting together. Even the incredible stupidity of the censorship, which not only threw the press of the Allied world into total confusion but gave all the advantage to the propaganda agencies of our enemies, could obscure the valid achievements of the two conferences.

The agreements reached, or announced, are less important than the fact of the meetings themselves. But in Asia, at least, they are sufficiently concrete and bold to provide effective political ammunition. Today, for the first time since the war began, the world can see the outlines of the peace to come: Japan is to be stripped down to the dimensions of a Far Eastern California; China is to emerge as Asia's great power, its lost territories fully restored.

For Europe the announced plans are necessarily much less definite; we can scarcely ask to be told how or where the great unified assaults on Hitler's Fortress will be launched; it is enough for the present to know that plans have been concerted for the destruction of German military power, and that "complete agreement" has been reached on "operations to be undertaken from east, west, and south." From this wording we can safely assume that the second-front issue has at last been satisfactorily settled. In the political field the Teheran declaration goes no farther than to promise "concord" after the war and an effort to enlist "the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small," in the task of eliminating "tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance." Those are good words to throw into Axis Europe; they are not embodied in specific promises.

In both areas large gaps remain to be filled in. What about Hong Kong? What about the Pacific islands, large and small? What about Burma and Malaya and Indo-China? And, indeed, what about India? These territories, whether "liberated" by Japan or, like India, still under Western control, are useful weapons in the Axis arsenal as long as their future is uncertain. It is easy to sit down around a table and dispose of one's enemy's ill-gotten possessions. To do so without calling attention to one's own is difficult. As to Europe, it is unfortunate that no program for the future of Germany, at least as definite as that proposed for Japan at Cairo, could have been announced at Teheran. Hitler's slaves will be pleased to hear again that tyranny is to be abolished. They would have been roused to greater hope and stouter resistance if they had been told how this was to be accomplished and what sort of Germany was to emerge from the destruction of the Nazi power. But in spite of these unsettled items of business, unity between the chief Allies has become a working reality; and their intentions have been roughed out with broad strokes.

But events are moving on another level—the level of fighting and dying and carrying into effect policies that will provide the substance of the world order projected at the three conferences. Global plans and sweeping agreements are necessary as a basis for common action. Without action they are as empty of meaning as Hitler's promise of a fascist millenium.

Japan is to be shorn of its power and its empire. But the Allies are still nibbling at the vast perimeter of Japanese power. China is to be restored and strengthened. But meanwhile its internal economy is in chaos; the people are hungry; reactionary and defeatist groups sabotage the war or manipulate it for their own ends; and civil tension threatens to break out into open fighting. The substance that can give meaning to the promises made at Cairo lies in battles still to be fought on a hundred Pacific islands; in the reconquest of Burma; in the swelling total of American ships and planes. China needs rice, it needs medical supplies and war equipment.

Chiang Kai-Shek needs powerful backing to help him overcome the ruinous inflation. Most of all, perhaps, he needs help in ending the bitter, demoralizing struggle against the Chinese Communists; if Russia's acquiescence in the Cairo agreement implies a policy of internal reconciliation in China, one great element of present and future danger has been eliminated. The promises made at Cairo will increase the prestige of Chiang and his supporters in the government, and improve the morale of the country as a whole. The tough job of making them come true is still to be done—from the Gilbert Islands to Sinkiang.

On the level of concrete policy and action in Europe, even more difficult problems lie ambushed. The decisions reached at Cairo and Teheran must find their meaning in the performance of the Allied powers in every struggling country on the Continent. It is hard not to fear that the vague character of the Teheran declaration reflects the too obvious differences that have marked Allied political strategy throughout the war. The conferees in Iran understood the need of unity, but did they accept its political implications? While they talked, the Partisans in Jugoslavia were setting up a new government in opposition to the Royal Government recognized by the Allies—Russia included. While they talked, popular demonstrations in Italy against the King and Badoglio proved that the policies of the Allied authorities were undermining the prestige and influence of moderate democrats such as Sforza and Croce. While they talked, Gil Robles, former head of the powerful conservative bloc in Spain, announced from his place of exile in Portugal that Franco's government has not only supported Hitler with troops and open declarations of loyalty, but has placed bombs on British ships in Spanish ports and reported to German submarines the movements of Allied convoys—a complicity known to the British Foreign Office, a complicity long since exposed in these pages and now confirmed by testimony which may appear more convincing to our conservative rulers in London and Washington.

Scattered events such as these have a common meaning. They mean that the political problems of Europe are multiplying, assuming shape and solidity, and demanding from the "liberating powers" a clear and concrete stand on the issue of popular control. Since Russia has quite consistently taken a sympathetic if not a propelling interest in the forces of resistance on the Continent, such events raise the question whether the three great leaders were able to "concert" their plans for the political rebuilding of Europe as completely as for the destruction of German power. This we can only discover as time reveals the substance—the solid political meaning and effect—of the diplomatic unity reached at Cairo and Teheran.

Curbs on Snoopers

THE NATION commends the Civil Service Commission for the instructions it issued on November 3 to personnel engaged in investigating government employees. We regard the issuance of these instructions as a victory for the United Federal Workers, which recently raised the whole question of government investigations with the commission, and for those few publications which have called attention to the odd queries put by government sleuths. In this category is not only ***The** Nation*—readers will recall the Washington Gestapo articles we published last July 17 and 24—but publications ordinarily as far removed from political concerns as our clever contemporary, the *New Yorker*. The commission says that these instructions, "with two or three minor exceptions," merely reaffirm the policies it has followed since August, 1942. But it obliquely admits that complaints have been received and by implication blames "a very high rate of turnover" in its staff. In Washington, as in an older Peking, face must be saved.

The commission does not say what the "two or three minor exceptions" are, but we suspect the new regulations embody considerable change in allowable questions. For this the commission deserves credit. The instructions bar questions as to a government employee's affiliations with unions, with pro-Loyalist groups such as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, with cooperative bookshops like the Washington Bookshop which handle leftist literature, with the Lawyers' Guild, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Socialist Party, the League of Women Shoppers, and the Harry Bridges Defense Committee. "Do not ask any question whatever," the instructions say, "involving the applicant's sympathy with Loyalists in Spain." The investigators are not to ask about the printed matter read by the applicant. "This includes especially the *Daily Worker* and all radical and liberal publications. . . . Citizens are free to read anything they like." The instructions embody some approach to standards applied in judicial proceedings: husbands are not to be asked about wives and vice versa, leading questions are to be avoided; an effort is to be made to prevent the investigator from gaining information that may hurt the applicant's reputation. Questions about mixed parties with Negroes and intimate personal questions are not to be asked. Finally, "Do not ask general questions regarding the political philosophy of the applicant, such as whether he believes in capitalism or what his opinion is regarding certain events of a current or historical nature." We think the FBI owes it to the country to make its own instructions in the field of policing opinion available to the public. Publication is some protection against investigators who exceed their authority.

After reading the Civil Service Commission's instructions, it is easy to understand both the bewilderment many investigators may feel and the outcry from the right in Congress. The investigator must determine not merely whether the applicant for government employment believes in the overthrow of the government by force and violence but whether he has followed the Communist line. Though this is possible, and the commission tries to lay down some rules for achieving it, an investigator needs a high degree of political sophistication to make a determination of this kind without overstepping the bounds. The kind of men employed by the commission and the FBI are unlikely to possess any such degree of understanding. The whole process of ferreting out facts about a man's opinions, and doing so by secret investigation without a judicial hearing, cannot easily remain within constitutional limits, even if the doubtful assumption is made that it was there to start with. What enrages some people in and out of Congress is the fact that those who fathered the Hatch act never intended the process to be kept within such limits. The spirit in which it was passed found expression when Busbey of Illinois, complaining of the new instructions, said, "The issue is this: are we going to permit long-haired New Deal bureaucrats to set up a complete Marxist dictatorship. . . .?" The act was passed as a means of hounding leftists out of the government, and it will be hard indeed for the most conscientious investigatory official to combine its enforcement with observance of the Bill of Rights.

The commission's own report shows how heavily weighted the results are against the left. It says that from July 1, 1940, to August 23, 1943, a total of 27,842 government employees were rated ineligible. It says 744 "were rated ineligible solely on loyalty grounds." One wonders in how many cases this was the determining, though not the sole, factor. The commission gives us no clue, but it does say that of this number 313 were found to be pro-Axis and 461 "members of the Communist Party or active in support of those basic principles of the Communist Party, which gave evidence of adherence to the Communist 'party line'." This alternative category is so loose that it is easy to understand why some investigators have asked the barred questions. The basic problems involved are not easily solved, for in war time the government has a right to weed out of its employ persons opposed to the war effort. Very few on the left are in that category. But the Hatch act, as an item of peace-time legislation, was aimed at the left, and if some elements in Congress have their way, it will be broadened after the war. A fight for its repeal is the only safe course for those who wish to exorcise the small but cancerous growth from our national life of a European-style political police devoted to the eradication of "dangerous thoughts.",

The Oslo Students

THE wholesale arrest of Oslo University professors and students is the latest move of the Nazis and their Quisling puppets to secure complete control of the educational and intellectual life of Norway. In no sphere has the opposition of the Norwegian patriots been more determined. Faculties and students alike have defied every attempt at Nazification. More than a year ago the resistance of the elementary and high-school teachers led to the arrest of more than 1,500 of them. In an effort to break them, some 800 were shipped beyond the Arctic Circle to forced labor on German fortifications. But "reliable" substitutes could not be found and the schools remained closed for months, until the Nazis backed down and allowed most of the old teachers to return.

The same difficulties were encountered by the invaders in the realm of higher education. In September, 1941, they arrested the rector of Oslo University, Dr. S. A. Seip, because of his "negative attitude" and installed in his place Dr. Adolf Höel, one of the few Norwegian scholars to turn traitor. But they could not "reform" the faculty, which remained subbornly Norwegian. At the end of August, 1943, Ragnar Skancke, Quisling Minister of Education, being unable to purge the faculty, sought to dilute the student body by directing that only those candidates who had received the personal approval of Höel be enrolled.

The entire faculty—with one exception—immediately announced that they would refuse to continue their teaching if this directive were not rescinded. In a coldly dignified letter they reminded Skancke that a year earlier they had adopted a resolution stating: "The university is responsible for the maintenance of scholarly standards in research and academic instruction in our country. If we are to adopt the attitude that external considerations —political or otherwise—are to be given priority to proficiency in the subject, it will lead to the decay of research and a breakdown of the standards which our university has hitherto maintained." The new regulation, they declared, violated this principle and would make "the university an institution essentially different in character . . . in conflict with its instructors' basic concepts."

As a result of this protest eight professors and forty student leaders were imprisoned. But the tension continued. A few days ago a fire broke out in an auditorium which the Nazis were using, and this incident was used as an excuse for the arrest of 1,200 students and faculty members. The real reason, however, was revealed by the Nazi police chief, Rediess, who contended that during the whole occupation the Oslo students had formed a hostile group active in underground resistance to the Nazis. The certainty that this accusation is well founded redounds to the honor of the University of Oslo.

The Indian Skeleton at Atlantic City

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 3

THE pressure of events is making it harder than ever for the Administration to maintain its docile silence on India. A series of recent events has rendered our tacit partnership in Churchill's imperialism all the more ignominious. The latest was the announcement from Cairo of freedom after the war for Korea. Earlier there was the Lebanon affair, where we meekly and quickly followed the British lead in rebuking the French for doing on a more moderate scale in the Levant what the British are doing in India and elsewhere. The Atlantic Charter is being applied, with much fanfare, to a French mandate in the Near East and at least to one Japanese possession in the Far East, but is still in suspension in British Middle Asia.

The closing days of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation conference at Atlantic City provided another instance of the way in which India haunts the Anglo-American entente. India is asked to give 1 per cent of its national income to relieve the hungry in liberated areas, but it was denied the right to speak of its own starving millions. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, "India's delegate" to the conference, with a propriety becoming in a servant of the British Raj, declined to raise the question. It was, the British delegation assured the press, outside the scope of the UNRRA. J. J. Singh of the India League of America threatened to disrupt these convenient diplomatic niceties by disclosing to the correspondents last Friday that the Chinese, Mexican, Chilean, New Zealand, South African, and Australian representatives were prepared to support India if the question of the famine were raised. Dr. T. F. Tsiang, head of the Chinese delegation, made a public statement supporting Singh. There was talk of a resolution whereby the UNRRA would ask the Combined Shipping Board to allocate some extra tonnage for food shipments to India, and it looked as if some unpleasant realities were no longer avoidable. There was reason to believe that Governor Lehman, director general of the UNRRA, would have welcomed discussion of the Indian question.

There followed a hurried series of conferences between the Dominion delegations and Colonel John J. Llewellin, the chief British delegate, and a sudden announcement to the press by Colonel Llewellin that any resolution on India would be "out of order." No one had the temerity to ask how the British delegate, representing one nation out of forty-four, could take it upon himself to decide this question in advance. Colonel Llewellin and Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson dominated the proceedings, and it behooved the other delegates to behave. I doubt whether Acheson was happy over this brusque solution of the Indian problem, and at the closing session, with British approval, he was permitted to make a statement expressing sympathy with the people of India. Sir Girja rose to accept Acheson's little floral wreath with an appropriately brief statement, and the skeleton was back in the closet. But American officials here realize only too well that it will not stay put.

Every American official back from India brings the same message. There have been three official missions to India, and all brought back conclusions unpalatable to London. Colonel Louis Johnson, the President's first emissary, was accused by the British of having been "hypnotized" by Nehru. The Grady report was shelved because its proposals for expanding industrial production in India would have conflicted with British colonial policy. Indian henchmen of the Raj attacked it as "American imperialism." William Phillips, the second emissary, had one session with the President and another, at the President's request, with Churchill. The gossip is that the President was friendly but felt his hands were tied. As for Churchill, the talk around town is that Phillips got nowhere with him. "Phillips said Churchill simply refused to discuss the question; all he did was rant," was the version I picked up. If some of this gossip is unfair, the British and American governments have their own secrecy to thank for it. I was told that Phillips implied in talks with friends that he was not allowed to see Gandhi and Nehru because they were ready to discuss possible terms of settlement. I cannot vouch for this information and merely report what I heard from what I consider a fairly good source.

There is widespread dissatisfaction in the government with the Indian situation. Inside the State Department pro-British elements, fighting to give Britain a square deal after the war on such questions as shipping, are hampered by the use that anti-British and Irish Catholic sources inside and outside the department make of India. War-production and export agencies, worried by the situation in the hungry machine-tool industry, wonder why we cannot ease the inflationary situation in India by exports of machinery for production of consumer goods. Agencies like the OWI and the Office of Strategic Services, which deal with questions of political warfare, feel that we are being compromised in the East by Britain's Indian policy. I have heard of the embarrassment felt by

OWI officials in India on the receipt of posters showing how we were feeding the people of Sicily. India's treatment at Atlantic City and the discussion bound to take place at New Delhi when the Indian legislature is asked to ratify the 1 per cent contribution will not make the OWI's task easier. The best propaganda now would be some additional food shipments, and I have found general agreement among officials dealing with shipping that it is nonsense to talk of a shipping shortage in connection with food for India. With some 50,000,000 tons available, much of it inadequately utilized, a few hundred thousand tons of shipping could easily be allocated to ease the famine.

The obstacle to acceptance of the recent Canadian offer of 100,000 tons of free wheat for India, and to purchases from the bumper crop glutting the Argentine, is not shipping but politics. The British position, as I get it here from British sources, is that the famine is due to hoarding, maldistribution, and inflation rather than to an actual shortage. Shipments made under pressure from public opinion would imply embarrassing admissions in British domestic politics, revive hopes of American interference in India. I have no doubt in my own mind, after talking with American, British, and Indian authorities, that hoarding, maldistribution, inflation, and the hostility of Indian interests to effective food and price controls have played a much larger part in the present situation than Indians like to admit. Farm blocs are the same the world over. The real point, it seems to me, is that only a true national government of Indians could hope at a time like this to squeeze from the peasantry the necessary driblets of food by which urban India is normally fed. Conversely, the present government of India could hardly be expected to antagonize the large landowners, who are among its few supporters, by instituting really vigorous controls.

Many factors, some accidental, play their part in the present shortage, but the basic cause is imperialism. Britain has drained India of goods, paying for them in blocked sterling accounts in London against which paper is issued in India. India's new-found "wealth" in sterling is only a reflection of its impoverishment by the war effort. The one genuine solution for inflation would be greater production in India of consumer goods, but this would cut into Britain's post-war market. The other way to make the situation bearable would be to give India a responsible and representative government and make its people feel that this is their war. In normal times the heavy burden of debt and taxes forces the peasant to turn a portion of his scanty crop into cash. With the rise in prices this burden is reduced, and it is difficult to hold him down to a near-starvation diet. If Gandhi and Nehru were in office instead of in jail, they might appeal to his idealism. That task is beyond the power of the Viceroy and his kept Indians.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

MAXIM LITVINOV'S SUCCESSFUL TRIP to the United States wound up with what was perhaps the most extraordinary dinner ever given in New York City. . . . Incredible as it seems, there were a number of our most conservative capitalists actually applauding the "Internationale." . . . Not a liberal editor appeared on the dais, and hardly a man or woman who battled for Russian recognition when to do so was to invite contumely, insult, and abuse.—*December 6, 1933.*

THE LIGHT THAT EXISTS today in darkest Germany is to be found underground. . . . The opposition to fascism comes entirely from labor.—ROGER B. NELSON, *December 6, 1933.*

IF ANYONE CLINGS to a scintilla of faith in the men who dominated and directed our financial and industrial policies in the pre-Brain Trust era, it would pay him to spend a few hours attending the Senate stock-market investigation. There, free of charge, he can look and listen as our vaunted ex-leaders . . . creep to the mourner's bench one by one and pathetically protest that they were merely guilty of ignorance, avarice, shortsightedness, and an almost total lack of fundamental knowledge concerning the nature of events in which they participated.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, *December 6, 1933.*

BY THE TIME this issue of *The Nation* appears on the newsstands the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution will have been interred in its grave.—*December 13, 1933.*

WHATEVER ELSE—and there is a great deal—may be charged to the credit side of the NRA, nothing is more striking and, we hope, significant than the development of newspaper guilds. For years every effort to organize the brain workers in newspaper offices has failed, reporters and subeditors being too cowed. But . . . the NRA has made it possible for these white-collar slaves to organize with complete safety.—*December 13, 1933.*

JAMES JOYCE'S "ULYSSES," for eleven years the most famous of our bootleg classics, is legal at last—at least in so far as the government of these United States is concerned.—*December 20, 1933.*

"TOBACCO ROAD" (Masque Theater) is based on a novel by Erskine Caldwell. Most of the critics of the daily press found reasons to justify their disapproval. . . . [It] . . . will probably be caviar—if not something worse—to the general, but even the general, I think, will recognize the superbly salty and complete impersonation of Henry Hull and the successful grotesquerie of Ruth Hunter as the girl with the harelip.—JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, *December 20, 1933.*

"MARLBOROUGH: HIS LIFE AND TIMES." By the Right Honorable Winston Churchill, C. H. . . . Mr. Churchill's great work promises to leave only minor opportunities for later biographers of Marlborough.—WILLIAM MACDONALD, *December 27, 1933.*

The End of a Flying Fort

AN AIRMAN'S LETTER TO HIS WIFE

BY LIEUTENANT E. S. BENDINER

Somewhere in England, 1943

DEAR ESTHER: I know that I began to tell you all about the Brevet Club some days ago, but I was interrupted by a bit of duty. Between then and now I have fallen into the sea, and been daringly rescued, and what with one thing and another I don't feel much like rattling on about polite society at the Brevet.

The whole story is pretty melodramatic, and I feel silly telling it in the first person. But, in as unpurple language as I can manage, this is what happened.

The mission was the longest, deepest penetration into Germany ever undertaken by Forts, and in talking it over among ourselves and with Carlson and the chaplain just before take-off, I remember that I was advocating with considerable heat that this time we couldn't possibly choose to bail out or make for Switzerland or do anything but return to England because in scarcely any time at all the baby would arrive. (I've been bragging in public again.)

Just after the target we were heavily attacked. One engine was hit, half of our oxygen supply was knocked out, and the copilot was wounded in the leg; so that we had to drop out of formation and fight our way across Europe by ourselves. As it developed, we didn't so much fight our way out as sneak out, running for every cloud cover we could see. The spot decision right then was up to Fawkes. He could have asked for a course to Switzerland. The lovely snowy, blue-and-white peaks of the Alps were plainly visible, towering almost up to our altitude, although quite a way off. He might have decided to bail out over France. Either of those decisions would probably have meant internment or imprisonment for the duration. The last choice, the one he took, was to head for home, even though our gas was running so low he knew that we would probably have to ditch. It was a dangerous choice, but I think it was a fine one, not only because subsequent events proved it wise, but because he took it as the plain course of duty.

In any case, he asked for a course home, and I was honestly glad of it, even though with fighting and one thing and another I was a bit vague as to our precise position at the time. We dived down into the loveliest, heaviest cloud imaginable and stayed in it as long as possible, while I feverishly worked away trying to establish our position and improve on the course I had originally set. The cloud gave out, and for a time we sailed at low altitude over the grain fields, the forests, the towns, and the rivers of France. Some of these checkpoints seemed to bear out my theoretically estimated position and some of them contradicted it. It was beautiful country; it seemed to be of a different color from England or Holland or Belgium.

We were playing hide-and-seek in the clouds over France. And in the open spaces our gunners were anxiously watching German fighters who were looking for us but who miraculously failed to see us before other clouds came up to hide us. But ground radio was tracking us all the time, and we had to shift our course to clear what I thought would be heavy flak areas. We could see flak on both sides of us, largely to signal fighters we thought. Actually we were hit by flak as we neared the coast, partly because I didn't change course in time and partly because we had to strike out directly for the coast or go down, out of gas, over France.

Just before we crossed the coast Fawkes called up and suggested that anyone who didn't want to take his chance in the water could still jump. None of us did. I could see water ahead, but we ran up along the coast to avoid a large seaport and the heavy coastal flak. Duke, our radio man, was sending out an S. O. S. and asking radio stations to take a fix on us. They did, and he reported it to me, but it seemed to me to be way, way off, and Duke asked for another which was just as bad. I realized then that no one in England knew where we were. I gave Duke our estimated position, but he couldn't get it through.

We were over the sea now, and our four engines ran out one after another. When I left the nose, two of them were already motionless—a most disconcerting thing to see in an airplane. Back in the radio room we all took our previously assigned positions, bracing ourselves for the shock. I crouched behind the radio man's armor plating, gathered sundry odd bits that I thought I would like to take with me, talked to Mike, who was crouched next to me. Up to the last minute Mike retained his faith in Tondelayo and couldn't believe we would really have to ditch. He asked me whether we were headed toward England. I said we were but I knew we couldn't make it. We chatted like that and looked up, through the open hatch of the radio room, to the great gray swirling clouds and the blue sky, all the time wondering how near the water we were and when the shock would come.

When it came we lit lightly at first and only a bit of spray seemed to come in. Mike stood up, and we all yelled to him to get down. But it was too late. After skipping along the water, the ship finally plunged in and threw Mike forward so that he gashed his forehead. Then the green-gray water rushed in. I felt nothing so much as surprise. We had been through drills in preparation for just such an eventuality, and so far everything had gone pretty much as planned. But in all our drills there had been nothing like this torrent of ocean that ran through our airship. I tried to stand, but the water knocked me down, and when I did get up, some of the precious things that I had gathered were floating around the floor.

Everyone was on his feet, everyone excited and clambering toward the hatch, but everyone shouting that there was plenty of time and to keep calm. Mike stood next to me, and I saw that his head was bleeding badly. A piece of floating B-17 had clipped me and scratched my forehead. For an awful moment I thought that Mike and I, who were wedged in a corner, would never get out. But Mike finally did. By that time the water was up to my chest and rising rapidly. Our bombardier, Bob, was still in there. I hoisted myself up on one side while he made for the other. I remember that I failed to make it the first time, and I could hear Mike hollering outside, "Where's Benny?" Then I clambered out. The wings were already under water.

I clung to the fuselage for a second or so and watched Fawkes and the others, who had extracted one of the rubber dinghies and were maneuvering it away from the wings of the sinking plane. Then I plunged into the water. The dinghy was scarcely more than a stroke away from the ship, but I had overlooked one detail that might have proved disastrous. I had neglected to inflate my Mae West. I clung to the raft while Larry, our engineer, kept shouting: "Hold on, Benny, hold on"—as if I thought of doing anything else or going anywhere else just then. When I turned around, Tondelayo had vanished, and our dinghy and the other one holding the rest of our crew were the only things left on an apparently limitless sea. After a bit of floundering about, I managed to hoist myself into the tossing dinghy. All this took much less time to live through than it does to record. Tondelayo went down in something like forty seconds.

Whatever Rickenbacker and other shipwrecked mariners may pretend, there is at least one aspect of life on a raft that, far from being heroic, is damned undignified. The Channel was as rough that day as it ever gets, and the swell was dark and towering and fearful to look at. It was far worse to feel. We all promptly became violently seasick. All, that is, except Bob and one gunner, who increased our embarrassment by remaining obtrusively and volubly gay. There is, however, a measure of providence in the seasickness that plagues the shipwrecked. First, it gives you something to do which relieves the monotony; secondly, the prospect of death is never so welcome at any other time. One almost hopes for it.

But before giving way to utterly abandoned retching and writhing, we paddled with our hands toward the other dinghy so that we could lash the two rafts together. In between spasms, when I could lie with my head back and not feel too sick, I could watch the endless seascape and the barren sky. Bob was cranking our portable radio frantically but in vain, because we had lost the kite to carry our aerial up; we knew then that we could send out no signals at all. From time to time Larry would bail out the water that swept over us in great salty waves just as we thought we might begin to dry out in the sun. Larry would bail a little, get sick, bail some more, and get sick again. I tried to help, but as soon as I'd lift my head I'd get sick. So I was no help at all. For five hours we tossed like that, and in my lucid moments I would speculate on the direction of our drift. It was impossible to tell with any certainty, although I knew what winds had been prevailing all afternoon. In one such lucid moment I looked down at the few things I had brought with me. One of these was my Mercator's chart. Now, darling, there is nothing quite so useless on a broad, broad ocean as a Mercator on a raft that one can't steer. I finally threw it overboard.

Toward the end of the afternoon we were all resigning ourselves to spending a night on the water. I, at least, was convinced that no one in England had any idea of where we were. Earlier we had seen a flight of bombers go over, but they were very high and couldn't possibly see our signals. It was a little more than five hours after we ditched that we sighted a squadron of fighters about three or four miles from us. Larry had the flare pistol out and ready to shoot. But Duke shouted that they might be Germans. Some of us shouted for him to shoot, and some urged him not to. He hesitated for a second or two, and then—counting a quick majority, no doubt—he fired it. The fighters were already past us then, but one blessed pilot was looking back for some unknown but providential reason. We saw them continue on a short distance, and then one peeled off and the others followed.

They came in low over the water toward our flare—a magnificent affair of parachute and red balls of fire and smoke, like a Fourth of July celebration. Those Spitfires were the most meaningful, beautiful things I have ever seen. They swooped down and circled about us, and sick as we were we stood up and waved and yelled at them and came very near to upsetting the dinghies altogether. One circled up high above us to radio our position back

BURLINGAME

home, while the others continued to swoop over us by way of sustaining our morale. It was wonderful. We could cheer and laugh and get sick again and then laugh some more. I have never been so happy and so miserable at the same time.

After a while the Spits left us, but we were sure that help would be out to us in no time at all. And then after a while another Spit did come out. We set off another display of fireworks, and he too came over and began a slow circle above us. We were very glad to have him, and we were sure that we were practically saved, but the sun set and the swell seemed to grow more ominous and still no rescue. We knew that the Spit would run out of gas soon. And he did. So after a final swoop he left us. The moon came up, big and yellow over the water. It was a lovely night full of stars—a few of which I fruitlessly recognized—but lovely night or no, we all continued to be sick. We strained our ears listening for motors. We saw lights where there were none. We told each other that we would be sure to be rescued that night, but I think that each of us said to himself in private that it was unlikely.

We had been in the water about nine hours when Mike suddenly shouted that he saw a light. Fawkes saw it too when we rode the crest of the swell. We shot up another flare and then waited. Presently we heard the dull sound of a motor, and a beam of light shot out near us but not quite on us. Dinghies are pitifully small things to spot on the ocean. We fired another flare into the wind so that it fell back directly over our heads, and the beam swung around and picked us up in its path. Then while the light came nearer, an awful thought struck me, and most of the others, I suppose: What if the vessel were an enemy ship? To have traveled all that distance across Europe alone, to dive our ship into the ocean, to spend nine agonizing hours in a dinghy, all to avoid capture, and then to be picked up by the wrong ship—that would be too bad. But in a little while we heard someone answering our shouts. "Ahoy," said a voice behind the light. Then apparently our collective Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and New York accents made themselves known and the voice answered jubilantly: "Okay, Yanks, we're coming."

We clambered aboard the boat, I, of course, fumbling awkwardly up the swaying rope ladder. And there were a dozen happy angels dressed in blue R. A. F. uniforms and turtleneck sweaters, saying "bloody good show" and things like that. They had hot soup and dry clothes ready for us. But I couldn't swallow the soup, and since I paused on deck for one last mighty heave of my innards into the sea, I came too late for the clothes. But I stripped to the skin, and they wrapped me in big, warm, fleecy blankets.

It was a long voyage home, and we dodged minefields all the way. The skipper told us things that would have made us even more jittery had we known them before. We had drifted from our original position, some twenty miles off the French coast, to well within the patrol lanes of the Germans and in easy shelling distance of their coastal guns. By morning we would have been in enemy hands.

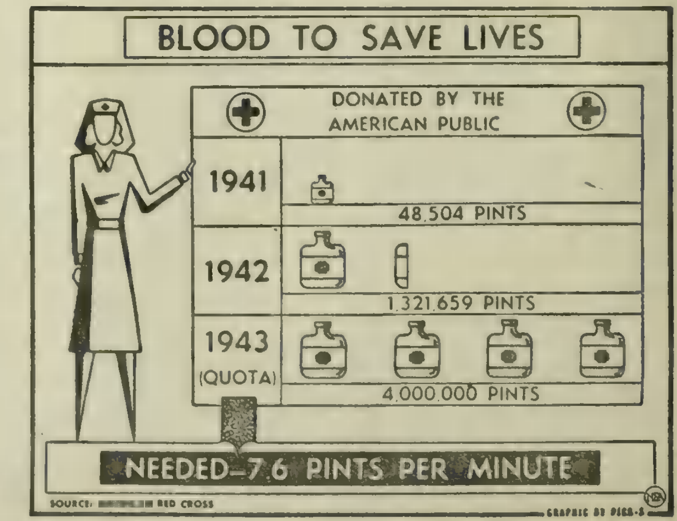
When we hit the coast town of ——— there was an ambulance waiting at the end of the stone wharf. But Bendiner had no pants, nothing but a couple of blankets. I was panicky. I had read a lot about this particular town, and it hurt my dignity to think that I would make my triumphal entry pantless. But I did. I clambered up the ancient stone steps of the wharf, clutching my blanket and looking like a refugee from a raid on a Turkish bath. It was very embarrassing. Those who were hurt were taken to a hospital; the rest of us—the cut on my forehead had healed long before—went to the local officers' barracks of the Royal Navy, where gold-braided commodores served us rum and Scotch and hot soup and bully beef. They fussed about us and sought in a thousand ways to make us happy. But still I had no pants.

At last some kindly naval lieutenant dug up an outfit for me, and I happily regained my dignity. As a matter of fact they were civilian clothes—slacks and a sweater—so that for that night and the next day I felt like a civilian and looked like Donald Budge. You know how much I like the British. My stay as a guest of the Royal Navy and the R. A. F. has made me an Anglophile for life.

We're back now at our base, and I expect that shortly we will be shipped off to spend a quiet recuperative week at a seaside resort. Some of the boys, who have been watching me furiously pounding away here, have become curious, and I have showed them most of this letter. They are now anxiously waiting for the last page to roll off the press so that they can find out whether or not they were saved.

All my love,

ELMER



SOURCE: [illegible] RED CROSS

GRAPHIC BY PICK-S

Unrecognized Allies

BY KURT R. GROSSMAN

ON OCTOBER 13, 1942, at a Columbus Day celebration in New York, Attorney General Biddle announced that the 659,363 Italians living in the United States would be freed from the stigma of being classed as enemy aliens of this country. After October 19 their activities would not be restricted. "I wish to emphasize," added Mr. Biddle, "that in thus removing the label of alien enemy from Italians, we do not forget that there are other loyal persons now classed as alien enemies. Their situation is now being carefully and sympathetically studied by the Department of Justice." Unfortunately this study, which was started more than a year ago, has not led to any such result as that reached in the case of the Italians. There has been no change in the official status of the tens of thousands of German "enemy aliens" who have given their loyalty and trust to the nation which has harbored them.

Of the 314,715 aliens who, in conformity with a Presidential proclamation, registered in February, 1942, as enemy aliens of German origin, the greatest number are refugees who were forced to leave their homeland by the cruel treatment meted out to them there. The majority are Jews. A not inconsiderable minority are non-Jews who would not tolerate the brutality of the Nazi regime. Jews and non-Jews alike fought against the New Order at a time when European statesmen still placed their faith in the policy of appeasement and no "arsenal of democracy" had as yet been set up in this country.

Whatever sins refugees may be accused of, they have certainly not embraced democratic convictions in order to enter on a comfortable life of inaction. Undaunted by the loss of their livelihood, their comforts, and their cultural inheritance, the majority of them have never ceased to fight against Hitlerism, and in the war against Hitler's Germany they are on the side of the United Nations. It is their tragedy that here in the United States they have been "forgotten allies."

The number of Germans who registered as enemy aliens in February, 1942, has been increased by about 3,800 others who have come to the United States since then, making the total roughly 320,000. This total has been reduced by the naturalization of an estimated 22,500 and by the induction into the army of from 8,000 to 9,000. Thus some 290,000 Germans in this country are still regarded as enemy aliens. Of these, 70 per cent, or about 200,000, may be classed as "refugees oppressed by the Nazis."

The status of enemy aliens was defined by the President's Proclamation Number 2526:

> All alien enemies are enjoined to preserve the peace toward the United States and refrain from crime against the public safety, and from violating laws of the United States and territories thereof; and to refrain from actual hostility or giving information, aid, or comfort to the enemies of the United States or interfering by word or deed with the defense of the United States or the political processes and public opinion thereof; and to comply strictly with the regulations which are hereby or which may be from time to time promulgated by the President.

To date not a single case is on record of a refugee who has offended against the principles of this proclamation. An article in the Philadelphia *Record* which analyzed the background of seventy-two spies and saboteurs showed that sixty-one were German born and that forty-seven of these had become citizens. Seven others were born in America of German parents. Not one was an immigrant recognized as a refugee; nor has any refugee from Nazi persecution been among the 4,144 German enemy aliens who have been arrested since the war began.

Not long ago Edward J. Ennis, director of enemy-alien control, said that refugees had increased America's population by 0.2 per cent, but that the cultural enrichment they had brought to this country was "much greater than is expressed in this figure. The refugees had proved that the confidence the government had placed in them was well justified." Similar conclusions were reached by the Tolan committee, which after investigations on the West Coast recommended "the immediate creation of hearing boards to pass upon and certify the loyalty of German . . . aliens" (H. R. Report 2124, May, 1942).

The cultural enrichment of which Mr. Ennis spoke is to be found in many different fields. The Office of Foreign Experts is accumulating material supplied by specialists some of whom are enemy aliens. More than 6,000 refugee doctors are serving the United States as an important war reserve. Outstanding chemists, physicists, and engineers are contributing their knowledge to the war industries. Several hundred professors are teaching at American universities. Writers of the rank of Bruno Frank, Franz Werfel, and Heinrich Mann are indirectly strengthening the war potential of the United States by their literary services. Journalists are employed in the Office of War Information, and the special knowledge of alien enemies is also made use of by the Office of

Strategic Services. Even in the prosecution of spies and saboteurs the government uses the expert knowledge of an enemy alien, a leading authority on German penal, administrative, and police law.

The great masses of unknown refugees have proved themselves no less loyal. A statement made by the Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and Central Europe in its last report on German refugees in England applies equally well to the refugees in America:

> The great value of alien labor has been stressed over and over again by ministers and the press. The International Labor Branch of the Ministry of Labor is making strenuous efforts to utilize to the full in the national interest this important source of man- and woman-power. It has been stated authoritatively that nearly 95 per cent of German and Austrian adult refugees are now engaged either directly or indirectly in the war effort.

Some 16,000 refugees collected $48,500 to buy the fighter plane "Loyalty" for their new country. Hundreds have sought to make themselves useful through the Immigrant Victory Council, "which watches for opportunities and duties in civilian defense." Others have contributed repeatedly to the Red Cross blood banks. The sons of many of them are serving in the armed forces with courage and ability.

In contrast to the refugees in England, those in this country have declared their intention of becoming American citizens. They consider it an honor that, individually or by general enactment, they have been deprived of their German citizenship and lament the fact that the President's proclamation renewed their citizenship connections with a Germany which persecuted and outlawed them.

German refugees do not ignore the difficulties that might prevent them from being treated as leniently as the Italians. They would not want the United States to neglect any precaution for lack of which the war might be prolonged even for an hour. But it appeared from Mr. Biddle's Columbus Day speech that this factor of security required consideration in the case of the Italians exactly as in that of the Germans. The Attorney General said explicitly:

> Of course, this reclassification of the Italians does not mean that dangerous or disloyal persons are no longer subject to apprehension or internment. We still will take no chances. It does mean that the regulations applying up to now to alien enemies no longer apply to Italian aliens.

Nothing has occurred during the past year to make the policy of exempting Italian aliens from restrictions appear mistaken. And there is no reason to suppose that the military or political security of the United States would in any way be endangered by granting the same privileges to German refugees.

In the Wind

A NEW APPROACH to birth control appears in the program of the Realistic Peace League of America, which is sending out postcards bearing this message: "Mothers, Next War Is Cooking! We took Puerto Rico with 950,000 population. Gave freedom from want; now 2,000,000 population. Our sentimentality caused 1,050,000 increase. Now Tugwell is there stimulating the birth rate so we will feed more millions! But that's only the beginning. The whole world is to get freedom from want. Does Lehman ask gimme nations to hold down? No, he tells *Americans* to sacrifice so Asiatics, Africans, and Europeans can breed like rabbits on our food! *Overpopulation* largely caused this war and will be, by our folly, the main cause of the next!"

AN ANONYMOUS HANDBILL makes this contribution to peace planning: "We have the sewing-machine, the steamship, the airplane, the telephone, because a very few persons dared to imagine something considered impossible. . . . Peace is taken for granted. Let a million imaginations play around this idea, and methods for its realization will emerge. As an individual, will you just keep on imagining?"

AT A MEETING of the Niagara Frontier Manpower Mobilization Committee in Buffalo, Ray C. Neal, industrialist, made "a plea that the committee ask the government 'to stop this post-war planning propaganda,' " according to the Buffalo *Evening News.* "It's doing harm, he said, by causing people in war jobs to apply already for peace-time employment."

POETS' CORNER: A reader of the New York *Daily Mirror* offers a poem which the editor thinks "hits the bull's-eye—or, rather, the Bear's-eye—neatly." The poem is to be sung to the tune of "Pistol-Packin' Momma." It describes the meeting between "straight" Mr. Hull, "fat Molotov," and Anthony Eden with "his perfumed hair," and ends,

Pick that pistol up, "Unc,"
If they don't come clean,
And we will all be with you
To slug them on the bean.

NEWS BROADCASTS had fewer listeners in New York during October than during September, according to *Broadcasting,* despite an increase of 15.3 per cent in total radio listening time. This was the first decrease since Pearl Harbor.

FESTUNG EUROPA: In Norway representatives of the Nazi police regularly attend church services to check sermons. . . . One of Prague's largest halls was filled to capacity at a secret midnight concert of works by Dvorak and Smetana. Three weeks later the ban on Smetana's music was lifted. The Nazis had discovered that he was a German.

Pressure on our limited space has made it necessary to hold over the sixth instalment of Vernon Bartlett's Diary of the Future. It will appear in next week's issue.

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Freedom of Worship in Italy

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

LAST week the Royal University in Naples was the scene of the first public demand for the abdication of King Victor Emmanuel. A small crowd gathered to honor Benedetto Croce, but when he pleaded for the people's support of a regency, the reaction was sudden and violent. Croce's voice was lost amid shouts of *Viva la republica,* and a similar outburst greeted Sforza's reference to the "new fascism at the Badoglio capital." When representatives of various political groups in the audience attempted to speak, the meeting broke up in turbulent arguments and even fist fights.

The Naples meeting was but one more indication of the rising temper of the Italian people—and of their stubborn opposition to every remnant of the old regime. So far the AMG has kept silent as to the political destiny of the country; its continued support of Badoglio and the King is the one clear political fact that emerges. "AMG in Italy," said the New York *Times* on September 25, "is still operating *sotto voce* as far as the outside world is concerned. Every so often the AMG tells of its accomplishments in Sicily, but not a peep comes from the AMG in Italy." On November 4 the Associated Press declared that "the Italian situation is still far from clarified, no less in the minds of the AMG officials than in those of AMG critics at home."

Under such circumstances an uninformed individual can catch only an occasional glimmer of light and wonder what that glimmer may presage. All in all, it is safe to conclude that the AMG does the best it can in the matter of repairing material damage, and that when the men on the spot are left a free hand in dealing with personal matters, they often display sense, humanity, and resourcefulness. The danger arises when bigwigs and brass hats take up problems of general policy.

A dispatch from the Associated Press published in the New York Spanish daily, *La Prensa,* on August 14 said that General Alexander, Military Governor of Sicily, had had a cordial talk with Cardinal Laritiano, Archbishop of Palermo. It reported further:

> The ecclesiastical authorities cooperate with the Allied Military Government. As a consequence General Alexander suggested that the priests and nuns should help in taking care of the children in the region devastated by war. He suggested also that wherever possible the public schools should be reopened and go on in their educational work *under the direction of the ecclesiastical authorities* [italics mine].

This "story" would not have reached the headquarters of the Associated Press in Washington, and subsequently the offices of *La Prensa,* if the censors in Palermo, Algiers, London, and Washington had not passed it. We may therefore assume that it was true. If *La Prensa* was the only paper to print the item, that was, perhaps, because someone in Washington anticipated the criticism which the news might evoke and instructed the English-language press to kill it.

To understand the full significance of the report, one must recall that under the pre-Fascist regime in Italy a network of secular schools extending from kindergarten to university was created by the central and local governments. Over this system the church had no control. Side by side with these schools, maintained by taxpayers' money, private schools were allowed to exist, and not a few of them were under clerical jurisdiction. The government did not interfere with clerical schools, but if their graduates wished to carry on a legally recognized profession or to enter public employment, they had to obtain a certificate of studies from a public school.

Mussolini compelled the elementary and secondary public schools to teach Catholic doctrine for two hours a week and gave legal authority to the certificates issued by the clerical schools. He did not put the public schools under the supervision of the clergy because such action would have aroused violent protests from his own followers, not to mention the gagged but ever-present liberal opposition. General Alexander must surely have known how strongly Italian intellectuals and all anti-Fascist elements would object to having Sicilian schools placed under the supervision of the clergy.

On October 8 a dispatch from Naples printed in the New York *Herald Tribune* provided another indication of AMG policy:

> All schools remain closed, but the AMG will permit Catholic schools to reopen soon. The religious schools have received priority because the AMG feels that Catholic textbooks and teachers are less imbued with Fascist doctrines.

The belief that Catholic textbooks and teachers are less tainted with Fascism is ridiculous. Books sent to this country by the Fascist government for use in Italian-language parochial schools are stuffed with Fascist propaganda, and the church has never objected. As for the teachers, if one excepts a minority of Fascist firebrands, those in the Italian public schools are generally anti-Fascist. In fact, on November 13 the New York *Times* carried a report from Italy which said that "it was feared the Germans might close some Italian universities on the ground that the professors were teaching anti-Fascist doctrines." "The Milan newspaper *Fascio,*" the *Times* continued, "controlled by the Germans, urged authorities to take the radical measure of closing all universities necessary to prevent anti-Fascist professors from infecting our youth."

If Italian youth is to be saved from anti-Fascist infection, it will be necessary to close not only all universities but all secondary and elementary public schools as well, and not only in northern Italy but also in the south. The monopoly granted by the AMG to clerical schools in Naples—and probably elsewhere—can have but one result: public education, which the church has always hated, will disappear, and young people there as in Sicily will have to take their instruction from the church or forgo it entirely.

An Associated Press dispatch printed in the *Daily Oklahoman* on July 18 said that "parish priests in Sicily are taking the place of Fascist municipal officials in small towns and villages captured by the Allied armies." This too is strange news, and one wonders why the people of Oklahoma were privileged above citizens of other states to read it. Parish priests have never acted as municipal officials in Italy, nor have they on the other hand particularly distinguished themselves as anti-Fascists. Yet they have been selected by the American and British authorities as if no one else in rural Sicily were capable of doing the job.

One more item, reported from Naples by the New York *Times* on October 11, is worth quoting:

> Mass was celebrated today at the Cathedral of San Gennaro in the presence of Alessio Cardinal Ascalesi, with Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark and other high American officers in attendance.

General Clark and other officers, high or low, are entitled to attend mass at any time they wish. But attending mass officially with one's retinue in the presence of a cardinal is not a religious observance. It is a political act.

Who is Alessio Cardinal Ascalesi? He is a man who has been discredited throughout Italy by his unbridled greed for money and his consistent servility to Fascism. Cardinal Ascalesi made no protest against the bombing of Ethiopian villages, and he had nothing to say when Mussolini sent his planes to share in the glory of raiding London. But in March, 1943, he violently condemned the bombing of Naples and called upon God to grant victory over the "bestial" and "atheistic" enemy. Surely it is preposterous to suppose that American authorities must work hand in glove with Fascist cardinals and bishops in order to maintain order in a country where four-fifths of the population have no desire to take political dictation from the Catholic clergy. Surely someone in Naples could have told General Clark that he should decline—if for no other reason than respect for his own "bestial" and "atheistic" country—to attend mass in his official capacity in the presence of Cardinal Ascalesi. To Italians such a gesture could only imply that General Clark had been instructed to encourage some brand of clerical Fascism in Italy.

On the eve of the American and British landings in Sicily Mr. Roosevelt felt it necessary to address the Pope and tell him that "respect for religious belief and for the free exercise of religious worship is fundamental to our ideas." A few weeks later General Alexander, a Military Governor of Sicily, announced that "proper steps will forthwith be taken to stop the operation of all laws which discriminate on the basis of race, color, or creed," and "freedom of religious worship will be upheld." More recently the Moscow conference declared that "freedom of worship" will be restored in Italy.

To Catholic minds the phrase "freedom of religious worship" has a vastly different meaning in a country where the majority of the population are not Catholic from what it has in a Catholic country. In the first case freedom of worship means the freedom of Catholic worship pending the time when the rest of the population can be converted to Catholicism. In countries where the Catholic faith is predominant, freedom of religious worship means, not equality of rights for all churches, but the right of the Catholic church to be regarded as the sole legitimate religious organization, with other churches outlawed or, if that cannot be brought about, merely tolerated. Where the Catholic clergy are unable to control the secular government, they vindicate the freedom of the church by invoking liberal principles; where they acquire direct or indirect political influence, they do what they can to curtail other people's religious freedom, in accordance with their own Catholic principles.

When Messrs. Eden, Hull, and Molotov pledged themselves to "restore" freedom of worship in Italy, what did they mean? Mussolini never challenged the right of the Catholic church to conduct worship freely, even when his relations with the Vatican were passing through crisis. He simply refused to let the Vatican become master of the ship. Mussolini was to be the only master. Thus it is unnecessary for the AMG to "restore" the freedom of Catholic religious worship in Italy. Let us hope that the phrase does not mean that all the demands of the Catholic church are to be complied with, that even those rights and privileges which Mussolini withheld, starting with the right of controlling the schools, will be "restored" as they existed a century ago.

[This is the second of a series of four articles in which Dr. Salvemini comments on the situation in Italy under the AMG. The third will appear in an early issue.]

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

NOVEMBER 11 was the twenty-fifth anniversary of Germany's capitulation in the First World War. The occasion was utilized by the Nazis to whip up the spirit of the people, and in the process the party had recourse to some rather anachronistic devices—it went back to the triumphal ceremonies of the first victory year. In practically every German city there was an enormous parade with flags, posters, music, and speeches. In Frankfurt-am-Main the summons to take part in the celebration was displayed for days beforehand on all the placard pillars and in the newspapers. The notice concluded:

> We will never capitulate! Gauleiter Sprenger will speak. Everybody must come! Nobody must stand aloof! Frankfurt will parade under the motto: "We will be masters of our fate."

On the morning of the great day came a last appeal:

> You too will join us today! Come to the meeting at 10:30 at the Horst Wessel Platz. The people of Frankfurt will make it clear that November, 1918, can never happen again, that cowardice and treachery have no place in our community, that the home front faithfully backs the battle front. We will fight until victory is won.

In Mannheim-Ludwigshaven on the same day the celebrations took an unforeseen course. Dr. Ley, leader of the Labor Front, had been announced as speaker. The preparations had been even more intensive than at Frankfurt. Precise regulations had been laid down for the march of the factory workers and other organizations. Gigantic posters had been put up over the streets and on buildings, bearing the slogans: "Victory at any price!" "Führer, lead us, we will follow"; "Work, Fight, Trust"; "Our motto—victory."

Then, when everything was in readiness, the arrangements were upset by another severe air raid. But there was still time to adapt the scenario to the new situation. How this was done was reported by the Swedish newspaper *Eskilstuna Kuriren* on November 15. Herr Ley, of course, directed his remarks chiefly against "Anglo-American barbarism," and recalled Hitler's words that people who have been bombed out of their homes are "the vanguard of revenge against England." But the main feature was the arrival of 30,000 workmen "with spades and pickaxes over their shoulders." After the ceremonies were ended, they "started in to clear away the debris and extricate the victims."

A struggle is going on in England at present over whether seventeen-year-old boys shall be employed in the coal mines. In Germany fourteen-year-olds have already been sent to the pits.

The first news that such a step had been taken came from the speech of a Youth leader who boasted that for several months "many fourteen-year-old boys" had been working in the coal mines of Upper Silesia. Then on November 19 a long article in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt,* the organ of the German Ministry of Labor, stated that the employment of fourteen-year-old boys was to be organized on the broadest possible basis in the industries in which labor was scarcest. Among these, the building and transportation industries were specified and, above all, coal mining. The writer of the article, a high official in the ministry, declared that there would of course be no infringement of the constitutional right of every German lad to choose a trade for himself. No fourteen-year-old would be "forced" into the mines. "Persuasion" would be used with both the parents and the boys. "They will be persuaded to subordinate their own wishes to the needs of the present and the future." Nazi officials are known to have strong powers of persuasion.

For the first time an Allied propaganda item, a leaflet dropped from a plane, can be shown to have forced the Nazi authorities to change a ruling, or at least to have contributed to such a result. The leaflet dealt with the fact that no évacués from bombed cities are allowed in the neighborhood of Berchtesgaden, the Führer's residence—that, indeed, all the roads are barred in a wide circle around the village so that neither raid victims nor persons walking for pleasure can approach it. The calm and security of the Führer and of other party bigwigs who have built villas in the vicinity are not to be disturbed, the leaflet declared, by annoying and suspicious characters like refugees.

The Nazis' first reaction was a speech by Gauleiter Giesler on October 5. Something called a Berchtesgaden Cultural Heimat Meeting was arranged, and there Herr Giesler poured out his rage at the "deceitful enemy propaganda leaflets dropped in northern Germany." He denied that évacués who had approached too near to Berchtesgaden had ever been shot. And he boasted of Berchtesgaden's large contributions to war charities. He mentioned, for example, that several sanitariums for convalescent soldiers had been set up.

But the "deceitful enemy leaflets" were not disposed of by this one speech; and on November 1 the Stockholm *Aftontidningen* printed a dispatch which carried the story to its conclusion. It said:

> In view of the irritated temper of the people the regulation closing Berchtesgaden to évacués has been rescinded. The public had called the closed zone the Berchtesgaden *Hundeschutzpark* (dog preserve). Now huts are being built for évacués, little other accommodation being available. Party leaders and officials are still exempted from the obligation to receive bombed-out persons in their homes

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

AENEAS AND AUGUSTINE

BY ROBERT FITZGERALD

I HAVE always wished that the narrator of Thornton Wilder's "Cabala" had finished the play he was supposed to be writing around the life of St. Augustine. Perhaps before too long Major Wilder could be persuaded to get the manuscript out of his scholar's trunk and interline its pages with fresh dialogue, suitable for a Jed Harris production. There is surely a part in it for Miss Bankhead, a part that might engage her powers more fully than that which Major Wilder bestowed on her last season. It would be a momentous first night, and one of diabolical paradox, for of all the intense intellects that ever came into this world Augustine was perhaps the most scornful of the theater and the other professional arts.

This, I think, is an aspect of him, admittedly incidental to theologians, upon which we might reflect to some purpose, now that Mr. Sheed has brought out his new translation of "The Confessions" (Sheed and Ward. $3). It is a sensible and vigorous translation into plain English, much more readable than Pusey's version of 1838, even though Augustine's subtler meanings are sometimes better rendered in the old-fashioned English of Dr. Pusey. Take, for example, the passage in Book II, Chapter 1, in which Augustine says, *silvescere ausus sum variis et umbrosis amoribus*. Sheed: "I sank to the animal in a succession of dark lusts." Pusey: "I dared to grow wild again, with these various and shadowy loves." Here I feel that although something may be said for the greater violence of Sheed's statement, there is little to be said for his rendering of *silvescere* and no excuse whatever for his omission of the idea of "daring." As a precise record of emotion, and as one of the marvels of Latin prose, the text suffers somewhat from this sort of treatment.

The odd thing is that Augustine, one feels, quite possibly would approve Sheed's blunt, clear, Roman Catholic rendering rather than Pusey's donnish and delicate Anglican one. For the remarkable Bishop of Hippo (now Bône, in Algeria) ended with small reverence for the art of which he was a master—the literary art, or, as it was then practiced, rhetoric. We are well situated for comprehending this, having been aware in our own time of a continuous tension between the "literary" and other conceivably more valuable kinds of writing. We have, indeed, seen certain anti-literary efforts comparable in splendor to Augustine's, though none, I think, of comparable coherence. We are even so familiar with a prejudice against Vergil that Augustine's revulsion from his boyhood pleasure in the "Aeneid" may not strike us as surprising. It is this that I should like to dwell on for a few moments here.

He is saying that his early lessons, in reading and writing, were worth more to him than the later ones, *quibus tenere cogebar Aeneae nescio cuius errores oblitus errorum meorum*, "in which I was forced to memorize the wanderings of Aeneas—whoever *he* was—while forgetting my own wanderings." Mr. Sheed translates colloquially and correctly here, conveying the impatience, the conscious boorishness of the Latin sentence. This little passage on Vergil is more interesting, because at first sight more perverse, than Augustine's famous objection to Tragedy. One can feel in accord with him there, seeing that the common run of drama in performance—and the theater is second-rate in our time as it was in his—does trouble us with a suspicion that the mummers have taken us in. But to cast out the "Aeneid" because Aeneas's wanderings are not ours is a procedure that, taken literally, could leave us without literature entirely.

Turning again to the poem that Augustine had apparently loved enough to regret with such asceticism, I had no need to go beyond the second book to become convinced of its glory as a work of art. The conviction came upon me precisely at line 558 in Book II. Augustine may have felt a like conviction, for he reproves himself specifically because *mihi erat . . . dulcissimum spectaculum vanitatis equus ligneus plenus armatis et Troiae incendium*, "the Wooden Horse with its armed men, and Troy on fire . . . were sheer delight." It is difficult to review in a few words the progression of effects by which, throughout that book, Vergil had created the scene of sad night and gliding disaster; the surprise, the street fighting, the flames and slaughter; the terrible energies, the noble deaths in his Asian city taken by storm. One becomes finally aware of the more-than-life *dimension* of this action, and simultaneously, with a shiver, of Vergil's own awareness of it, when Pyrrhus has dragged old Priam by the hair and killed him, and:

> *hic exitus illum*
> *sorte tulit Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem*
> *Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum*
> *regnatorem Asiae, iacet ingens litore truncus,*
> *avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus. . . .*

> So he was taken off,
> As luck would have it, seeing his city afire, seeing
> Troy, that once held sway over so many lands and peoples,
> The pride of Asia, fallen. The mighty trunk lies prone,
> Head and shoulders severed, nameless, beside the ocean. . . .

The torso, the huge form there, is the permanent sculpture of the classic age.

Now Augustine, all historians agree, saw that age brought to an end; for he saw what one may imagine that Vergil glimpsed in a vision: the end of the fourth century, the incursions of the barbarians and the humbling of the Roman cities: Rome herself in 410 and Hippo, by the Vandals, while the great bishop himself lay dying. Surely the Vergilian language was still lovely in the ears of cultivated Italian, Spanish, and Gallic people; the verses of Ausonius prove

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that it was still alive. But the specifically Roman adventure of the human spirit—that had been played out, and the imperial synthesis slipped apart.

Miss Rebecca West, in her admirable little biography of St. Augustine, insists on his un-Roman Numidian stock; on the fact that even among provincials his social rank was definitely inferior. Ambrose, the Roman gentleman and bishop of Milan, successfully snubbed him. Miss West interprets the saint's temper as a combination of barbaric African vitality and the inflamed pride of the outlander, rather like the Anglo-Irish "squireen's son." Hence, she suggests, his readiness to throw over Rome for the City of God, and hence his rudeness toward Father Aeneas. This is a brilliant if somewhat imperialistic view of the matter.

By way of modification, it may be said that in his irritation at the "Aeneid," and in certain qualities of his own style, Augustine is related to a very old line of Latin expression—a popular, Republican Roman strain. I am thinking of Cato, the comic poets, and Catullus, the writers of Latin as the people spoke it, not as the later orators drew it out after their Greek studies at Rhodes, or as the fashionable amorists of the capital polished it in elegiacs. Vergil, too, was a sophisticate; he had a Greek model; and if Book II of the "Aeneid" shows us that Rome under the principate was capable of real grandeur, self-conscious but still austere, Book I reminds us too often of the darling Hellenism that softened late Roman art.

It was the goldsmith's, the cameo-cutter's period; a plague of cute cupids had settled over Rome. The opening scenes of the "Aeneid" are touched with this sort of charm. Aeneas's mother, Venus, resembles less the deep goddess of Lucretius, *hominum divumque voluptas*, than a costumed huntress at the Petit Trianon with knees erotically bared. I suspect that one reason for our common American dislike of Vergil may be that in school we begin his poem at the beginning, thus forming a first impression that it may take years to correct. Well, Cato had growled against Hellenism at the time of the Punic Wars, two centuries before Vergil, six centuries before Augustine, and by Augustine's time it was certainly no longer a novelty.

But larger matters than any of these were, and are, implied in St. Augustine's discourtesy to the literary masterwork of Rome. There is no doubt that the thirteen books of "The Confessions" are themselves a work of genius, perhaps the first created in Christendom. Only once before in Latin, I believe, had thought risen to the level of passion; but the intellectual quality of Lucretius is mechanical compared with certain efforts of Augustine. And I must here question Miss West's judgment, and even more decidedly that of Mr. Sheed, in regarding the first ten books of "The Confessions" as self-sufficient. The earlier "tutorial edition" of Mr. Sheed's translation was truncated, it seems to me, by the omission of Books XI, XII, and XIII. The reason given, of course, is that only the first ten are "autobiographical." If they were *merely* autobiographical, one might agree as to the superfluity of three final books upon "God, Creation, Time and Space, Spirit and Matter." The fact is that the entire work is concerned with these subjects and is indeed formally and continuously addressed to the first of them.

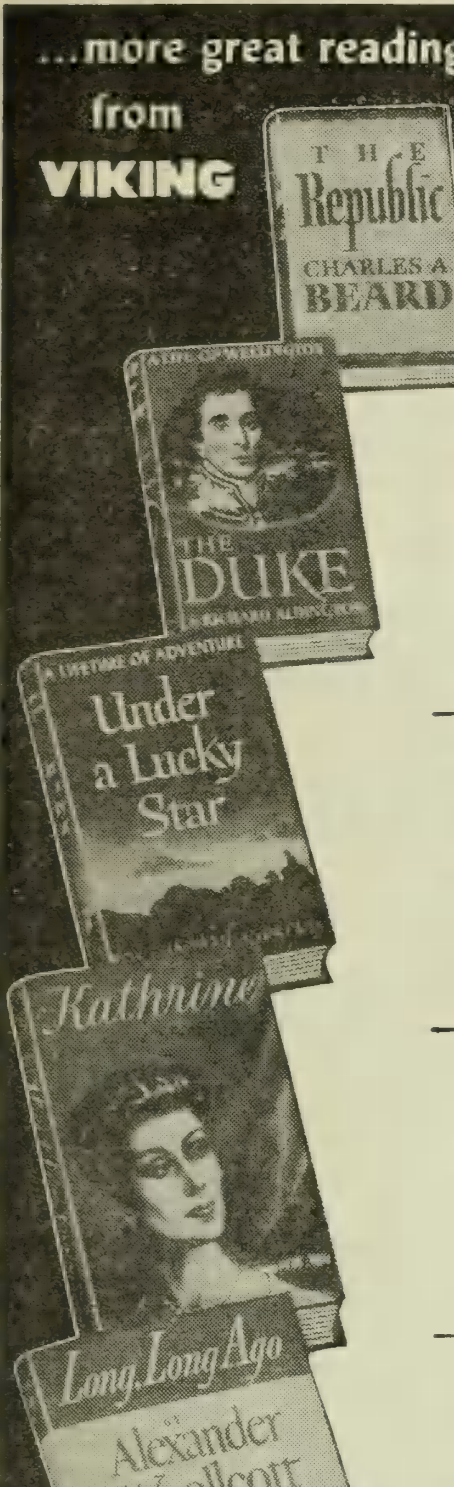
Instead of the old Aegean heaven of Vergil with its sunlit gods, pouting or smiling, we have at the opening of "The Confessions" an extended evocation of a Creator whose attributes are all superlative, all infinite. Twenty years a rhetorician, Augustine seems to have let his pen run at high speed through eloquent exercises of antithesis and chiasmus: *apud te rerum omnium instabilium stant causae et rerum omnium mutabilium inmūtabiles manent origines et omnium inrationalium et temporalium sempiternae vivunt rationes . . .* "before Your face stand the causes of all things transient and the changeless principles of all things that change, and the eternal reasons of all the things of unreason and of time." The questioning, echoing prose pursues at every turn the exact relationship between this intellectual God, directly perceived as neither Hebrew awe nor Greek speculation had quite perceived Him, and the confiding human consciousness. And this is the work of "The Confessions": to locate the writer and his experience with reference to an intimate yet immeasurable reality or, to use the proper term, Being.

In place, then, of the fictive hero cast upon the African shore we read about an actual child that came kicking into the sensuous world, not a child but an *ego* disguised as a child, for he says, *ecce infantia mea olim mortua est et ego vivo,* "that infancy of mine died long since, yet I still live." And in a few quick pages we are introduced with painful clarity to how the needy newcomer felt and from what he desperately drew his life; how far from innocent he was, and how he learned. Described for us in Book II, quite as terrifying as the excess of Troy's ravagers, is the excess of adolescent delinquency—the *acte gratuit* that interested Gide and has devastated Europe, "a demonstration" as Miss West says, "against order, the cherished work of the adult." And in Book IV, far different from the pathos of Dido's death for love, are the beautiful fiery sentences that Augustine found for his grief at his friend's death, a passage as permanent as anything in Latin, being permanently true:

> *Quo dolore contenebratum est cor meum, et quidquid aspiciebam mors erat, et erat mihi patria supplicium et paterna domus mira infelicitas, et quidquid cum illo communicaveram, sine illo in cruciatum immanem verterat. expetebant eum undique oculi mei, et non dabatur; et oderam omnia, quod non haberent eum, nec mihi iam dicere poterant: 'ecce venit,' sicut cum veniret, quando absens erat . . . et si dicebam: 'spera in deum,' iuste non obtemperabat, quia verior erat et melior homo, quem carissimum amiserat, quam phantasma, in quod sperare iubebatur.*

> At this grief my heart was utterly darkened; and whatever I beheld was death. My native country was a torment to me, and my father's house was a strange unhappiness; and whatever I had shared with him, wanting him, became a distracting torture. Mine eyes sought him everywhere, but he was not granted them; and I hated all places, for that they had not him; nor could they now tell me, 'he is coming,' as when he was alive and absent. . . . And if I said, 'Trust in God,' my soul very rightly obeyed me not; because that most dear friend, whom she had lost, was, being man, both truer and better than that phantasm she was bid to trust in. (Pusey.)

I will not carry the parallel columns any farther. There are some passages in "The Confessions" that must seem mere curiosities to us, particularly the discussions of Manichaeism; with others we can feel little sympathy. I myself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LONG, LONG AGO

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simply have not the virtue necessary to agree with Augustine—and the church—as to the virtue of his fascinating mother, who strikes me as a perfect horror of early piety. Some of us may discourse well about the psychology of his struggle toward conversion, a struggle, in the end, largely for the renunciation of sexual pleasure. But as to the truth with which he rendered his life and emotions no one will disagree. One reason for it might be that he wrote for an auditor whose perfections included perfect Truth.

The subject of "The Confessions," indeed, would have been but half treated if Augustine had told only of himself; the other, vaster term would have remained without definition. Contrary to Rebecca West's opinion, therefore, it was artistically sound for him to conclude his work with a prolonged effort at exploring the metaphysical.

We vaguely hold to the notion that in Augustine's age, in the words of Rostovtzeff, "men had grown weary and unwilling to seek further. They turned greedily to a creed that promised to calm the troubled mind." However true this may be, the last books of "The Confessions" show Augustine "seeking further" at a furious rate; by contrast, the Vergilian temper seems weary and resigned. The ascent begins in Book X, with great rhetorical magnificence. I wonder if St. Francis of Assisi's celebrated prayer, nine centuries later, was not an echo of Augustine's address to those other creatures of God, the earth, the air, the sea, and the stars: *interrogavi terram,* etc. There is a thousand years of Ionic, Eleatic, Platonic, Aristotelian, and Alexandrian metaphysics, and three hundred years of Christian theology, behind Augustine's discussion of Time in Book XI; it is highly refined, but I suppose that on this topic there is not another flight of thought so arrowy before Kant, whose perception Augustine anticipated.

"He matched the self of which man is certain," says Miss West, "against the most extreme uncertainties man recognizes in the universe, as if he were cheering two cocks fighting in a pit. It was a spirit very necessary in that period when—as happens in all periods of extreme political and economic disorder—the proper philosophical skepticism as to the infallibility of man's mental instrument had suffered a morbid degeneration into hysterical coma. . . ." We are only too familiar with the state described. If we are also familiar with honesties as religious as Augustine's—and I shall mention here not only the work of James Joyce but the American effort of James Agee and Walker Evans in their "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men"—that is our present good fortune and a token of grace.

Whitman's Due

WALT WHITMAN: AN AMERICAN. By Henry Seidel Canby. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.75.

"WHAT?" you exclaim, "another book about Whitman? But is there anything left to say?"

And yet, haven't the other accounts of this man been somewhat tentative and exploratory? Unless you except Bliss Perry, who has yet treated Whitman in the sensible way, fully informed and warm-hearted and cool-headed, that is his due? Who has put together his crudity and grandeur, his egotism and affection, his ignorance and wisdom, and made them cohere? Who has made him look quite believable?

For one thing, there hasn't been time. It is less than a hundred years since Walt's "barbaric yawp" first sounded above the roofs of the world. At that time we were not sure that any of the Muses had crossed the Atlantic, or that they should be given naturalization papers. We had to get over our sense of shock at seeing an American, obviously able-bodied and not a college professor, spending his life in writing what he called "pomes." And it did not help that these effusions were composed in what he thought was an American lingo, or that they dealt with American themes. They committed the impropriety, not to say the sacrilege, of trying to connect beauty with serious matters such as business and politics. Moreover, they did not come in the recognized poetical packages. They were as innocent of rhyme and meter as their author was of a necktie. They spoke in plain terms about plain things such as locomotives and cab-drivers, not to mention other matters which were—unmentionable. And so the Anthony Comstocks had to be heard from. We had to listen to the pundits of Boston and the poetasters of the Century Club. We had to wait for the opinions of the English critics about the bull in our china shop. All this took time. It has taken so much time that not even today has Whitman come home to the audience for which he wrote. We have not accepted his invitation:

> Take my leaves, America!
> Take them, South, and take them, North!
> Make welcome for them everywhere,
> For they are your own offspring.
> Surround them, East and West!
> For they would surround you.

Yet Whitman comes nearer to us, or we approach him more closely, year by year. For a long while he has been shaping the minds by which he is to be understood, as Marcel Proust used to say that every creative artist and thinker must do. And recently this approach has been hastened by outward events. We are reading Whitman more because we need him—need his vision of what America is at the core and what it must therefore become. We need his faith in democracy, if only to answer the doubts and fears that he had long ago. For this reason a good book about Whitman comes just now in the nick of time.

Mr. Canby has made not a photograph but a portrait. His book is an interpretation of the record open to everyone. "Now," he says, "when it is so necessary for Americans to feel the strength and continuity of their own traditions, a new life of Whitman should be not so much a final mopping-up of unpublished letters and fragments as an attempt to set in order and make use of all pertinent information." In his opinion, "the clues to the so-called mystery of Walt Whitman are not to be found in unrevealed scraps of personal experience but in the unique history of the electric America in which he matured, an America charged with spiritual idealism, double-charged with intellectual and physical energy." He holds that although Whitman was certainly not representative of America in the nineteenth century, he was in a high degree symbolic of his time and place in "its expansive-

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ness, its moral conflicts, its essential quality of continual revolution, its struggle for fraternity, its large hopes." To Whitman's assertion that "America *is* democracy" Mr. Canby adds his own, that "Whitman *is* democracy," leaving us to recall that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other.

This book is written not in a mood of hero-worship but with that warmth of affection which Whitman somehow awakens in all who come close to him, even by means of the printed page. Mr. Canby is at some pains to dispel certain parts of the Whitman legend for which there has never been found any warrant in fact. He makes it clear that Walt was by no means freakish, lazy, dissolute, or inclined to claim the alleged licenses of the "artistic temperament." That he posed a good deal, always dressed for his part, wrote many of his own blurbs and reviews, and talked too much about himself is what everyone knows, but his biographer thinks it more important that he was a good son and brother, that he had a genius for friendship, and that love, in all the senses the word can bear, was the vitalizing essence of his life. He treats Whitman's attitude toward sex with good sense and moderation, using all the knowledge about this matter that we have, or need. He emphasizes what may be called the normalities of Whitman's career, such as the modest success he attained in journalism and his close acquaintance with practical politics. Some of his best pages are those that deal with Walt's work as a nurse, or rather as a hospital visitor, in the years of the Civil War. It was by means of that work, he believes, that Whitman discovered the deeper meanings of love, of democracy, and of America.

Mr. Canby's book is least satisfactory in what it says, and does not say, about Whitman's style. To mention a small matter first, one does not see what he can mean by asserting that the characteristic movement of Whitman's verse is "trochaic" when even the examples he cites are obviously dactylic. One wishes that there might have been something said about the effect Whitman gives, when at his best, of finding his words far below the surface of his conscious thought. In this connection, too, it might have been pointed out how admirably the structure of his best longer poems grows, as it were, from within. Too obvious for mention, perhaps, because it is of poetry's essence, is his constant recourse to the concrete, the actual, the specific; and closely related to this is the way in which his thought often shoots up from the seed of fact into an Ygdrasil of meanings that embrace the world and fill the sky. Thus his "Passage to India," in which he comes nearest to greatness, begins with the Suez Canal and the Union Pacific Railroad but ends with a prophecy of the soul's destination.

Whitman's style, both in prose and verse, is often magnificent, but one can guess why Mr. Canby has here paid it comparatively little attention. The important things about Whitman, at any rate to us at the present time, are of another sort. He helped to set free not our verse alone but our thoughts and moods. He assisted mightily in the effort, still going on, to swing poetry away from its aristocratic past and to make it a common possession. In the place of solitude and all the wealth of meaning that word was given by Emerson and Thoreau, in the place of self-reliance, "rugged individualism," and isolation in all its aspects, he helped us to put the ideal of solidarity. And there can be no doubt what advice he would give his country, if he were living now, upon its greatest present problem. "I do not seem able," he said in later life, "to bring myself to love America, to desire American prosperity, at the expense of other nations."

Surprising as this remark may be coming from a man who had once been almost ludicrously chauvinistic, it represents the considered opinion of Whitman's maturer years. And the bridge by which he passed from his boasting about "These States" into an all-embracing internationalism was, simply, his love for mankind. In one of the most deeply characteristic of his utterances he said: "I want the people: most of all the people: the crowd, the mass, the whole body of the people: men, women, children: I want them to have all that belongs to them: not a part of it, not most of it, but all of it: I want anything done that will give the people their proper opportunities—their full life: anything, anything: whether by one means or another, I want the people to be given their due."

More than fifty years have passed since those burning words were spoken, and the political party to which Whitman belonged has done something on the task he set. He could not have told us how it is to be completed, but today there are many thousands serving on his Ways and Means Committee.

ODELL SHEPARD

Partisans vs. Chetniks

MY NATIVE LAND. By Louis Adamic. Harper and Brothers. $3.75.

LOUIS ADAMIC tells us that since the summer of 1942 he has been receiving weekly bundles of "memoranda, underground papers, clippings, and official documents" which reveal—to his satisfaction, at least—the true state of affairs in occupied Yugoslavia. On the basis of these and other anonymous sources, supported by quotations from the Russian or Communist press and radio—*Inter-Continent News,* the *Daily Worker,* the Free Yugoslavia radio and Radio Tiflis—he has written a 507-page tract against the *Mikhailovitchevtsi* and in favor of *Partizanstvo.* Though he has included four appendices, he has neglected to provide an index; and in a book as full of controversial material as this one the lack of an index is a serious defect.

Mr. Adamic is writing here as a pamphleteer, not as a historian, and it is perhaps unfair to ask that he substantiate his every assertion. Nevertheless, I wish he had been a little more careful about his facts, many of which are demonstrably mistaken, and a little less eager to bend his somewhat dubious source material to fit the purposes of his argument. It is easy enough to demolish the Mihailovich legend without making a legend of the Partisans, which is what I am afraid Mr. Adamic, by inductive reasoning and wishful thinking, has done. Granting that the *Mikhailovitchevtsi* have become pan-Serbian nationalists, to compare Mihailovich himself with Gamelin, and his followers with the Spanish Falange, is hitting, it seems to me, below the belt. Moreover, since he was born in Slovenia, Mr. Adamic writes from a strongly Slovenian and therefore pro-Croatian point of view and ignores the many arguments in favor of the

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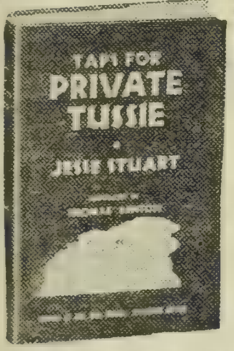

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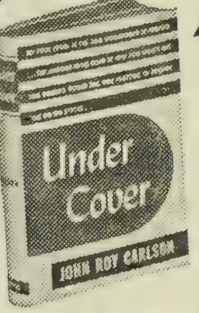

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Serbian cause. I think he minimizes unduly the pertinent if unpalatable facts that it was the Serbs alone who fought the Germans in the beginning, and that Serbian irregulars were carrying on guerrilla warfare long before the Liberation Front came into being. If the Partisans accuse the *Mikhailovitchevtsi* of treason now, the *Mikhailovitchevtsi* with equal cause accused the potential Partisans of treason then. Mr. Adamic himself admits that the collapse of Yugoslavia was probably "not a wholly unwelcome occurrence" to many of the Slovenes and Croats who are leading the Partisans today. For my part, I find it difficult to forget that Croatian Communists, like their comrades in France, refused to fight for their country until after the Germans invaded Russia. Mr. Adamic explains such defection as "a new morality, a new patriotism"; and—cynicism aside—he may possibly be right, for the old Yugoslavia, like the old France, was in many ways intolerable to people who yearned for a real new order, not a restoration of the old. On the other hand, if, as Mr. Adamic believes, the Liberation Front will lead straight to sovietization, will it not create a counter-force of equally democratic opinion in favor of Balkan federation but opposed to making Yugoslavia a Russian province? On which side will lie patriotism then?

The Serbian position of the moment, at least as represented by Mihailovich, the government in exile, and the *American Serbobran* in Pittsburgh, has admittedly reached a chauvinistic phase. It is inconceivable that the decrepit leaders of the exiled government will be acceptable after the war to any but the most reactionary elements in Yugoslavia. Even King Peter—though he is too young to have done much harm as yet—will be unacceptable to an overwhelming majority of Croats and Slovenes, if not of Serbs, because of the sorry records of Paul and Alexander. One proposition no longer denied by anyone, be he pan-Serb or ultra-Croat, progressive or reactionary, is that Yugoslavia cannot and will not be recreated if the Karageorgevich dynasty is restored.

But is sovietization the only answer to the disreputable dynasties of which our Metternichs of the State Department and Foreign Office are apparently so enamored? Will Russian imperialism be any more acceptable to the Balkan peoples than the Anglo-Saxon variety? I seriously doubt it. Though the Russian philosophy undoubtedly has much to commend it, to Russians, I still think the bulk of the Balkan peoples—and Greeks must be considered as well as Yugoslavs—would prefer to emulate American history if our leaders would but give them the opportunity. The stumbling-block, of course, is that our legitimist truckling to the House of Savoy in Italy—to say nothing of our apparent preference for Franco and Badoglio over Tito and De Gaulle—is rapidly causing our would-be allies among the peoples of Europe to despair of Anglo-Saxon ideals. Nevertheless, those ideals are still alive and vibrant, in the Balkans as everywhere else; and what the Communist leaders of the Liberation Front are offering the Yugoslavs today is not collectivization, dogma, and regimentation but a Bill of Rights, freedom of speech and assembly, separation of church and state, and a popular, representative government within a nuclear Balkan federation. This excellent program, I submit, is closer to the Anglo-Saxon tradition than it is to what Russia has to offer, at least on the basis of its immediate past. What our leaders have been unable to see, and what Mr. Adamic makes abundantly clear, is that Russia through the Partisans has been stealing our democratic thunder by our default. Mr. Adamic believes that the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations are little more than fictions. Here again he may be right; if he is, then sovietization may be the simplest if not the best ending of the Balkan tragedy. But I very much fear that in the process the Balkan peoples will once again have been cheated of their legitimate aspirations. LEIGH WHITE

Reading, Writing, and Rules

THE READER OVER YOUR SHOULDER. A Handbook for Writers of English Prose. By Robert Graves and Alan Hodge. The Macmillan Company. $3.

THE obvious weakness of most handbooks on writing is that they are turned out by people who don't know how to write. The average manual, while explaining grammar, outrages idiom, and while inculcating correctness, murders style. Indeed, it does rather well if it does no worse, for most authors of handbooks don't know what they are talking about, and are hardly better mentors than models. They would rap my knuckles because I said "people" rather than "persons" in the first sentence of this review, and they will rap yours if you use "apt" for "likely" or say "those sort of things." They will tell you that "enthuse" is not a word, never dreaming that "motivate" is not one either. They point out that "balance" does not mean "remainder"—though no harm would be done if it were allowed to—but not that "affable" doesn't mean "friendly"—though a fine distinction is lost by letting it.

I was therefore exhilarated by the sight of this book: at last two writers, one of them famous, had taken over the job from the pedants. But, everything considered, they had better hand it back again. "The Reader Over Your Shoulder" is, in its own way, a very interesting book, but as a manual—and its subtitle proclaims it to be one—it is an absurdity. Its presentation is both confused and confusing; its contents are wantonly heterogeneous and often shamelessly irrelevant. To call it a handbook is like calling a peddler's pack a filing cabinet. The book's nature would have been better advertised had Mr. Hodge's collaborator been a Mr. Podge.

Mr. Hodge and his collaborator have, to be sure, sound and even benevolent intentions. They would foster better writing, not to save the writer's soul, but to preserve the reader's sanity. Realizing the speed at which a modern reader travels, they want the modern writer to befuddle, mislead, and distract him as little as possible. They want to banish the flabby, the imprecise, the otiose; they seek not only the right order of words but the right sequence of sentences and the right marshaling of paragraphs. They plead for logic and clarity in writing, and they hope for grace.

But these champions of order fail to exemplify it. Their book's arrangement violates all the rules they lay down for prose arrangement. There is very little coherence, partly because there is very little unity. For one thing, Mr. Graves and Mr. Hodge don't bother to get down to rules until they have wallowed in irrelevancies. For another, they shuttle capriciously between very elementary problems of writing

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Remember somebody with WAR BONDS

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and quite advanced ones. And what, all the time, they have up their sleeve is a packet of Horrible Examples from the prose of some fifty well-known contemporaries, to the dissecting and rewriting of which they devote the last 239 of their 446 pages. But all that in good time.

The book opens with chapters on the nature of the English language and on the qualities, good and bad, in several centuries of English prose style. These chapters have a certain interest and value, though they merely skim the surface and, what is more serious, slide out of bounds. Thus, into a handbook on writing Mr. Graves and Mr. Hodge introduce much factual matter about writers ("[Jeremy Taylor] was born in 1613 and became rector of a village in Rutlandshire . . .") together with much comment about literature ("[Defoe's characters] have few qualms of conscience while engaged in their felonies"). Irrelevant or not, all this might just squeak through in a book that assumed a certain cultural awareness in its readers. But Mr. Graves and Mr. Hodge assume, on the contrary, that their readers are absolute ignoramuses, and refer to "Demosthenes, the most famous orator of Athens"; while elsewhere they act as though their readers were positive illiterates: "Parenthesis-signs," our authors remark, "are always used in pairs"!

At page 127 Messrs. Graves and Hodge are in a mood to confide their "own principles for writing prose . . . twenty-five concerned with clarity of statement, and sixteen with grace of expression." Most of these rules make excellent sense, but a number of them are laboriously expounded, and a few are sheer pedantry. We are told, for example, that no paragraph should begin with "but." Well, what is commonly regarded as the great classic of American prose begins a paragraph with "But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate . . ."; and even if it didn't, Mr. Graves's and Mr. Hodge's reasoning would be just as unsound.

Their rules enunciated, Mr. Graves and Mr. Hodge have a dandy time applying them to the wayward prose of various politicians and military men, and of such distinguished writers as Wells, Shaw, Eliot, and Hemingway. They concede that many of the things they find fault with are trifling; the point is that they are so numerous: "Though a single fly-spot does not make a dirty window-pane, twenty or thirty do." In any case, Mr. Graves and Mr. Hodge drum up plenty of business for the window cleaners. But though this section of the book makes very good sport, it does not—in the handbook sense—serve too useful an end. For one thing, our authors go in for the worst sort of hairsplitting. They would, for example, amend Eliot's "English criticism is inclined to argue . . ." to "English critics are inclined to argue": surely this is worse than puristic, it is downright repressive—it robs prose of so valid and immemorial a tool as personification. Again, Messrs. Graves's and Hodge's breakdown of their Horrible Examples becomes insufferably tedious, from both the great number and the frequent over-niceness of its points; it wearies a reader far too much to benefit him. Finally, it is foolish of our authors, no matter how modest their intentions, to rewrite the offending passages: their own versions have necessarily the neutral quality of a translation, since they wash the color out of an Eliot while permitting none of the color of a Graves and Hodge. Surely prose that lacks character is no more exemplary than prose that lacks clearness.

I don't suppose there is anybody who can't somewher profit by reading this book. But I can conceive of no on for whom it will prove a really serviceable manual. As reference book it is hopeless: far from following dictionar principles, it doesn't even have an index. As a textbook it i almost as hopeless, because it lacks logical development. A a compendium, it omits many obvious matters for discussion including my own pet abomination, the verbal junk-jewelr of every age—such things, in our own age, as "vis-à-vi Hitler" or "militarily." Finally, as a carry-all, it accommodates no class of traveler comfortably. Its subtitle would apply equally to Santayana and to any British M. Jourdain who had to write a letter. Beginners are far better served by such a book as Maxwell Nurnberg's "What's the Good Word?"; writers of all classes are infinitely better served by the justly famous Mr. Fowler. Indeed, the more I see of other manualists, the more my admiration for Fowler grows.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Education and Wisdom

LIBERAL EDUCATION. By Mark Van Doren. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

IN A sense "Liberal Education" is a war book. At any rate, the author states in his preface that the war was its "immediate occasion." It was written in the conviction that the present disruption of liberal education in the United States is temporary, that never again will the American people be satisfied with the pre-war "college of liberal arts," and that now is the time to do our educational thinking for the post-war period.

The book is brilliantly written. This of course would be anticipated by anyone who is at all familiar with the work and talents of the author. It is also a serious book. This is one of its greatest merits. From the first page to the last Mr. Van Doren presents education as an extremely serious matter, whether viewed from the individual or the social standpoint. He presents education too as a most arduous and exacting undertaking. All of this is timely and true.

On the negative side "Liberal Education" constitutes a vigorous and uncompromising attack on a trend of more than a century in American higher education—the trend to "liberalize," to use the word of the period, the inherited classical curriculum of the colleges. This trend may be said to have been inaugurated by Thomas Jefferson with the founding of the University of Virginia in 1819. Here for the first time the "elective principle," as it came to be called later, was introduced. The students were allowed some freedom of choice in the subjects pursued. In the same year George Ticknor, a friend of Jefferson and a teacher of modern languages, joined the Harvard faculty. From that time until he severed his connection with the college at Cambridge in 1835 this powerful advocate of "modern studies" fought with some success to soften the rigidity of the traditional curriculum. In these years many other colleges, notably Amherst, Bowdoin, Brown, and Union, moved in the same direction. The trend reached its culmination in 1894 under the leadership of a nephew of George Ticknor, President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard. In that year the only bsolute requirement remaining in this college was Fresh- an English. Although such an extreme application of the lective principle has been extremely rare, the Harvard ex- mple, combined with forces working in American life and cholarship, influenced profoundly the practices of American olleges.

The weakness of the elective principle has been apparent rom the time of its first appearance. And it has generally unctioned merely as one among several principles guiding he construction and administration of the college curriculum. t served a useful purpose in breaking the "cake of custom" nd in opening the way for the introduction of modern ubjects. To the extent that this was its only purpose its doption constituted an evasion of responsibility by educa- ional leaders. Instead of confronting squarely the problem of creating the best possible education for youth, they yielded o pressures of subject-matter groups and passed on to the tudent the supremely difficult task of making educational choices and thus of building the curriculum. Mr. Van Doren s quite right in viewing this as a case of professional abdication. It might be compared with the action of a physician who places all of his medicines "without prejudice" at the discretion of his patient.

On the positive side the author declares that educators must confront the very problem which the advocates of the "elective principle" avoided. They must answer without equivocation the two most fundamental questions in education: "What things shall be studied, and in what order?" Mr. Van Doren then asserts that "a system of education which avoids those questions and concentrates on the problems of administration or teaching method, or which broods in public upon the metaphysics of student life, has lost its aim." With this thesis all serious students of education must agree.

However, when the author proceeds to state without qualification that "the search for a curriculum is the search for one that is worthy to be uniform and universal," many who are as deeply devoted to the cause of liberal education as he will refuse to follow him. Life demonstrates every day that the human mind may be disciplined and liberated in many and diverse ways. The aphorism adapted from Lucretius that "one man's meat is another man's poison" is as applicable to the process of education as to any other department of life.

Of those who follow the author through his advocacy of the "uniform and universal curriculum," many more will leave his company when they see the curriculum he proposes. He conceives the educational problem essentially as that of training the human mind. In the concrete this means "learning the arts of investigation, discovery, criticism, and communication." The best materials devised for this purpose in the whole history of education are the trivium and the quadrivium, or the seven liberal arts of grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. But these liberal arts cannot be practiced *in vacuo*. Nor should they be practiced with second- or third-rate materials. The entire logic of the book therefore leads as straight as an arrow to the St. John's College curriculum—to the one hundred or more "great books" from Homer's "Iliad" to Veblen's "Projective Geometry".!

By this time it is obvious that we are almost back to our

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starting-point. The elective system in its extreme form was an evasion of professional responsibility. Recourse to the "great books," like the rigid classical curriculum of the eighteenth century, is a similar evasion. In the last analysis it belongs in the same category, though on a more pretentious plane, as the doctrine of following the pupil's interests or of counting and computing averages of human activities. For a limited number of students it would doubtless constitute a valuable program of studies. But if the plan were ever generally adopted, one can easily foresee the consequences. After its novelty had worn away, after the initial enthusiasm of the instructors had been dissipated, and after the sense of intellectual snobbery generated in students by its esoteric emphasis had been lost, it would degenerate into a lifeless routine. Comenius, the great Moravian educator whom Mr. Van Doren quotes frequently and with approval, once characterized schools of his time with a similar emphasis "as slaughter-houses of the mind . . . places where minds are fed on words."

The beginning of wisdom with regard to education is recognition of the fact that the problem of education is not to be separated from the problem of civilization. Only as we confront the latter can we succeed in confronting the former. And the problem of our civilization is certainly quite as much a moral as it is an intellectual problem.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

An Accuracy of Abundance

JOHN STEUART CURRY'S PAGEANT OF AMERICA. By Laurence E. Schmeckebier. American Artists Group. $5.

JOHN STEUART CURRY was born in Kansas in 1897 and is now Artist in Residence at the University of Wisconsin. His native state, the sunflower state, is geographically the center of America, and as noted by Reginald Marsh, the Hereford bull "Ajax"—completed as an oil in 1940—is "good beef" and is also John Curry. The bull has "the solid weight of sculpture," "the mass is insistent"; "as he grazes he leans," head sideward to tear the grass, his legs planted with a certain "deadly earnestness."

Mr. Curry's factual understanding of animals is daringly honest; as portrayed in the "hip slouch" of a tired horse, the sitting crouch of a frightened horse, in "The Stallion" "as he prances forth from the runway into the arena." Curry has always had an admiration for hogs, we are told, and this admiration has a counterpart in his respect for elephants. "With an elephant's as with a pig's eyes," he says, "you don't see the eye at first," "then suddenly you become conscious of its gleaming presence in the shadow of the ear."

Animals are eternity not less than subjects of a different kind; yet Mr. Curry's symbolic demands for national repentance should in themselves be enough to make him glad to have been born. "The trembling terror of the fugitive," his feet prehensilely flattened like bark to the tree; John Brown towering above "free-soil and pro-slavery forces," "a man who, when the nation was stagnating and threatening to disintegrate, pointed the way to renewed strength"—there with a vengeance, we have "the shock of vital subject matter." We have it also in the drawing "Corn Stalks," in which the plant's hard-veined, stiffly fluting ribbons seem a portrait of Mr. Curry's statement, "My whole life was made up of sensations. I used to go out in the garden and pull tomato vines to pieces so that I could smell them."

His biographer calls him "a factual romanticist"—poetry being fact plus imagination, or as Wallace Stevens puts it, "an accuracy of abundance." The brown thrasher fronting the sun from the well-furnished osage-orange bough is the farm's Magnificat. "Flora" is both a person and spring; "Chris L. Christensen" is a friend to art and the genius of agricultural research. "Love Is Like a Bird"—like "two lovers swinging through the air in the dove-shaped gondola of a rickety Ferris Wheel"; love has a "stocky cylindrical form" with sow's ears, biting at a snake in defense of hapless young; love is like a coffin in "The Return of Private Davis." One does not envy Mr. Curry the life he has led, but one envies him the heart for such a life, his patience with fakes, failures, and victims; his courage, reverence, compassion, humility, his will to storm the stars. Struggle has been his release—exteriorized in man's conflict with emotion (the "religious" subjects), with the "elements" (tornado and flood scenes), with "beasts," and with man ("battle scenes and athletic contests").

Artist in Residence has a pleasing sound; this one, however, has been and in feeling is a farmer, to whom as to the seaman weather is more than weather; it is life and death. And besides the twister, the flood, lightning, and erosion, there are the plagues—"the parched earth," the "dust storm," "the blazing sun" before which "floats the cloud of hoppers." Mr. Curry feels that painting should be true to "the still small voice" of "birth, training, environment, and faith." He has worked to achieve "solid form, controlled movement, and clear space," the subject "so organized that it fits into a design that gives it authority"; as where a predominating form arranges the lesser mass—the awning of the merry-go-round, for example, in the crowd at the "State Fair." There are moments when the needful technique ceases to operate: when the paint has a worked-with look ("The Light of the World"), or the line strays ("Performing Tiger"). No one, however, could be more conscious than John Curry of what he regards as his "seemingly insurmountable shortcomings." He is indefatigable like the badger, and Paris for him was not a luxury but a place in which to learn to draw; when he felt that he could achieve better results by using oil with tempera, he changed to that method; his working note, "Wrinkles go at right angles to muscles," savors of mastery, nor is it pulling the heavens down about his ears to say that in his "Stallion" the white of the eye, the white bobbins, and white underglaze conduce to a Piero della Francesca clear splendor of actuality. But he has said in words as with pigment, "Great art is within you," "There is no borrowed coat of perfect fit"; and Professor Schmeckebier's generous diminishings of the immortal great to advantage him result in automatic resistance. "Ruben's" for "Rubens's," "pig's" for "pigs'," and faulty indexing might be charged to bad proofreading. As writing, however, the pull of the meaning in one direction is against the pull of the phrase in another, the unnecessary word blurs what would have been clearer without it, and even supposing

Professor Schmeckebier to be foreign, his wording throughout the book is dangerously inexact.

"Kansas," Mr. Jewell says, "has found her Homer"; but Mr. Curry is modest. Jealousy and animosity are not in him. He thinks of painting as something that can be enjoyed "here and now by you and you." He feels that America's intensity need not always be a "tragic prelude." He thinks of the artist as a self-devoted servant, not a hireling. Surely, as one who would be "more completely than ever a servant of the people," he has found freedom. MARIANNE MOORE

The Perpetual Debate

MAJORITY RULE AND MINORITY RIGHTS. By Henry Steele Commager. Oxford University Press. $1.50.

ONE of the perennial issues in political philosophy is the relation between the power of the majority and the rights of the minority. Treated as a purely theoretical problem it is a special case of the relation between political authority and moral legitimacy. But in the thick of social struggles it has never been considered as a purely theoretical problem. Depending upon the interests involved, majorities have been cried up or down. Spokesmen for the democratic movement in the past have counterposed the rights of the majority to the tyranny of the minority. Since minorities have also been tyrannical toward other minorities, democratic majorities, fighting against clerical and feudal minorities, have insisted upon constitutional safeguards for all individuals.

Today we can observe an ideological pendular swing in the other direction. Many democrats and liberals are asking: What is to protect minorities from the tyranny of the majority, particularly in a collectivist state? Instead of answering, "A more enlightened majority," some say the wisdom of a minority, others the sacredness of natural law, and still others judicial protection through the power of courts to nullify legislation abridging personal rights.

Mr. Commager's book is an eloquent, forthright, and cogent appeal for the unqualified acceptance of the majority principle as expressed through the democratic process. It is thoroughly Jeffersonian in spirit and meets squarely, although a little too briefly, all the arguments that may be raised against the position on the political and historical level. Both its dedication and its subject matter suggest that its subtitle might very well be "The Vindication of Felix Frankfurter." Justice Frankfurter has been very severely criticized by liberals for his opinion in the Gobitis case. According to Mr. Commager, it is Frankfurter's liberal critics who are deficient in understanding the character of the democratic faith, whereas Frankfurter himself, in upholding the authority of legislative majorities, is continuing the tradition of Jefferson and Lincoln.

The nub of Commager's contention is that if the majority cannot be trusted to defend individual rights, neither can the minority. If and when the majority errs, it is better that its mistakes be set right by the unimpeded educational processes of democracy than corrected by the fiats of judicial nullification. In the words of Felix Frankfurter, "Where all the effective means of inducing political changes are left free from interference, education in the abandonment of foolish

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legislation is itself a training in liberty." Commager is more consistent than Frankfurter in realizing that ultimately this line of thought calls into question the very existence of the Supreme Court as an agency of legislative nullification.

The issue is of such primary importance that it deserves to be scrutinized more closely and disentangled from a number of other issues which are usually involved with it. First, it is not the bare fact of a majority which is significant but a majority reached through democratic process. This process is characterized by a whole set of conditions, too numerous to list here, but they explain why a majority vote has no legitimacy in the eyes of a democrat if it is cast under the shadow of bayonets, or when opposition is absent. Second, this does *not* entail a belief that a democratic majority is always right, as so many critics charge. The reasonableness of the democratic process does not lie in any specific piece of legislation but in the rationale of the *method* by which majority decisions are made. The democratic faith is that men are sufficiently reasonable to discover, in the face of evidence and the give and take of free discussion, a better way of solving their common problems than through anarchy or despotism, which Lincoln properly regarded as the only alternatives to democratic majority rule. Part of the faith in the democratic process is that errors may be corrected by more of the same process, only better. Finally, although it is compatible with, it by no means logically requires, a belief in the objectivity of moral standards, the conception of natural law or of divine law with which discussions of democracy are often confused. From the assumption of the existence of God no one can logically affirm or deny that He speaks through the voice of the democratic majority or the voice of the clerics. Natural rights which are not taken as absolute even by those who believe they are inalienable must be interpreted in respect to their meaning and limits of application. It is not clear that a democratic majority is less reliable in interpreting them than a court dignitary.

After all, there are three possible courses open to anyone who believes that a democratic majority is guilty of what De Tocqueville called "legitimate tyranny and holy injustice." He may obey a bad law on the ground that such obedience is a lesser evil than the possible consequence of bringing all law into disrespect by violating the bad law. He may refuse to obey the will of the democratic majority but accept punishment willingly, in fact, insist upon it, while seeking to remove or revise the law by democratic process. Or he may appeal to heaven or to conscience, secede or revolt. But in the last case, even if he believes himself justified, he cannot honestly call himself a democrat.

Although these general considerations are pertinent to an understanding of majority rule in a democracy, it is of course true that historical conflicts between majorities and minorities may involve interests some of which will not submit to the arbitrament of the democratic process. The goal and method of a democratic program, among other things, should aim at introducing such institutional changes that those who lose in the process of democratic struggle may still be able to lead lives of usefulness and dignity. In time, then, loyalty to the democratic method of reaching decisions may take priority over loyalties to any one of the things we hope to win by it.

SIDNEY HOOK

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A Selected List

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MUSIC

KURT ATTERBERG'S Symphony No. 6, which Toscanini performed at his fourth N. B. C. Symphony broadcast, struck me as a work which would be getting quite a few performances these days if Sweden were a combatant instead of a neutral in the war (it is, of course, right for huge, powerful Russia to make token payments of friendship to Nazi Germany when other nations are fighting against Germany; but for little Sweden to do anything like that after Nazi Germany has knifed Russia into the war—that is villainous and forfeits Swedish music's claim to the interest of our musical public). I was struck, that is, by its resemblances to the music of Shostakovitch: the music is that of another facile mind with nothing real of its own to say but with a slick technique which serves it fluently as it hops from one thing, one style, one trick to another—now flowing lyricism like Shostakovitch's, now this lyricism harmonically distorted like Shostakovitch's, now a harmonically distorted grimace like Shostakovitch's, now a stroke of smart-Alec humor like Shostakovitch's, and even battle music in the first movement, which is a sort of small-scale version of the first movement of Shostakovitch's "Leningrad" Symphony. In its entirety Atterberg's Symphony No. 6 is on a smaller scale and less solemnly pretentious than any of Shostakovitch's, including the First, which it resembles most; but that would make it the proper expression of the suffering and heroism and ultimate triumph of a smaller nation, if Sweden were in the war; and as, say, the "Malmö" Symphony it would get a smaller but still a considerable number of performances which it is not likely to get as merely the Symphony No. 6.

Atterberg wrote his symphony in 1927; and it is quite likely that he had not heard Shostakovitch's First Symphony, which had been written in 1925. I am inclined to believe that the resemblances resulted, rather, from the fact that each composer was acquainted with the music of western Europe. And whereas you would expect the distortions and grimaces of this product of a decaying capitalist civilization to appear in the music of a composer in capitalist Sweden, you would not expect to find them in the music of a composer in a young socialist state; and you would also expect at least some of the music critics and the general public in this socialist state to be aware of this and to speak of it. True, Shostakovitch was rebuked for his "formalism" in 1936; but the meaninglessness of criticism as practiced in Russia was demonstrated when—Shostakovitch having completed the appropriate retirement for "inner self-criticism"—the same old distortions and grimaces, with a few brassy concluding affirmations tacked on, were praised as evidence of his having embarked on the new and right course of "socialist realism."

I have been given an explanation of WQXR's procedure in broadcasting the living performances of the New Friends of Music concerts in the normal way, and broadcasting only recorded performances of the works on Frequency Modulation. When a concert is broadcast the union very properly requires that the performers be paid an additional fee, which varies with the transmitting power of the station. If the concert is broadcast also on FM another fee must be paid to the performers; however, for FM the union prescribes one fee regardless of the transmitting power of the station; and WQXR considers the fee too great for the size of its FM audience.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

The Farmer and the Plow

Dear Sirs: Clarence Armstrong no doubt was right when he said in your issue of November 13 that the editors of *The Nation* are not farmers or they would not have published Mr. Lord's review of "Plowman's Folly." Had they been farmers they would have had their eyes closed to any improvement; and I suspect that Mr. Armstrong—if he is a farmer—is one of those who has eyes but sees not. It was probably due to the fact that the editors are independent and forward-thinking people and not tied to the traditions of the past that they saw in it something that is going to receive considerable attention in the future.

The vastly increased demands that the people of this country and the people of other countries are going to make upon food and other products of our farms is going to bring to a close our system of soil squandering. Otherwise our farms will be taken over by more capable hands. We will have to do what Mr. Armstrong says is impossible—we will have to learn how to eat our cake and have it. Under proper tillage land should become more productive every year it is farmed. And this without the addition of much foreign matter in the way of commercial fertilizer. Nature has provided us with the raw material, and it is up to us to learn how to use it.

Contrary to Mr. Armstrong, most thinking farmers are conscious of the limitations of the plow. But their attitude has been that since there is nothing better in sight there isn't anything that they can do about it. I remember my father years ago referring to the old horse-drawn plow as an imperfect implement but one that we would have to put up with until something better was invented. After tractor-drawn plows came into use he remarked that the motive power had been vastly improved but that the plow itself was as unsatisfactory as before. He had hoped that with the increased power a better system of turning up the soil would go with it.

Without going into details I will enumerate only two of his objections: (1) it increased the dangers of erosion; (2) it turned the organic matter on the surface down as a blanket at the bottom of the furrow. This blanket was undesirable, for (a) it interfered with the natural flow of soil water upward in dry weather; (b) it caused a temporary "taking up" or "locking" of a considerable part of the available nitrogen in this blanket.

"One of the chief objects of tillage is the deep and thorough incorporation of organic matter in the soil" (L. H. Bailey, p. 83, Vol. I, "Cyclopedia of American Agriculture"). The plow fails to do this thorough mixing. Organic matter thoroughly mixed improves the texture of the soil, assists in the flow of soil water, and does not make an undue claim upon the available nitrogen.

What is needed is an implement that will not only loosen up the soil but will distribute the organic matter evenly throughout the tilled surface and not leave the surface too much exposed. The disk harrow has been proposed as such an implement, but it has not received the trial it deserves. Nor are there proper types on the market. This is probably due to the fact that the average American farmer has been interested in getting all he can out of the soil today without a thought of tomorrow and, as Mr. Lord says, farms himself out of a farm in fifty years.

ROY LONGENECKER

Canton, Ohio, November 18

That Coal Settlement

Dear Sirs: In commenting on the coal-mine settlement in the issue of November 13 you end with the somewhat alarming note: "The most serious cause for apprehension in connection with the settlement lies in the fact that it will undoubtedly strengthen Lewis's prestige not only within the United Mine Workers but in the labor movement as a whole."

The coal settlement is an accomplishment! And in the future, when passions have died down and tempers have cooled, the true picture of the significance and importance of the controversy will be realized and made clear—even to those who were most bitter and determined to prevent an agreement.

As for Lewis's leadership, it is for workers to appraise that, not for interests, groups, or individuals who have posed in various lights and instances as "friends" of labor. Real unionism calls for genuine leadership—"leaders who have their eyes on labor's ball and are not always looking to the sidelines for applause from politicians, professors, social workers, and all that fringe of parasites who have tried to hang on to the labor movement to help their personal or political careers."

Lewis's niche in the labor movement already is established; your files can attest to that. And workers can, and do, remember and distinguish.

PAUL GLEBOVICH

Clinton, Okla., November 22

Army Education

Dear Sirs: Reinhold Niebuhr's article on army education in England was excellent. Recently we took matters into our own hands at this American camp. We were unable to get our Special Service officer to do anything about discussion groups. The Red Cross opened a club here not long ago. The girl in charge called me in and asked me to start a discussion group. We got in touch with Frederick Kuh, who came down to inaugurate the series. We hoped for fifty. Only a hundred could be seated in the crowded room and fifty more were turned away.

Kuh talked on Post-War Germany. He did a fine job and was agreeably surprised at the caliber of the questions. So many fellows are starved for an opportunity to get some information on day-to-day political maneuverings as well as the plans shaping up for the post-war world. We have arranged for Harold Laski, Kingsley Martin, Ed Murrow, and Colonel Walter Eliot to come to subsequent forums. I believe there is a growing interest among the fellows in things political. I know my *Nations, PM, New Statesman, Tribunes,* etc. get an ever-widening circulation.

The education pamphlets prepared by the army rest quietly on the desks of the various adjutants at this field. I understand the program sponsored by Agar is still not compulsory in the Air Corps.

There is still very, very much to be done in the way of army education. F. D. R. may pay a high price because he failed to inspire his soldiers with the Four Freedoms. They could have been inspired and educated so that on their return they would have demanded fulfilment of the various promises to the world and to themselves. Instead, most

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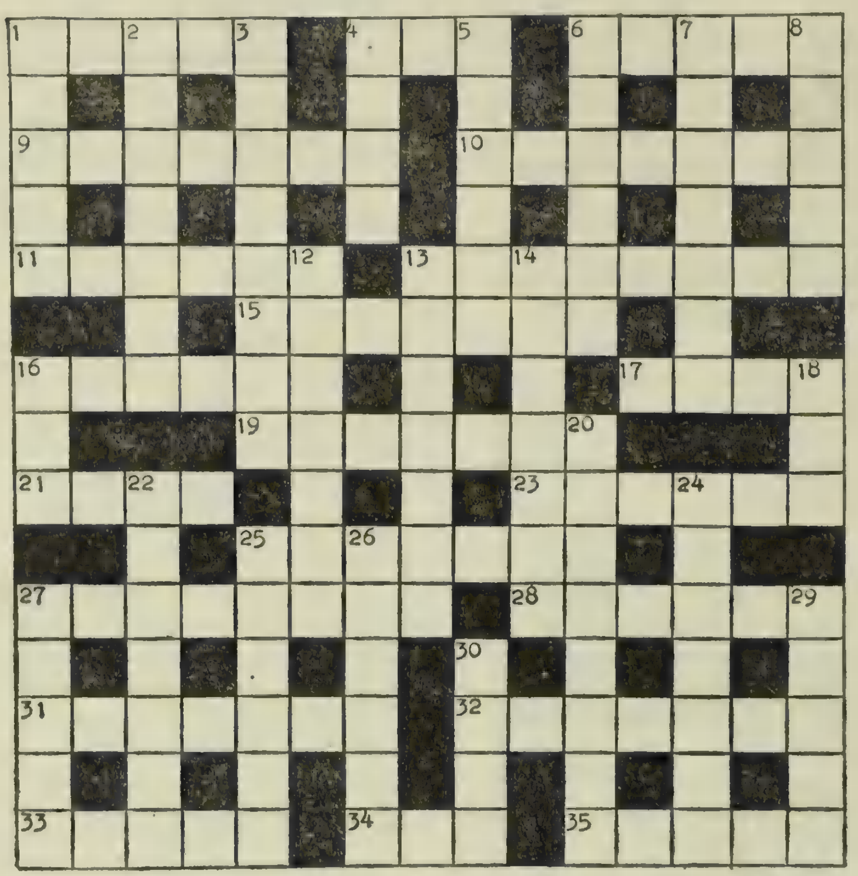
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 42

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 It was admitted to statehood in 1890
4 This calls for a little study
6 Horses and carts have them
9 For the surgeon an essential instrument, but for the short engineer an afterthought
10 Hero of a famous epic
11 Small in itself, but expensive in the lump
13 Spree which includes a carol about America
15 Just the ingredients for a rarebit, admits the umpire
16 Refined state of a reformed she-cat
17 River which most emphatically exists
19 Would be all smiles if I were out of it
21 Therefore stop in London's foreign quarter
23 A disguised singer is on the throne
25 Does it disturb you to see the rising sun in the ascendant here? (two words, 3 and 4)
27 Shows how puritans reformed a once notorious Russian character
28 Profitable result of beheading a beginner
31 Carry through successfully (two words, 4 and 3)
32 A monarch around the present time should be intelligent
33 Feminine name
34 You can't have one standing
35 Occurs in "The Men of Harlech"

DOWN

1 It might be finer
2 Chrysalis of an insect
3 Dines not wisely, but too well
4 Bitten by the fallen
5 Sweetmeat that will make Aunt go
6 He came between Polk and Fillmore
7 Persists in pressing
8 Sal is in the cordage business
12 Why say cargo when it's "ship meant"?
13 Orson Welles's Mr. Kane was so called
14 This setback might have been severer
16 The commanding-officer's green-meat?
18 Help!
20 Begin (two words, 3 and 5)
22 The groom's best man, possibly
24 Sound of battle
25 They ruled England from 1485 to 1603
26 You would have seen his Tour in the Champ-de-Mars when last you saw Paris
27 Climbers often are
29 Were this knave to lose his heart he would be a rake indeed!
30 Give it a miss

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 41

ACROSS:—1 AMERICAN; 8 ATTACHE; 9 BLINKERS; 10 SCRAWLS; 12 SPIED; 13 CHOKER; 14 SEVER; 15 ERNEST; 17 STOUT; 22 BROOD; 23 STENCH; 24 SNORE; 26 EAGLET; 28 GONER; 29 CICADAS; 30 RADICALS; 31 CUTTING; 32 INTEREST.

DOWN:—1 AMBUSHED; 2 EDITIONS; 3 INKED; 4 AFRICA; 5 STOCK; 6 CABARET; 7 SHELLEY; 10 SORTS; 11 RESULT; 16 SPREAD; 18 FOOLS; 19 INUNDATE; 20 SHARP-SET; 21 ENVIOUS; 22 BREASTS; 25 STRAIN; 27 GAINS; 28 GUISE.

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of the boys in England, for instance, will return hating the English and anxious for the kind of world described in the Nash-Kelvinator ads.

It is not correct to say that one can expect no more from the soldiers than from the civilians at home. Living under special conditions—with plenty of spare time and nearer the actual war—we could have been taught many things about the world as it is today and as it must be tomorrow if we or our kids are not to go to war soon again. It's when men are complaining—as they all inevitably do—about army life that they are ready to hear about ways and means of creating a world of full production in which war will not reoccur.

I am afraid the opportunity has been lost to do a mass job, but it is never too late to give the interested individuals an opportunity for further development.

SERGEANT

Somewhere in England, November 14

CONTRIBUTORS

LIEUTENANT E. S. BENDINER, a navigator with the United States Eighth Air Force in England, has just completed his twenty-fifth combat flight.

KURT R. GROSSMAN was formerly secretary general of the League for Human Rights.

ROBERT FITZGERALD is well known as a translator of Greek plays. A volume of his poems will be published soon by New Directions.

ODELL SHEPARD won the Pulitzer prize for biography in 1937 with "Pedlar's Progress," a life of Bronson Alcott.

LEIGH WHITE was a foreign correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1941 and 1942, spending much of his time in the Balkans.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER, drama critic of *PM*, is the author of "Kings and Desperate Men: Life in Eighteenth-Century England" and editor of "An Anthology of Light Verse."

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The Shape of Things

NOT SINCE RECONSTRUCTION DAYS HAVE sectional feelings run so high in the halls of Congress—and never, we believe, have they been so strictly spurious. When Senator Guffey denounced the "unholy alliance" between certain Southern Democrats and certain Republicans to kill the Green-Lucas soldier-vote bill, he touched off an explosion out of all proportion to the dynamite involved. After all, Southerners have many times in the past teamed up with Republicans, as they have every right to do, and the charge has never before sent them bellowing in defense of their honor, as when Senator Bailey, "the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling," swore last week that "by the eternal gods, there are men in the South, and women, too, who will not permit men in control of our party to betray or to insult us in the house of our fathers." The hard fact is that the Southern gentlemen in question—and as I. F. Stone points out elsewhere in these pages, the Southern contingent in Congress is far from unanimous on the subject—did a dirty day's work when they voted to leave the balloting of the armed forces to the states. It can't be done that way, and the Senators know it. Their bluster and hollow oratory, their threats to withdraw from the party and forgo the patronage which they have enjoyed beyond their due, are childish attempts to becloud the issue. The House has not yet accepted the craven measure of the Senate. We hope that from every city and village in this country messages pour in on its members conveying the simple conviction that the right of our men on the battlefield to vote is paramount to the poll tax, paramount to political considerations, and paramount to a lawyer's narrow reading of the Constitution.

*

THE WPB PRODUCTION SCHEDULES FOR 1944 as outlined to the National Association of Manufacturers by Charles E. Wilson must have come as quite a shock to those who have been anticipating an early return to business as usual. Mr. Wilson declared that the war in Europe will tax both our capacity for sacrifice and our capacity for industrial production "beyond anything we have experienced so far," and added that "foolish optimism would only play into the hands of Japanese strategists." He pointed out, however, that the program for 1944 would be more complicated and difficult for the public to understand because some industries, such as shipbuilding and aircraft manufacture, will be called on for a supreme effort at a time when others are being reconverted for essential civilian production. Aircraft tonnage for 1944, for example, is expected to increase nearly 40 per cent above the present levels, while output of ordnance, signal equipment for the ground army, and small arms ammunition is to be drastically reduced. Mr. Wilson's final warning to the N. A. M. against a "right-wing reaction" that would "imperil the entire structure of American life" and play into the hands of the enemy deserved far more emphasis in the press than it obtained.

*

THE OFFICIAL TURKISH STATEMENT ON THE Cairo conference by Foreign Minister Menemencioglu has thrown cold water on the assumption that Turkey was ready for immediate entrance into the war on the Allied side. While the tone of the statement left no doubt that the conference between President Inonu and the Allied leaders was extremely cordial, it clearly implied that Turkey was unprepared to take the risks of war under present conditions. Whether arrangements were made for the leasing of Turkish bases or other assistance short of war is, of course, another matter, and one about which the Germans are anxiously fishing for information. It may be assumed that Roosevelt and Churchill did not make the journey to Cairo merely for the purpose of acquainting President Inonu with Allied plans. But there are so many ways in which Turkey can be of help to the Allies that the Germans are left guessing as to what actually went on. The first tangible results of the talks may be seen in the sudden panic in Bulgaria, where pro-Russian and pro-British elements appear to have created a major crisis over the question of continued Bulgarian assistance to the Axis. Although the presence of German troops makes Bulgaria's withdrawal from the war unlikely, particularly in view of Italy's experience, it is not inconceivable that both Turkey and Bulgaria might swing into the Allied camp in the event of a major Balkan invasion.

*

THE NEW PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT SET up in Yugoslavia presents the Allies with an uncomfortable dilemma. So far they have tried, hopefully, to pretend it didn't exist, but this form of primitive magic cannot be expected to work long. The cabinet established under the presidency of the distinguished liberal, Dr. Ivan Ribar, is backed by Tito's Partisan army. And the Partisans, as both the State Department and the Foreign Office acknowledge, are now receiving more assistance from the Allied commands than is the official army of General Mihailovich. Also, the new Provisional Government is on the soil of Yugoslavia, while the Royal Government is in Cairo—a long way from home. When the Allied armies land in force on the western shores of the Adriatic, they will find the new government functioning on the spot and will be forced to deal with it or with none at all. It is, in fact, difficult to believe that Dr. Ribar's cabinet was created without the knowledge and consent—or something more—of the Allied officers now on the staff of Marshal Tito. For once military expediency coincided with the will of the people and outweighed the dictates of formal diplomacy. So the diplomats will have to get out of an uncomfortable situation as best they can. Their probable course was indicated by Secretary Hull when he said that the policy of the Allies is to aid any group effectively fighting the Germans and that "internal political questions" could wait until later. The practical objection to this policy is obvious. Too many guns, too much ammunition supplied to Mihailovich are used against the Partisans, not the Germans. This serves to prolong the civil war and reduce the strength of Tito's army—which is fighting the Germans. The Allies may for the moment continue to recognize King Peter, but they cannot afford to send military supplies to his fascist Minister of War.

*

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S CONFERENCE WITH Lord Louis Mountbatten indicates that for the first time in the war all sectors of the Pacific front are being closely coordinated for early offensive action. As a result of the Cairo conference Chiang Kai-shek has agreed that the Chinese troops now in Burma shall be directly under Mountbatten's command. In the South Seas the Australian troops under General MacArthur and the American sea and ground forces under Admiral Halsey seem to be working closely together in a major drive aimed at Rabaul. The intensification of air activity over the Marshalls and Nauru suggests that the land offensives from the west and south are being carefully coordinated with a major naval push from the east. Tokyo is reported also to fear an air attack from Chinese bases. While it is still too early to say which drives are major and which diversionary, the mounting strength of American sea power in the mid-Pacific strongly suggests that the naval drive is the one that most bears watching. The direct route across the Pacific not only is the shortest but it involves the fewest obstacles. And it has the advantage of placing tremendous pressure on the Japanese navy to come out and fight.

*

IF *READER'S DIGEST* IS ON THE HUNT FOR A lively piece, packed with information and that warm human interest which is the hallmark of the *Digest* article, we commend to its editors the speech by Senator Guffey as set forth in the *Congressional Record* for December 7. The speech is designed to convey the tender sympathy which Guffey feels for a Senatorial colleague because of "the unfair and humiliating position in which an American periodical" has placed him. The victimized Senator, Butler of Nebraska, made a sixty-day tour of Latin America, Guffey says, under the auspices of this periodical and accompanied by one of its research men. While on tour the Senator faithfully recorded many acute and unimpeachable observations, such as "Mexico is a land of beautiful mountains, colors, contrasts, and resources"; in Honduras "banana plants grow to a height of twenty feet"; Chile is "long and narrow"; and Colombia "is full of mountains." In the meantime the research man was compiling monumental inaccuracies designed, says Guffey, to damn this country's Good Neighbor policy and discredit the Administration. The research man told Butler, for instance, that we have given Latin America six billion dollars as a Good Neighbor handout. What he neglected to point out, Senator Guffey contends, is that this figure includes "the operating cost of running the Panama Canal, our annual purchases of sugar from Cuba, and the military payrolls of our armed forces stationed in various parts of Latin America." This welter of misinformation, Guffey charges, was thrown together by a talented rewrite man on the periodical's staff, some for use in the magazine and some for a Blue Network address prepared for Mr. Butler, an "innocent conduit for unconscionable lies." On second thought, we withdraw as impractical the suggestion with which we started this paragraph. *Reader's Digest* happens to be the periodical involved, and what if several million readers were to feel that Guffey makes out a strong case?

* * *

THANKS TO GOVERNOR SALTONSTALL'S determination, the people of Boston can look forward to an end of the anti-Semitic hoodlumism which has recently given the city an ugly name. Against the pressure of a highly organized campaign, in which the American Federation of Labor incidentally disgraced itself, the Governor has replaced Police Commissioner Joseph F. Timilty with Colonel Thomas F. Sullivan, a man who has served his community with competence and integrity for more than twenty-five years. A Catholic and a Democrat, Colonel Sullivan commands the respect alike of Back Bay Republicans, Boston liberal circles, and machine politicians. He has pledged the full facilities of the police department in a drive to wipe out racial violence and has called on citizens to report clashes resulting from bigotry. Much as we wish him well, we cannot help feeling that the new Commissioner has more of a job ahead of him than he appears to realize. According to *PM*, he has already gone on record to the effect that anti-Jewish violence in Boston is largely "kid-stuff" and has declared his intention "to arrest the defamation of the most patriotic city in the U. S. A." If the Commissioner lives up to his pledges—as we have reason to believe he will—and if he acts on the understanding that this sort of "kid-stuff" has its origins in the stream of printed poison now trickling out of shady printing plants throughout the country, he need give no further thought to the "defamation" of Boston. On the contrary, other police chiefs will be sent there for lessons in civic decency.

* * *

GOVERNOR DEWEY HAS BEEN PETITIONED BY the New York City C. I. O. Industrial Council and other groups to pardon Morris U. Schappes, who was convicted of perjury as a result of his testimony before the Rapp-Coudert legislative committee three years ago. Despite pressure from that witch-hunting committee, Mr. Schappes did not deny that he was a member of the Communist Party; he did declare that he knew only three other party members on the City College teaching staff. Since this testimony was at variance with that of three other committee witnesses, he was convicted of perjury. The Supreme Court has refused to pass on his appeal, thus closing the door to further legal action. Governor Dewey is not being asked to set aside the conviction but to issue a pardon on the ground that the punishment he has received already is sufficient in view of the indications that the harsh sentence imposed upon him was punishment for being a Communist rather than for the crime of which he was convicted. We do not condone perjury, but we believe that there is serious doubt as to the legality of the whole Rapp-Coudert proceedings and considerable question whether Mr. Schappes received the kind of impartial trial which the Constitution guarantees to everyone, Communist or not. As in the Browder case, which it parallels in many ways, these doubts would seem to justify executive clemency.

* * *

LAST WEEK WE REPORTED THE FORMATION in Mexico City of a Spanish Republican committee, the Junta Española de Liberación, under the leadership of Indalecio Prieto. Since then the junta has appointed representatives in London, New York, Buenos Aires, and other capitals, and is obviously hoping to establish itself as a provisional government of the future Spain. We expressed doubt about the validity of its claims as a representative body, pointing out the absence of important political groups among the exiles. In order to get a more exact understanding of the committee's composition, however, we asked for a report from one of the most balanced Spanish leaders in Mexico, Antonio Velao, Minister of Public Works in the Negrín government and a member of the Republican Party. Señor Velao has sent us the following cable:

> The pact concluded between Prieto and Martínez Barrio [former president of the Cortes] has grouped around them the forces they previously controlled without adding anything new. Outside the pact remain all elements representing the proletariat and all those supporting the [Negrín] government. The only novelty has

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been the apparent reconciliation between Martínez Barrio and Prieto. [These two leaders during the past year have been in bitter opposition.] As I predicted they are trying to present themselves as moderates who have no contact with the left.

Smuts Thinks Aloud

STATESMEN are often criticized for their tendency to hide their real thoughts, but when one of them starts thinking out loud he is apt to find himself dodging brickbats rather than bouquets. This has been the experience of Field Marshal Jan Smuts, the elder statesman of the British Commonwealth, who in a recent extemporaneous speech propounded a number of ideas which, as he admitted, were "of an explosive nature." The reactions were sharp and various. His references to France were denounced as insulting in Fighting French quarters; his lack of reference to China was interpreted by many commentators as a snub to that great country. The British government found it expedient to deny that he had expressed its views.

There is no doubt that some of the Marshal's phrases were tactless and many of his propositions extremely debatable. Nevertheless, we regard his talk as a useful stimulant to long-range political thinking. Like many other people, he is troubled by the problem of power in the post-war world. The League of Nations, he feels, broke down because its organization emphasized universalism and equality and gave insufficient scope to leadership. After this war he believes that only three great powers—Britain, the United States, and Russia—will be left, and he suggests that they "must retain the leadership . . . and be responsible, in the first instance, for the maintenance of security and for the preservation of world peace; and this primary responsibility will not be affected by any duties resting on the rest of the United Nations."

Believing, as he does, that this trinity of nations holds the key to the future, Smuts is concerned about the coming distribution of power among them. On the one hand, Russia will have risen, meteor-like, to "a position which no country has ever occupied in the history of Europe," while its strength will be magnified by the disappearance of Japan in the Far East. On the other, aloof from Europe yet unable to disinterest itself in Europe's fate, will be the United States, with its massive industrial development and enormous resources. In between will be Britain, rich in prestige but materially poor. For as Smuts truly asserts, Britain will have "nothing left in the till" when the war ends. It has liquidated the major part of the foreign assets which played so important a part in its economy and has gone into debt all round the globe. In its European aspects particularly and vis-à-vis Russia, Britain will be comparatively weak.

Smuts does not advocate any form of Anglo-American union as a remedy for this situation, suggesting, and we think rightly, that such a combination would "stir up international strife." He favors instead the maintenance of the Anglo-American-Russian triumvirate with the strengthening of its weakest link. To achieve this end his tentative suggestion is an invitation to the smaller democracies of Europe—he does not specify more exactly—to take advantage of the elasticity of the British Commonwealth system and become associated with Britain. These countries, he points out, have learned that neutrality is dead and that standing by themselves they are bound to fall under the domination of some great power. If they join the Commonwealth, however, they can retain all the attributes of sovereignty while securing the advantages of mutual defense.

The idea of some kind of political association between Britain and Western Europe is not new. We need only recall Churchill's offer of union to France in June, 1940. That proposal was made in an effort to rally the French in their darkest hour, but it remains a plan which after the war could be backed with very solid political and economic arguments. Together the two countries, with their colonial possessions, would form a very powerful unit, especially if other Western European states became associated with them.

At the present time the outlook for closer relations between Britain and France does not appear very propitious. There is a certain coolness between them to which Smuts has added by his declaration that France will not for a long time, if ever, resume the status of a great power. Goaded by the many slights which have been put on them by their Allies, the Fighting French are in no mood to react enthusiastically to this "realistic" appraisal of the future prospects of France.

Nor is this the only obstacle to the Smuts plan. A major question that arises is how such a branching out of the British Commonwealth would be viewed in Washington and Moscow. The chances are that both would strongly disapprove, though for different reasons. Yet neither this country nor Russia can well afford to see Britain unduly weakened, for that would divide the world into American and Russian spheres of influence—a process which would surely result in a new and more colossal conflict.

Republicans All

AFTER eleven carefree years as carping spectators, Republican leaders are suddenly face to face with the startling possibility that they may ride into power in 1944. Within six months they must work up enough of an idea of what they stand for to present some sort of program to a waiting electorate; and in little more than a year from now, should they win at the polls (a purely hypothetical proposition and not a prophecy on our part), they will actually have to be responsible for preventing inflation, for demobilizing the armed services without producing disastrous unemployment, for achieving the turnover from a war economy to a peace economy without vast dislocations, and perhaps even framing a peace that will not mock the gigantic sacrifices made in the war. Solving problems of this magnitude—and heaven help a victorious Republican Party, as well as the rest of us, if they are not solved—will be a very different kind of occupation from the irresponsible nose-thumbing that has passed for Republican statesmanship in Congress.

These dizzying thoughts seem to have engendered something close to panic in the higher reaches of the party. Generals are bobbing up on all sides, each hoping to take the lead in the creation of official policy and at the same time avoid specific commitments that might alienate special-interest groups. Thomas W. Lamont has been urging Wendell Willkie to turn his attention to a constructive domestic program now that (like Dorothy Parker's actress who ran the gamut of emotions from A to B) he has led the party "from isolationism to Mackinac." As far as issues go, Mr. Willkie has been lying low since that achievement, but former Governor Landon is not so shy. Speaking with the authority of a man who swept Maine and Vermont in 1936, Landon told a group of Republican Senators, first, that adoption of similar declarations on foreign policy by the two major parties "would accelerate the danger of a drift toward one party in this country"; and, second, that Republican indorsement of the Moscow pact at this time would be "disastrous for the country."

Four days later Herbert Hoover explained to newspapermen that what Landon meant by these remarks was, first, that he was not at all opposed to the Moscow agreements, which Hoover himself approved; and, second, that, like Hoover again, he was not at all opposed to identical foreign-policy planks for the two parties but only wanted to wait and see what the Democrats had in mind on the subject. On the off-chance that Hoover's clarification might cause some confusion, Arthur Krock of the New York *Times* ventured to straighten things out. He explained that the Hoover interpretation coincided with what Landon had been saying in private conversation though not with what he had released to the press.

Completing the circle of confusion, Willkie then observed that he would abandon any effort to lead the Republicans in 1944 if Landon's views on the Moscow declaration really represented the thinking of the party. Obviously he doesn't believe they do, because he continues openly to seek the nomination, whereas Thomas E. Dewey, who is Landon's choice, is not even a candidate—officially. All of which should be considered in placing an estimate on Landon's conclusion that "in contrast to the hopeless split among the Democrats in every state, the Republican Party is united." There the matter—and Governor Landon—might well be allowed to rest.

Amateur Political War

IT IS true, as was said in these pages last week, that not even the incredible stupidity of the censorship could obscure the importance of the meetings at Cairo and Teheran. The talks between the leaders of the great powers fighting the Axis—so anxiously awaited, so long delayed—were an event too big and packed with meaning to be seriously affected by bungling attempts to control the news. But the bungling was serious just the same. It showed that the Allied governments, successful today in the military field, are dismally inefficient in both the strategy and the technique of political warfare.

Of course Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill are at a disadvantage in handling the apparatus of political war. The Axis governments, and those of Russia and China as well, can use the press as a firmly coordinated part of their propaganda machine. The heads of the British and American governments are limited by democratic concepts. In both countries the press and radio are relatively free. Within certain moderate boundaries they follow their own variegated notions of how the war should be reported and explained. They have accepted the need of censorship applied to actual information whose publication might help the enemy. Beyond that point they are willing to cooperate but not to take orders.

This being the case, the military and even the civilian authorities are tempted, too often, to keep the press and radio at a distance. Naturally, the results are deplorable, as Cairo and Teheran amply demonstrated. From the point of view of the war it would be better to have a coordinated press than a quarantined one. To cut off or cripple this vast apparatus of public information and instruction is, in political war, as fantastic as it would be to leave behind all means of transport in landing an army on hostile shores.

What the political leaders of the democracies must do, whether it seems to them a nuisance or not, is to trust their press and radio, to work with them, to build them—as free, volunteer corps—into the structure of the political war machine. Dr. Goebbels has little excuse for laughter these days; but he must have smiled to think that neither Elmer Davis nor Brendan Bracken was even permitted to attend the two great Allied conferences. From the very beginning of their collaboration the President and the Prime Minister have played the game of political warfare like gentlemen rather than professionals. They seem not to understand that the whole great enterprise to which they have committed the lives and resources of their countries will fail if the minds of the peoples of all countries are not won.

The New Secessionism

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 9

NOT all the Southern Democrats are "Cotton Ed" Smiths or Rankins, but Senator Guffey's charge that an "unholy alliance" of Southern Democrats and Republicans killed the soldiers'-vote bill had enough truth in it to sting, and the Smiths, Byrds, and Baileys are talking secession from the party. Their going would be good riddance, and their followers—if they ever screwed up the courage to sacrifice the federal patronage they now get—would be much fewer than they imagine.

It is not fair, however, to bring in a blanket indictment of Southerners based on the Congressional attack on the soldiers' vote, price subsidies, and the Farm Security program. A Southern Democrat, Worley of Texas, chairman of the Privileges and Elections Committee, was sponsor in the House of the soldiers'-vote bill which the "unholy alliance" defeated in the Senate. A Southern Democrat, Barkley, Administration leader in the Senate, spoke with much feeling and ability in support of that measure. Another Southerner, Russell of Georgia, chairman of the Senate appropriations subcommittee in charge of the Farm Security bill, has been putting up a strenuous fight for the FSA appropriations that were defeated in the House. Two Southerners, Bankhead of Alabama and Marvin Jones of Texas, fathered the Farm Tenant Act which the FSA administers. The Administration is depending on three Southerners—War Mobilization Director Byrnes, Economic Stabilization Director Vinson, and War Food Administrator Jones—in its fight against inflation. Their loyalty is unquestioned, and their weaknesses are, in fact, the obverse of their virtues, for their political value is found in the middle-of-the-road position which enables them to act as a link between the Administration and the Democratic right wing.

What we see in Congress in the fight against the soldiers' vote, price control, and Farm Security is not a Southern plot. It is a coalition of well-to-do farmers and reactionary industrialists anxious first to defeat Roosevelt and, secondly, to boost their war profits. Among them are some elements not only prepared but happy to do this at the expense of the war effort. Representatives of the Southern planter class, intrenched in positions of power through a combination of the poll tax at home and seniority in Washington, are in the vanguard. In the second rank, safely out of sight, are rich and powerful food-processing corporations, expert at mobilizing well-to-do farmers and small business men, and possessing a sinister political maturity, as shown by the role some of them played before the war in organizing and financing such proto-fascist groups as the Associated Farmers. I am sorry to add that this coalition is making skilful use of labor's grievances. The seventy-four-to-four vote in the Senate today for the Truman resolution to grant the railroad workers an eight-cents-an-hour increase is a victory labor will yet regret. For, like the Ickes deal with John L. Lewis, it makes it very difficult to hold the cost-of-living line elsewhere.

Walter Reuther of the Automobile Workers and Russell Smith of the National Farmers' Union effectively exposed the forces behind this coalition in their testimony yesterday before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Reuther named the powerful processors working with the anti-New Dealers and the farm bloc against the price-control-subsidy program. Your home-town newspaper probably omitted the firms Reuther cited in his attack on the Food Industry War Committee under Clarence Francis. I report them here for your enlightenment: General Foods, Swift, California Packing, H. J. Heinz, National Biscuit, Pillsbury Flour, Borden's, and Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc. Among them they control most of the famous brands on your breakfast and dinner tables. They are out, as Reuther proved from their own statements, to fix the wages they pay and the prices of the raw materials they buy but to allow "flexible ceilings" on their own products. And how will prices be controlled? "Competition and the innate honesty of the American business man," one of their spokesmen said, "will keep consumer prices from rising."

Allied with these processors, as always, are the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the "kept" cooperatives of the farm belt. But these, as Smith showed, speak only for the well-to-do farmer. "The fundamental from which all discussion of farm prices must start," this Farmers' Union representative said, "is the relative unimportance of price rises to the majority of farmers. Two-thirds of the nation's farmers sell but 17 per cent of the commercially sold agricultural products. Thus, the one-third of farmers, those who are already in the best financial position, sell 83 per cent of farm products. . . . Those farmers most in need of better incomes receive only about seventeen cents out of every dollar of a farm-price rise." The other side of this picture is the extent to which the farmer, who last year spent 43 per cent of his income on family living expenses, is hurt by a general price increase. The small farmer, like the worker, needs a subsidy program which will ease pressure on marginal producers while holding the general cost-of-living line.

The darkest spot in this picture is at the same time its one hope. The combination of well-to-do farmer and reactionary business man finally showed its hand in defeating the Lucas-Green soldiers'-vote bill. The constitutional arguments against it are nonsense. A government that can conscript a man can arrange to let him cast a vote. (Daniel Webster in 1814 used the same arguments against conscription that are now advanced against the soldiers'-vote bill.) A government which can interfere with state debt and tax laws to protect soldiers can interfere with election laws to the extent needed to allow him to vote. Congress decided the constitutional issues a year ago when it passed the soldiers'-vote bill of 1942, waiving state registration and poll-tax provisions. But that bill was passed just before an election, and the Republicans were afraid to join hands with poll-tax Democrats against it. This year they feel strong enough to get away with the Eastland-Rankin substitute, which will have the effect of depriving most soldiers of the franchise. Their hope is that by disfranchising the soldier they can finally defeat the New Deal and so smash social reform in 1944 just as prohibition was put over in 1918. A phrase used by "Cotton Ed" Smith during the final debate Friday told more about their state of mind than pages of speeches on states' rights. Tunnell of Delaware explained that in his state—as in many others—there would be no session of the legislature in time to repair the absence of uniform federal arrangements for a soldier vote. Smith wanted to know why they couldn't have a special session "to provide an opportunity for the precious boys to vote." The sneer is revealing, and the one hope is that the "precious" boys and their families will be roused deeply enough to prevent passage of the Eastland-Rankin bill in the House, to force passage of the Lucas-Green soldiers'-vote bill, and to give the younger men in the armed forces a chance to express themselves at the next election. The fear seems to be that if given the vote the soldiers will cast it for the New Deal. I hope the fear is not unfounded.

Winston Churchill in War and Peace

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, November 30

NO CITIZEN of Great Britain with any love for his country is likely to underestimate the debt it owes to Mr. Churchill. He took over the command of its fortunes when they were at a lower ebb than at any other time since Austerlitz. Save for the support of the other members of the Commonwealth, for a year our people stood alone. After the collapse of France men stood waiting to see Britain surrender. On any showing—numbers, equipment, the power to take the initiative, skill in the art of war on land, preparation, organizing technique—the advantage was on the German side.

Labor welcomed Mr. Churchill as Premier, but for some time his accession to power aroused no enthusiasm among the cohorts of his own party; when he entered the House of Commons for a debate, the applause he received on the Tory benches was formal. Yet within a few months his energy and his courage had awakened among the people a spirit of resolution which no enemy could break. He brought a unity of heart to the nation, a determination to die rather than to surrender, which, as in the weeks of the Battle of Britain, made a Nazi victory unthinkable. To the outside world, the fate of Britain might seem to hang by a thread; to its own citizens, confidence in triumph was born in the hour when, beyond its shores, defeat seemed most inevitable.

That is Mr. Churchill's triumph, and it is no other man's. Admit, as he would be the first to admit, that our people, in the air and on the sea, in field and factory, achieved the impossible, it was still by reason of his consummate leadership that they achieved it. Disaster made no difference; and not since the grim days of Bonaparte had a Prime Minister so dread a tale of disasters to tell. Night after night our cities were relentlessly blitzed; day after day men and women, red-eyed with fatigue, staggered half dead to their work. There was in that year a spirit of courage and fellowship and unbreakable faith which may have been equaled in the historical record but has never been surpassed.

Mr. Churchill saw, little by little, the awakening of the world to what was at stake. He laid the foundations of that Anglo-American partnership which the treachery of Japan sealed at Pearl Harbor; he achieved on June 22, 1941, one of those supreme gestures which make man the master of his fate when, in his sonorous utterance, he wiped out at a stroke the long and miserable tale of Anglo-Soviet misunderstanding and atoned so amply for his errors of 1917-20. Persistence, faith, unremitting zeal—these he displayed in a measure that made us all forget his faults and remember only that, if we followed him, the doom of Hitler and Mussolini was not a dream for which we could ache but an event which we could fulfil.

I do not underestimate the debt we all owe to the Russian people and, not less, to the iron will of its inflexible leader. I measure with a humble gratitude the contribution, first in resources and then in men, of the United States, and the degree in which the foresight and magnanimity of their President made their mobilization both possible and effective. If anyone says that we have bought time with millions of Russian lives in one theater of war and with millions of Chinese lives in another, I respectfully assent. If I am asked to agree that without Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek, without Franklin Roosevelt, and, if I may so phrase it, without the spirit which has come to the common peoples from a tradition as old as Pericles—if I am asked to agree that without these Winston Churchill would have failed and Hitler and his gangsters would have bestridden a beaten London as they bestrode a beaten Paris, I assent at once. But I assent adding—and as an Englishman adding with pride—that he did not need to hear the call of their voices; rather, in a long and bitter campaign, it was Mr. Churchill who called upon them, in speeches that have become a part of the imperishable testament of British freedom, to take their stand by his side. It is his glory that he understood the challenge of the enemy, and did not shrink from the battle implied in that challenge, when others sought to pretend that they could discern in the savage nightmare of a gangster's barbarism the principles of a creative compromise. When the last word is said against Mr. Churchill, this can always be said in his behalf, that from 1933 there was never a moment when he was willing to betray by pretense what we all knew was a cause entitled to demand all that we have and are.

II

I say this of Mr. Churchill partly because I think it is his due and partly because it is the perspective in which any proportionate analysis of his position must be set. His greatness in these years has been in the fulness with which he has symbolized the resistance of the nation to those forces which sought to destroy not merely its independence but the very idea of freedom—the condition upon which that independence remains possible.

But it is important to remember that Mr. Churchill's greatness has a special context of its own. In essence he remains a Whig aristocrat of the eighteenth century. What little of liberalism there is in his composition is the aristocrat's compassion for the misery he sees before him, not an intellectual adaptation to a world in which he sees both the inevitability and the validity of change. Freedom, for him, is set in the background of a half-articulate assumption that his class has a permanent lien on power. That is why he has never understood the meaning of the Russian Revolution. That is why he was so tragically wrong in the Spanish civil war. That is why there were long years in which he wholly misconceived the nature of Italian Fascism. It is because Mr. Churchill is, at bottom, an eighteenth-century Whig that he has no intimate grasp of what is happening in India, that he so badly mishandled the general strike in 1926, that he can see the value of measures of social relief but not the necessity of measures of social transformation. The world he likes to dwell in is still the world of the panoplied magnificence of which we read in diaries like that of Greville. For him the soldier who wins a great battle—he is not the descendant of Marlborough for nothing—the orator who hears the music of Parliamentary cheers, the statesman who "shapes the whisper of the throne," each of these is the inner and ultimate source of historical change.

He has loyalty and magnanimity and imagination, all of them the aristocrat's virtues. So he keeps men in his service whose incapacity he himself suspects, much as a great lord keeps on the footman when he is past his work. So he salutes Stalin, because the man who fights on his side can be forgiven almost everything if he confronts the immediate danger with courage. So he can see, as a narrow, business man's mind like Mr. Chamberlain's could never see, that in danger is an exhilaration which takes ordinary men beyond themselves to a level of action where heroism becomes just part of the normal day's work. And he has generosity. For all his impatience and gusts of anger and reckless hostility to new ideas, he likes a man who stands up to him, and respects the critic who fights for his point of view. Like the aristocrat, too, he thinks in the rhetorical terms of drama, with a sense, always, at the back of his mind that the phrases he uses must be matter which, a century from now, the historian will find quotable. He cannot understand the man who shuns the conflicts of the market-place, the brooding, philosophic type who looks beyond the moment to grasp the causes of things.

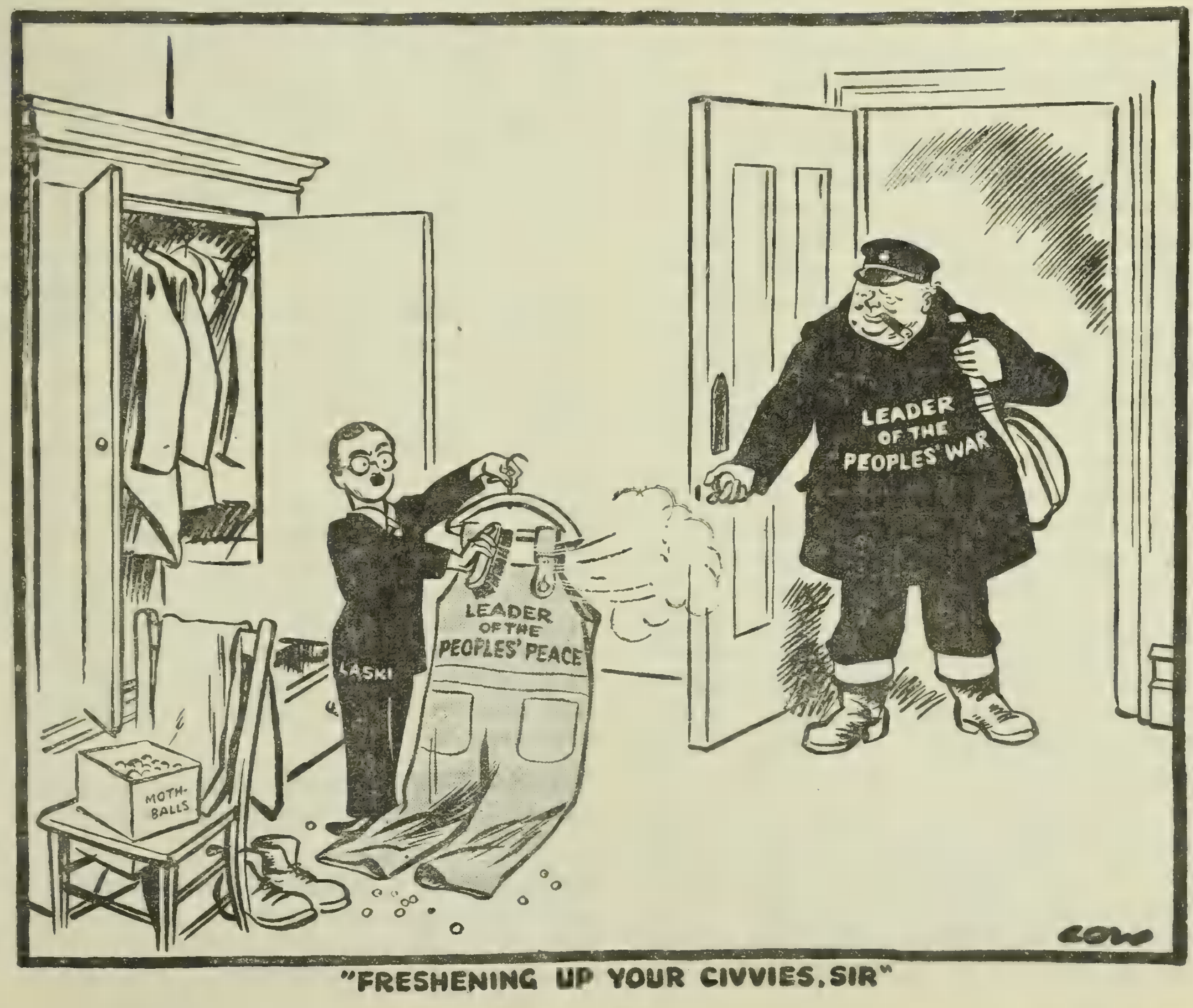
History for him is the dramatic movement from peak to peak. It is a gorgeous pageantry, a spectacle in which the crowd cheers the great heroes and hisses the villains. The slow, patient accumulation of knowledge which issues, at long last, in the sweeping generalization means nothing to him until the great moment when the decisive conquest can be displayed, when the map of the hinterland announces that the geographer can stand, like Cortez, in proud mastery on the mountain summit he has climbed. He would have understood Alexander and Caesar, Drake and Chatham and Napoleon. To command men greatly, to be the big figure in the big play, this, for Mr. Churchill, is life enriched, life made complete and whole, life fulfilled.

III

In my own view, then, Mr. Churchill is one of the great anachronisms of our time. The war he is waging is not the war that history has staged. He fights Hitler as Marlborough fought Louis XIV, as Pitt fought Napoleon. The immense social forces which have gone to make this war are as outside his consciousness as the principles of the Russian Revolution are outside his understanding. He is not really interested in a post-war world in which the foundations are revised. Partly that is because, like the typical Whig aristocrat, he sees all politics in terms of people on his side of the House of Commons or on the other side; he is unaware of the impersonal forces of history. He can understand Mr. Bevin, but not trade unionism; Herbert Morrison, but not socialism; Lloyd George, but not liberalism. His insights are always concrete and not abstract.

His imagination is visual, and the thing which influences him is always the thing before his eyes. He can sympathize with all the earnestness of his generous nature with East Enders in London whom the blitz has rendered homeless; he cannot feel in the same way for unemployed miners in Wales or displaced shipwrights in Jarrow. He can put all his mind and heart into the things that interest him: the plan of a battle, for instance, or a bill of which he is going to take charge. But it is difficult to win his attention for something remote from his own sphere of action.

Like all the men of our time whose roots are in the Grand Whiggery of the eighteenth century, Mr. Churchill is an intense individualist. If it be said that in that period, between 1906 and 1914, when his fortunes were associated with the Liberal Party, he was one of the most ardent supporters of an "advanced" program, there are, I think, two answers. First, because he is a great adventurer, whatever Mr. Churchill does he is compelled to do intensely; since there had to be action in those years, he supported the call for action with all his strength. And, secondly, no one who examines the speeches of his Liberal period can fail to note in him then the son of Lord Randolph Churchill; their spirit is that of Tory democracy, which in its turn was the child of Disraeli and the Young England of the forties. The real Winston Churchill is imperialist, paternalist, in favor of a strong government which shelters the weak from the blasts of life. But he is not concerned to build a world in which the weak can stand by themselves. An equalitarian society has no interest for him. He would hate a world which found no room for the romantic exploits of the empire-builder. His temperament makes him transform every argument into a battle, and once he has engaged his


LEADER OF THE PEOPLES' WAR
LEADER OF THE PEOPLES' PEACE
LASKI
MOTH-BALLS
LOW

"FRESHENING UP YOUR CIVVIES, SIR"

forces, while he loves the game, he is desperately anxious for victory.

He deploys the forces of a Britain whose bargain with fate he conceives, in its large outlines, to have been finally made. Its magnificent past enthrals him so that he cannot go beyond it for his inspiration. Each of its institutions, each, indeed, of its possessions, is for him like some dear family heirloom with which he cannot bear to part. And he finds it difficult to admit as a colleague anyone who does not think in these terms. He can understand Cobbett, because in that stout old agitator was concealed an ardent Tory. But Shelley or William Morris, the Webbs or Bernard Shaw, these and their ideas breed in him at once a sense of profound mistrust. They can reject the past he cherished without a single sigh of regret; or like Mr. Shaw they can laugh at his idols without any emotion of sacrilege.

Mr. Churchill has not a speculative mind; with him a theory begets not interest but suspicion. His habits of thought have been formed in the House of Commons, where the men on the front benches argue either to keep power or to achieve it. Even his books are nothing so much as speeches; and his vast life of Marlborough cannot be judged unless it is regarded as a massive reply to a vote of censure. So that the future of Mr. Churchill turns above everything on the issue of whether the problems faced by Britain are soluble within the framework of its traditions. If they are, Mr. Churchill will end his career in a blaze of glory. If they are not, he may well come, like the Duke of Wellington after Waterloo, to seem like some splendid but obsolete survival of a vanished epoch. His best friends will wish that, as the war closes, he will retire to write a history which in interest would rival Thucydides; but I think those are more likely to prevail who urge upon him that the man who won the war must at least inaugurate the peace. He will not yearn to profit by his own solemn warning that a great war minister seldom succeeds in the epoch which seeks to consolidate his victory.

His weaknesses are monumental; no honorable opponent can fail to recognize that his virtues are monumental, too. He has always had courage; he has always seen the virtue of audacity where audacity was called for; he has always hated wrong where he could see that wrong had been inflicted. Throughout his life he has been a loyal friend and a generous foe. He has had imagination and pity in that grand manner to which he was born. He has always met danger without flinching, and the more dark the hour the more proudly he has faced its threats. He has loved life in every aspect that called for the soldier's virtues. He has known, as few men have known, how to evoke the best in those who served him. I do not think the future historian will grant him that supreme quality which makes perhaps half a dozen statesmen in the last four centuries the decisive architects of a new world. But I think he will say of Mr. Churchill that in one of the most splendid hours in the history of his country no man did more to safeguard its strength and maintain its dignity.

[*This is the first of several articles by Mr. Laski which will appear during the winter.*]

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

WE HAVE NOW ENTERED on a period of general migration. Hardly anybody passes his life amongst those who knew him in his childhood. The Western states may be said to be largely peopled by persons of whose antecedents their neighbors are entirely ignorant. The Eastern states are largely peopled by persons who are ready to move at a moment's notice, and to whom their reputation in the locality in which they live is of very little consequence.—*December 3, 1868.*

MR. DISRAELI IS THE FIRST JEW who has had a chance of taking his seat by the side of the barons whose ancestors used to draw the teeth of his by way of prevailing upon them to part with their money. But he has refused . . . "to sink into insignificance and an earldom."—*December 3, 1868.*

THE FARCE KNOWN as the trial of Jefferson Davis has reached a new stage during the past week. To a proper understanding of the performance, it is as well to remember that it has been known from the beginning that his conviction in the district in which he must be tried—that is, the district in which his acts of treason were committed—was not possible. . . . But nobody seems to have had the courage to look this fact in the face, and either push the affair to a conclusion or drop it. Accordingly it has been used as "a little game" to fill up the vacant hours of the bench and bar, Mr. Horace Greeley and his brother-bondsmen opening it by a magnanimous bailing of the prisoner, including a grand "reconciliation tableau" in which Mr. Greeley shook hands with the culprit.—*December 10, 1868.*

THE DISCLOSURES that have recently been made concerning the poverty of Harvard College have pressed home forcibly on the minds of the alumni what they already certainly, though vaguely, knew, and there is now making a vigorous effort to put into the hands of the trustees an unrestricted fund of at least five hundred thousand dollars. . . . Massachusetts . . . knows very well that without Harvard College she would not be the Massachusetts that she is. . . . And as the French say, money never harms anything; the millennium, when it comes, will no doubt have a sound financial basis.—*December 10, 1868.*

DOTY'S CLOTHES WASHER and the Universal Clothes Wringer. Sensible Holiday Presents. (ADVT.)—*December 17, 1868.*

MAGAZINES FOR JANUARY: The *Atlantic* for this month counts among its contributors Lowell, Whittier, Bryant, Holmes, Howells, Parton, Bayard Taylor, Whipple, Edward Everett Hale, and Higginson.—*December 24, 1868.*

A Tax on Money Hoarding

BY GEORGE RICHMOND WALKER

THE idea of incentive taxation as a method of forestalling post-war unemployment is receiving attention in unexpected quarters. Proposed by economists such as Dahlberg, Hazelett, and Stuart Chase, it has been considered favorably by the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, by the editors of *Fortune*, and by United States Senators, notably Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, who headed the Temporary National Economic Committee.

The purpose of incentive taxation is to encourage those who contribute to, and to penalize those who interfere with, the production and distribution of wealth. An essential feature of any program of incentive taxation would be a tax on funds retired from active business enterprise and held as idle money in a bank. The argument in favor of such a tax, given in a previous article,* may be summarized as follows:

A private-enterprise economy cannot survive unless it can maintain reasonably full employment. Industry, however, cannot provide jobs beyond its ability to sell the goods that its workers produce. The sales of industry depend upon consumer expenditure and capital expenditure. In so far as income is saved, consumer expenditure is reduced, and unless savings are promptly spent or invested, the sales of industry, and likewise employment, will necessarily decline. The power to employ labor is therefore derived, not from the ownership of plant and machinery, but from the ownership or control of funds available for investment. At present the power to employ is divorced from responsibility. Those who own or control investment funds may say in effect: "We will spend our money or not as we please. And we will invest if we anticipate a satisfactory profit for ourselves, and not otherwise. Any unemployment resulting from our refusal to spend or invest is not our concern."

In short, the profit motive alone cannot be expected to induce a flow of funds into industry sufficient to maintain full employment. The decade of the thirties proved that, and therefore an added incentive is necessary. This brings us to the question: Is it practical to tax idle money? How shall such a tax be devised and collected?

It is obvious, in the first place, that the tax should not apply to savings accounts, time deposits, or ordinary consumers' balances in commercial banks; it should apply to demand deposits and currency above a reasonable exemption. It should be easy to administer and difficult to evade. A tax on funds held by individuals might take the following form:

> 1. The end-of-the-month balances held by the banks as demand deposits for the account of individuals and personal holding companies shall be taxed, after deducting an exemption of $5,000, at the rate of 0.3 per cent per month. The exemption shall be allowed in one account only.
>
> 2. Uncashed travelers' checks and letters of credit, certified checks, and any other uncollected items debited to individual account shall be included with deposits when balances are determined for the purpose of this tax.
>
> 3. The tax shall be collected by the banks, debited to the respective accounts, and transmitted to the Treasury. The banks shall be paid for this service by the government.

These provisions are simple and practical. The amount of the exemption and the rate of the tax would of course have to be determined by Congress. A graduated tax, varying with the size of the bank balance, might be considered preferable to a flat tax.

A tax on currency should be assessed at the same time as the tax on demand deposits in order to prevent shifting and evasion, as follows:

> 4. Individuals and personal holding companies owning more than $1,000 in coin and currency of the United States on the last day of the month shall report within fifteen days to the Bureau of Internal Revenue the total amount of coin and currency owned on that day, wherever located. The amount so reported, less an exemption of $1,000, shall be taxed at the rate of 0.3 per cent per month.

There would be some, of course, who would not make honest reports of their cash holdings, just as there are some who fail to report all their income on their tax returns. But as one of the certain effects of a tax on money hoarding would be a rise in the price of securities and other assets, the motive for hoarding, which is usually a fear of declining values, would largely disappear. However, if it became apparent that considerable amounts of cash were unreported, the Treasury could be authorized to issue a new currency exchangeable for the old at par during a limited period and thereafter at a discount. There would be nothing unusual in issuing a new currency, for it was done several years ago when the size of paper money was reduced. The knowledge that a new currency might be issued would be likely to cause all but a few to make honest reports of their cash holdings.

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* Tax Idle Savings! By George Richmond Walker. *The Nation*, November 6, 1943.

In order to prevent a shift from demand deposits to time deposits, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, together with the Federal Deposit Insurance Commission, should be given authority to fix the minimum rate of interest which banks may pay on time deposits. (The board and the FDIC already have authority to fix the maximum rate.) If a minimum rate were not fixed, banks might accept time deposits from their customers, paying only a nominal or even zero rate of interest, and thereby assist them in avoiding the tax on demand deposits. With a minimum rate in effect, banks would not accept time deposits unless they could earn something more than the minimum by expanding their loans and investments. The reason for not taxing time deposits is that they are not used, except in rare instances, as money, and should not therefore be regarded as part of our current money supply. The shifting of funds back and forth between demand and time deposits would be undesirable, aside from tax avoidance, because it would mean an alternating contraction and expansion of our money supply which would further complicate the problem of effective monetary control.

To prevent the purchase and sale of securities by individuals from and to banks over the date of assessment of the hoarding tax there should be an excise tax of 1 per cent on the sale of securities by individuals to banks if the securities have been held for less than forty days.

Currency and bank deposits in the hands of brokers and agents would be taxable to them, and they could pass on the tax to their principals. Loans by individuals to trusts and corporations, unless evidenced by a bona fide mortgage or a public issue of bonds, would require the prior approval of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Finally, there would have to be controls over the export of capital funds, but these we are likely to have in any case. With the foregoing provisions in effect, the hoarding tax would be difficult to evade. Nevertheless, some loopholes would probably be found, as in the case of the income tax, and these would have to be plugged as they appeared.

So much for the penalty on hoarding by individuals. How can we prevent the excessive accumulation of cash by trusts and corporations? The following is suggested:

> 1. The normal tax on corporations shall be at the rate of 50 per cent of their net taxable income less an exemption of $25,000.
>
> 2. Net taxable income shall be considered as net profits less dividends paid out, and less one-half the sums invested out of earnings during the year in plant and equipment and charged to capital account.

Allowing the deduction of dividends paid out, in determining taxable income, would mean a drastic cut in taxes on corporations, but it would encourage the distribution of profits and increase the revenue from taxes on personal incomes. It would also distribute the burden of taxation more fairly, for stockholders with large incomes would pay at higher rates than stockholders with small incomes. Present taxes on corporate profits take the same percentage from small as from large stockholders.

Exemption of half of reinvested earnings would encourage the expansion of plant and equipment, which is most desirable. But it would hardly be fair to exempt all reinvested earnings, for then it would be possible for a small company to grow into a giant corporation without the stockholders or the company itself paying any taxes whatever. The value of the capital investment in a company increases as the company grows, and it is proper that this capital gain should be taxed. Exempting half of reinvested earnings from a 50 per cent normal tax would mean a 25 per cent tax on reinvested earnings, which is the same rate as the present tax on capital gains.

Congress may think it advisable after the war to retain the tax on the excess profits of corporations but to reduce the rate. The present tax, however, bears far more heavily on small growing companies than it does on large ones which are overcapitalized or which have a record of big sales in the past. If excess-profits taxes are retained, they should be designed to catch only the unreasonable profits of monopoly. The normal tax will take care of new enterprises and small and medium-sized concerns in competitive industries.

In addition to taxes on profits, it may prove necessary to impose a direct tax on cash held by corporations which, in relation to invested capital, current liabilities, and volume of sales, is obviously in excess of the reasonable requirements of the business. A tax on excess cash might be needed especially in the case of investment trusts and of corporations other than banks whose principal business is financial in character.

Although a tax on hoarding would unquestionably stimulate the investment of idle funds, there may be periods in the future when savings cannot be invested in private industry even at a nominal rate of return. In such a period the hoarding tax might cause funds to be invested at a negative rate of interest. It is suggested, therefore, that if money hoarding is penalized by taxation, the Treasury should maintain a tap issue of 1 per cent non-transferable five-year notes available only to individuals and non-profit organizations. This would put a floor under interest rates and make the government responsible for the investment of surplus savings which private enterprise could not absorb.

When the war ends, our money supply will be excessive, and will have to be contracted if the danger of a serious inflation is to be avoided. With the suggested taxes in effect, the government could borrow the surplus funds held by individuals and business concerns, at a low rate of interest, and use the money to reduce the government's indebtedness to banks. This would contract the money supply by reversing the process by which it was expanded. Once the money supply was adjusted to the needs of the economy, on the basis of full production and employment, it could be controlled so as to avoid both inflation and deflation. Without taxes on hoarding, no effective monetary control is possible, for changes in the volume of money made by the monetary authorities would continue to be offset and nullified, as in the past, by extreme variations in the rate of circulation.

Diary of the Future

BY VERNON BARTLETT

[*This is the sixth instalment of "a cautionary tale . . . a rash attempt to write history before it has happened," by a distinguished British journalist and member of Parliament. In* The Nation *of December 4 Mr. Bartlett described the opening of the Washington Peace Conference in September, 194–.*]

VI. De-Nazifying Germany

OCTOBER 15. The Commission for German Reeducation is said to be in difficulties. The arguments on either side are equally plausible, and it is a great pity the problem was not decided one way or the other while Germany was still fighting, for discussions now give a lamentable impression of weakness and indecision. One argument is that Germany must be occupied for an unspecified number of years by foreign teachers as well as by foreign troops, since German teachers could never be trusted to do the job. The other is that we must somehow differentiate between the bad and the less bad of some seventy million Germans, and to some extent put our trust in the less bad, since an occupation which is not as nearly "invisible" as possible will inevitably play into the hands of the German war party.

The argument that Germans must reeducate themselves raises at once the question that is the bogy of so many delegates: What sort of Germany do we want? Are we so frightened of socialism that we dare give no encouragement to the Socialists and Communists who opposed Hitler so strongly that they were tortured in concentration camps? Certainly that fear seems to be uppermost in the minds of many delegates, and they would prefer to deal with the Prussian officers, who also, they assert, often stood out against Hitler. In the British and American delegations there is a remarkable tendency to forget that the Officer Corps opposed Hitler at first because he wasn't socially acceptable and later because it feared the rivalry of his Brown Shirts and Black Shirts. It is also carefully forgotten that these men and their families have maintained themselves in power for generations with the same stubbornness as the British aristocracy, with the very important difference that they have done so by a succession of foreign wars, while the British have done so by a succession of social compromises at home.

As for the German middle class, somebody quoted from *Fortune's* supplement on United States relations with Europe the salutary reminder that "in all German history the German burgher has stood by, wringing his hands, while others performed his political tasks for him." It was, after all, the lower middle class that showed its lack of political balance by becoming Hitler's earliest and most enthusiastic supporter. It would seem as though the only Germans who are politically conscious and who would probably be constructive are the workers, and there are remarkably few of them among the German refugees hanging round the delegations here.

I have been much shocked since I came here by the number of people who have openly deplored our refusal to deal with Ribbentrop and Papen when we had the chance to do so, and who are opposed to giving the slightest encouragement to the trade unionists and other labor leaders who are beginning to emerge above the flood of bewildered and timid German mediocrity. It was inevitable such men should be thrown up, since they run the essential services of the nation. Without them, there is no coal, no transport, and no food. If we treat them with the contempt with which we *should* treat the kind of German who has run the country since Bismarck, we shall push Germany and Europe into a series of revolutions, the end of which nobody can foresee.

October 19. Sir Arthur Salter as chairman of the Transport Commission is involved in a great battle with private interests to retain control over shipping. Although the Atlantic is now a "safe" sea and munitions no longer have to be brought across it, there is still a shortage of ships, partly, of course, on account of the vast military supplies that are being sent out to India, but partly on account of the terrific demands from Europe.

Some governments in exile from the occupied countries had managed even during the war to lay up stocks for their own people, and now, naturally but unfortunately, they want to regain absolute mastery over their own vessels or to charter vessels from other countries to bring these stocks home. They are prepared to offer almost any sums, and the shipping companies don't like to see such offers made and not accepted. On the other hand, Salter and the UNRRA officials are most emphatic that Europe must be treated as a whole. It has all along been obvious that the countries most in need of help are the ones least able to pay for it, and if we once begin to consider the Continent as a hotchpotch of separate countries, these poorer parts will drift into ever greater misery, all the old national rivalries will be revived, and the opportunity of uniting Europe will have passed.

October 22. David Woodward has written from Berlin. Says there is a great scrap among the disarmament experts about bases in Germany. It has not yet been reflected in the Disarmament Commission over here, but it soon will be. The British want to hang on to Wilhelmshaven and maybe Hamburg and Kiel, with enough air bases on the Frisian Islands to prevent their being taken by surprise—which seems unnecessary if the Germans are to have no aircraft at all. The Russians want Stettin and Rügen, so as to keep Berlin covered. The French and the Poles want everything they can get. The Americans, so much farther away from Germany, are strongly opposed to all these suggestions, which they treat as "annexations."

October 24. News on the radio of a deputation, organized by a nasty-sounding bunch of people, to the Ministry of Economic Warfare to demand that no further blankets, sheets, and so on should be sent to the Continent because they are wanted at home. Of course they are, but the deputation saw the Parliamentary Secretary, Dingle Foot, and he seems to have been in the best possible form. Reminded them of the number of divisions the Germans had had to allocate to the policing of Europe, of the much greater sufferings the Europeans had known than we had, of the generosity and thoughtfulness of the British toward one another during the blitz, and of the fact that mean-minded people were often also cowards. Then he ended up with the most devastating details of the havoc caused in Europe, twenty miles away from England, by Polish influenza, malaria, typhus, and tuberculosis. The fear of this influenza is now so great in Britain that every visitor is inoculated at his port of arrival. Judging from the way I felt during my own very slight attack, I'm not surprised, and I bet some of the organizers of the deputation went home and gargled themselves sick.

October 25. The Economic Subcommittee of the Economic and Financial Commission of the Preliminary Peace Conference—to give it its full and ugly title—has now got down to brass tacks. In this atmosphere of secrecy, which grows denser as the resentment of the Big Four against any criticism becomes more peevish, it is difficult to know details. In any case, since the decisions will be made by three men—the American, British, and Russian chief delegates—a lot of the arguments seem unnecessary. If these men listened to their experts, the arguments would be useful. If the public were allowed to be represented, the arguments would be useful. As it is, they only add to the general bitterness and confusion.

The Anglo-American attitude is definitely opposed to any attempt to treat Germany as it treated the states that came under its domination. If we were to make that attempt, we would burn every book we disliked; we would send German children to other countries where, cut off for the rest of their lives from all contact with or knowledge of their parents and their birthplaces, they would be trained as non-Germans; we would decide exactly where German factories were to be and what they should manufacture; we would order German workers around Europe, pay them about half the pay of non-Germans, and make them live in the equivalent of forced-labor camps; we would torture or kill anybody whom our secret police believed to be dangerous.

But the Anglo-Americans could not enforce such a policy unless their people wanted it, and most of their people don't. To change roles with Germany in that way would be to decide that we were designated by fate to be the *Herrenvolk*. The Americans lack the necessary racial unity, and the British lack the necessary manpower; both lack the necessary lack of any sense of humor. The "soft" attitude—the adjective comes from one of the Poles—not unnaturally angers the smaller nations that until a few months ago were under the Nazi heel. You can't blame them, but also you can't encourage them if, this time, you are going to win the peace.

Some farsighted Germans are said to welcome the Atlantic Charter method, with its immediate disarmament and economic help. Germany couldn't, anyhow, make war for at least a decade, and they hope that our disarmament commissions will behave in such a way that the German people will be ready to rearm when the time comes. They know Germany will have to pass through terrible hardships in the next years, and they will be glad to put the blame on the Atlantic Charter rather than on themselves.

But that is a danger we must meet, and one realizes now how unwise it was to avoid discussion of it while the war against Germany was still on. We might then have come to the conference with a policy common to all the United Nations. Instead, the smaller powers are going around grumbling like the devil.

It's against this political background that the economic experts have to do their stuff. These are some of the proposals they are arguing about: First, all German heavy industry must be "internationalized," with non-Germans in part-control of the factories and on every board of directors. In that way raw materials could not be diverted to war purposes. But there are two objections to this. There was a lot of "internationalization" of industries before the war, and nobody believes that the very close relations between the great chemical combines, for example, did anything to prevent war. Quite the contrary. The American press has come out very strongly against any step that would put us still more under the influence of these cartels, especially as Germany was so darned efficient at organizing them. Therefore, some of the newspapers argue, foreigners on these boards of directors must be representatives of governments and not of firms. Only a few of the newspapers produce this argument; far too many of them are influenced by the slogan "free enterprise." The prejudice against anything in the nature of government control will probably prevent any real control over German heavy industry.

October 28. The Juridical Commission is discussing a solution of the "war-criminals" problem which sounds unimpressive but which seems to win supporters whenever it is discussed. The commission has to avoid several snags: (1) it is hampered by the absence of adequate international law; (2) it must avoid any action which might convert these gangsters into martyrs in the eyes of future Germans; (3) the extradition of Himmler from the Argentine has not been obtained, and the Americans will make no attempt to persuade the Argentine government to give way if a death penalty is to be imposed; (4) Anglo-American opinion, especially among supporters of the various churches, is more and more opposed to a series of spectacular trials and executions.

The Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of the Netherlands, Dr. van Kleffens, was, I believe, the originator of the present proposal, which is that the war criminals should merely be sentenced to hard labor on reconstruction work for the rest of their lives. They would work in Belgium, Poland, or some other country to which they had helped to bring destruction and misery, and their wardens would be ordinary prison wardens of non-German nationality. Precautions would be taken against active maltreatment but also against the slightest alleviation of their lot.

Partly, one suspects, to keep public opinion quiet, and partly to remind the commission that it has other subjects to deal with besides the fate of war criminals, a monster demonstration is being organized in favor of the new Declaration of the Rights of Man, an international Bill of Rights. One thing Hitler has taught us is that the old conception that a government might treat the people under its control as it pleased is a sure way of getting war. In the past—and the League of Nations came up against the problem time after time—we were always told we must not interfere in matters of domestic jurisdiction, with the result that the Nazis were able to destroy in their own country the whole conception of the integrity of the individual—the basis of Christianity and democracy alike. And we were told we must not interfere.

It is going to be difficult to devise a system which carries out in practice the freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, but public opinion in the United States, in the British Commonwealth, and in most countries of Europe seems pretty united in demanding some sort of machinery to enable a man who can't get justice in his own country, for racial, religious, or political reasons, to appeal to an international court.

In the Wind

WHEELER McMILLEN, editor of the *Farm Journal*, who has been mentioned as a possible Republican candidate for the Presidency, told a recent Chicago meeting he was "tired of being confused by vague generalities," and offered the following platform of his own: prosperity, national productivity, a strong America, expanded happiness of Americans, and United States international policies serving our interests.

"BOSS" ED CRUMP OF MEMPHIS recently ordered the cancelation of a meeting in a Negro Baptist Church at which A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was billed to speak on Negro problems. The Boss's command was transmitted through Sheriff O. H. Perry, who called some twenty prominent Memphis Negroes to a conference. He met them, not in the conference room of the state's attorney's office, but in the bull-pen of the county jail.

THE CRITICAL FACULTY: From a review of Sholem Asch's "The Nazarene" and "The Apostle" in the Nevada edition of the *Register*, a national Catholic newspaper: "We express unmitigated contempt for these works. . . . Among the books forbidden by Catholic law (Canon 1399) are . . . volumes of any non-Catholic treating professedly of religion unless it is certain that nothing is contained in them against the Catholic faith."

WANT AD in the San Francisco *Chronicle:* "Nylon, 3 prs., reward for unfurn. apt. or small bung."

FROM A LETTER by an American soldier in Africa: "It gave me a funny feeling to see some newsreels of the Tunisian war and to be sitting next to men who had fought in the same campaign. There were also many photos of and praise of guys like Eisenhower, Patton, etc., with no pictures or comment on Alexander, Montgomery, etc., who everybody over here knows were responsible for the entire victory practically. It sort of gripes the Tommies, and I don't blame them a bit."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Native Danish storm troopers have become such a public nuisance that the German authorities have been forced to arrest a number of their leaders. They are said to be more an embarrassment than a help to the Nazis. . . . *Yank* reports, "There's a strong possibility that the Germans have already executed Primo Carnera, the former world's heavyweight champion, for his anti-Fascist activity in northern Italy."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

How French Resistance Grew

BY JULES MOCH

[*Jules Moch, a Socialist Deputy and former Minister, was arrested on Pétain's order in September, 1940. After his release from prison in 1941 he joined the resistance movement and devoted himself to coordinating the efforts of the underground organizations until he was forced to flee from France. In an article published in this section on December 4 he described the hostility to Vichy that dominates all classes of Frenchmen today. A third article will deal with the problem of setting up a republican government in liberated France.*]

IN ORDER to give American readers some feeling of the present strength and activity of the underground in France, it is necessary to recall briefly the state of affairs immediately after the armistice and to show how the forces of resistance gradually coalesced and developed into a unified national movement. The armistice left France both confused and demoralized. The millions of uprooted people who clogged the roads were stunned; no one could understand what was happening. Laval took advantage of the chaotic situation to convoke the National Assembly and have it vote unlimited powers to the man of his choice, Pétain. Of the 950 members, more than 200—wounded, captured, or held in the occupied zone—were unable to reach Vichy. Of the others, only 80 voted against this treason.

Every party had its renegades. The eighty who stood fast included thirty-nine Socialists, fifteen Radicals, and twenty-six moderates and conservatives (the Communist deputies loyal to Moscow had been unseated after the Russo-German pact). The Socialist parliamentary group numbered 156 deputies and 16 Senators, of whom about 100 were present at Vichy. Thus less than half of them, plus scarcely a quarter of the Radicals, opposed the fascist military dictatorship.

The moral disintegration in the Assembly was duplicated throughout the country. Soldiers left their units for home, declaring that they had been betrayed by their officers or by the parliamentary regime. General de Gaulle's courageous, farsighted, and noble appeal to his countrymen aroused but a small minority of the people. The abdication of the Parliament at Vichy brought few protests.

In September, 1940, Reynaud, Daladier, Léon Blum, and many of the Socialists who had voted "no" at Vichy were arrested. French democrats, shaking off their torpor, then began to understand that Pétain meant to instal his own brand of fascism and to discredit the Republic and its representatives by charging them with responsibility for the defeat. The country's confidence in "the savior of Verdun" was shaken. Depression was accentuated when the Marshal went to see Hitler at Montoire in October. It was lessened in December when he dismissed and imprisoned Laval—only to release him immediately afterward. The elevation to power of Admiral Darlan in February, 1941, marked the high point of "Pétainism."

But Darlan proved to be an even more willing collaborator than Laval and praised the "generosity of the Germans." Pro-Pétain sentiment was further diminished by the racial laws promulgated at the end of 1941 and tightened in 1942, the persecution of foreign-born and later of French Jews, and the harsh rule set up in Alsace. Laval's return to power wiped out the people's last illusions. Finally, the man-power levy in late 1942 and the deportation of French workers to Germany in 1943 brought their hatred of Vichy to a climax and cemented the unity of their resistance.

Paralleling the trend of public opinion against Pétain, there was a reawakening of national self-respect and a desire to redress France's wrongs. After June, 1940, everyone tuned in regularly on the B. B. C. broadcasts. With their sharp critical sense the French soon perceived the servility of their press, and news from abroad became a necessity to them. People fought at newsstands for such Swiss papers as still came in. They bought out the radio shops. The news was passed along by word of mouth, and the Vichy papers were read only for rationing announcements. Patriots discovered other patriots, repeated General de Gaulle's messages. The resistance movement was born.

In the factories, shops, and cafes men calling themselves *Gaulliste* coalesced into groups. Soon remnants of the political parties began to meet in secret—first the Communists and Socialists, then the Catholics, moderates, and Radicals. But no Frenchman knew where his neighbor stood or dared confide in him. Naturally therefore in the beginning the political groups had few adherents and little communication with one another. Even a party as disciplined as the Socialist Party reappeared only in scattered cells. All action was local, uncoordinated, and ineffective.

Toward the middle of 1941, however, certain elements established regular relations with General de Gaulle and the Free French in London and received from them valuable advice and aid. From then on underground activity expanded rapidly. Leaflets were printed. Newspapers made their appearance and were systematically distributed by "chains" of coworkers. Daring men carried the copies in heavy valises from the printing plant to various cities. Here the papers were divided among the leaders of the chains, who in turn divided them among the members; single copies were then delivered by these individuals.

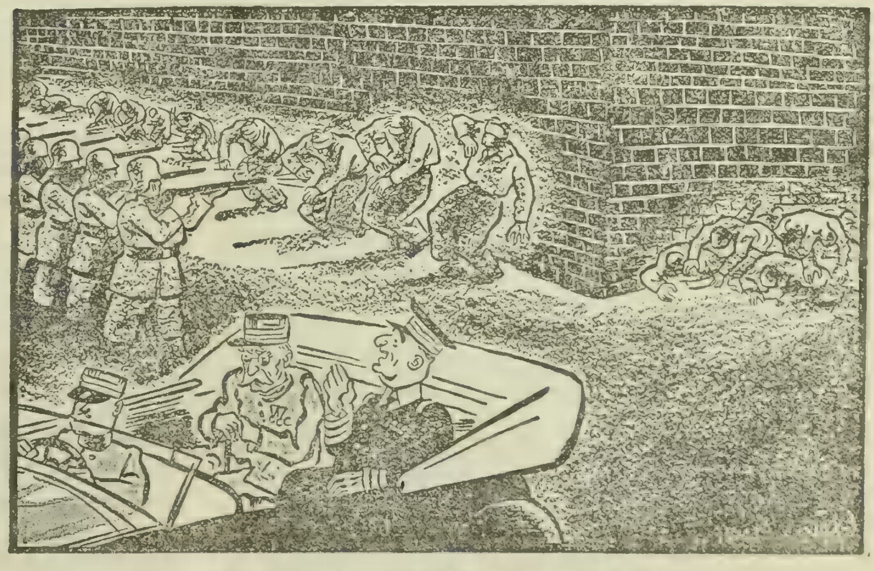
At present seventy underground papers appear fairly regularly once or twice a month. The largest of them prints 100,000 copies, another 70,000. *Le Populaire,* the Socialist Party paper, has one central and eight regional editions; *l'Humanité,* the Communist organ, has an equally large printing—this in a country where one's every move is watched by the police and where the paper shortage is acute. Do Americans realize the cleverness, perseverance, and heroism that go into obtaining newsprint for these papers, setting the type, and distributing the copies?

Organizations publishing a paper utilized their distributing systems to form affiliated groups throughout the country. By the middle of 1942 about a dozen national organizations had established many branches and were carrying on various kinds of work. One group formed a quasi-military troop and armed it as best it could in preparation for the liberation struggle. Another trained anti-fascist shock brigades to combat the Legion of Veterans and other fascist or governmental militias. These brigades frequently took the offensive and smashed the windows of government offices and fascist headquarters. Some organizations enrolled their members by professions. Three-quarters of the telephone operators of a city, nine-tenths of the railroad workers and customs officials, were ready to obey a given signal immediately. Even the army and the police force were honeycombed with resistance cells.

Two steps remained to be taken. One was to strengthen the liaison between the Free French and the resistance movement; the other, to coordinate the activities of the resistance forces. The first was achieved in July, 1942, when all French underground organizations announced their support of General de Gaulle, declaring that he symbolized for them and for all France the refusal to capitulate, loyalty to the Allies, and the strugge for victory.

At the same time the French National Committee in London decided to change its name to the "Fighting French" for reasons set forth in *La France Combattante* of August 28, 1942: "In view of the adhesion of all the groups within France that are participating actively in the resistance movement, we [the French National Committee] have chosen the name the 'Fighting French' to show that our organization includes the Free French forces, Frenchmen in our overseas possessions and abroad, and 'Captive France,' which is struggling against the invader and the authority usurped by a pseudo-government under the control of the enemy." From then on De Gaulle was the acknowledged leader not only of the tens of thousands of volunteers who joined him in London but also of the millions resisting the invader and Vichy in France.

Coordination within France was obtained more slowly, first, because the division of the country into two zones had forced the various organizations to limit their activities to one side or the other of the demarcation line, secondly, because the existence within the underground movement of non-political or secret-party groups created a delicate situation. Certain of these groups wanted no recognition of the old political parties. Finally, however, the difficulties were overcome. By the end of 1942 a committee of coordination was at work in each zone. In 1943 the Central Council of French Resistance was set up with authority over all organizations, political or otherwise, in both zones. The council consists of one representative of the Fighting French and sixteen delegates from the resistance organizations—eight from the non-political groups, six from the reconstituted political parties, and two from the trade unions.



"Mon Dieu! I was afraid it was my back tire."

The strength of the resistance forces has greatly increased since the formation of the French Committee of National Liberation in Algiers. A secret army is being equipped whose effectives are estimated to number 200,000 men. This army punishes traitors, destroys German supplies, commits sabotage according to plan, and offers a refuge to men who have fled from forced labor in Germany. For Laval and the Germans it is a source of anxiety which they no longer attempt to conceal. We have seen it in action in Corsica, where thousands of patriots rose against the enemy before the Fighting French forces arrived. Well armed and disciplined, they went into battle with the cry, "Long live the Republic! Long live De Gaulle!"

With the aid of its many branches the resistance movement has made a complete list of officials to be ousted, of men to replace them, and of traitors to be arrested. On the day that the Allies land in France not only will a French army fight at their side but a republican administration will be prepared to take over the reins of government from the men of Vichy.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IF FOOD is a weapon, it is one that the Germans unfortunately are finding they can use to considerable effect. It has passed to them by virtue of the food situation in southern Italy, which is very much worse than it was before the Allied invasion, and worse than it is in northern Italy under German rule. The basic diet of the southern Italians consists of macaroni and bread. Under Fascism the macaroni ration was 650 grams a week; today practically no macaroni is obtainable. The bread ration was graduated from 150 grams a day for persons doing the lightest work to 500 grams for the heaviest workers; today 100 grams is the ration for all classes. In a word, as Mayor LaGuardia put it, the situation is "desperate."

Rumors about conditions in Italy, as may be imagined, have spread all over Europe—and the Germans are reaping the advantage. They are circulating the report that the Allies have carried off the entire food supply, and are emphasizing the contrast between the actuality and the people's previous hopes of having more to eat after the entry of the English and American troops. As the Paris radio expressed it:

> The gullible fools who have been spreading fantastic stories about the imminent return of the good old days now see their hopes going up in smoke. The United States has no intention of feeding the countries which it may occupy. What we shall have to do when the Sammies and Tommies have landed in Europe will be to tighten our belts another hole. . . . How much your English liberators will leave you is extremely uncertain. Our people in North Africa say that almost their whole harvest has been sent to Britain.

As usual, German statements on the subject have been so exaggerated as to damage their credibility. The well-known race expert Professor von Leers has discovered—and his discovery has been broadcast in many languages—that the scarcity of food in Italy is part of a deliberate policy of race extermination.

> The Jew Lehman, a leader of Tammany Hall, is director of Allied food shipments to occupied countries, and his policy is to let the people die of hunger. . . . The promises that food would be furnished the population from military stores have proved a swindle. The occupying armies requisition food. In Reggio, as early as September 28, the hungry masses stormed the military depots where requisitioned food had been stored. As a reprisal ten persons were shot. . . . The bread ration in the "liberated" regions is seventy-five grams a day. Only persons who publicly revile Fascism receive a small allowance of poor macaroni. The Americans call this distribution of macaroni "feeding the pigs." Behind it all lies not muddle but a plan to destroy the population by starvation.

Such extravagant assertions convince nobody. The average European listener may well conclude that the Allies did not cause the food scarcity but have simply been unable to relieve it. Nevertheless, the fact that the Italians are hungrier under the Allies than they were formerly under Mussolini or are even today under Hitler cannot be entered on the credit side of the psychological balance sheet. It may easily make a greater impression on people than the news of the setting up of the UNRRA.

When public opinion lacks normal means of expression, it discovers subtle ways of making itself felt. This is illustrated by a dispatch in the Stockholm *Aftontidningen* of November 7 describing certain happenings in Vienna. Soccer, it should be explained, is the favorite sport of the Viennese.

> Anti-German and anti-Nazi demonstrations occurred in Vienna when the Vienna Soccer Club returned from Stuttgart, where it had defeated the Luftwaffe soccer team. Whispered campaigning before the team's return caused it to be welcomed with *Hoch* instead of the official *Heil*. City Councilor Blaschke was made uneasy by this open demonstration against Germany and asked the crowd to give a cheer for the Führer, but only a few persons responded. Immediately afterward a very large number shouted *Sport Frei*, the greeting used in the old days by the Socialist workers' sport associations.

The Gauleiter of Vienna, Baldur von Schirach, the dispatch continues, "contemplates the prohibition of all soccer games between Austrian and German teams, fearing that they will always give rise to anti-German demonstrations."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Mind Is an Enchanting Thing

is an enchanted thing
like the glaze on a
katydid-wing
subdivided by sun
till the nettings are legion.
Like Gieseking playing Scarlatti;

like the apteryx-awl
as a beak, or the
kiwi's rain-shawl
of haired feathers, the mind
feeling its way as though blind,
walks along with its eyes on the ground.

It has memory's ear
that can hear without
having to hear.
Like the gyroscope's fall,
truly unequivocal
because trued by regnant certainty,

it is a power of
strong enchantment. It
is like the dove-
neck animated by
sun; it is memory's eye;
it's conscientious inconsistency.

It tears off the veil, tears
the temptation, the
mist the heart wears,
from its eyes—if the heart
has a face; it takes apart
dejection. It's fire in the dove-neck's

iridescence; in the
inconsistencies
of Scarlatti.
Unconfusion submits
its confusion to proof; it's
not a Herod's oath that cannot change.

MARIANNE MOORE

The Poetry of Millay

COLLECTED LYRICS. By Edna St. Vincent Millay. Harper and Brothers. $5.

MISS MILLAY belongs to the ages. Posterity, which is an anachronism, may prove this strong impression an illusion. But we shall not know about that. Meanwhile Miss Millay has written a good many poems, most of them in this new collection or in her collected volume of sonnets, which make her a great poet to most readers of poetry. These readers consider Edgar Allan Poe, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Blake, and Shakespeare great poets also; and if they read Poe, Longfellow, and Miss Millay, rather than Blake and Shakespeare, what else can be expected? How else can these readers sustain their view of what great poetry is?

This new collection shows how Miss Millay belongs to an age as well as to the ages. She is dated in a good sense. Like Scott Fitzgerald, H. L. Mencken, Sinclair Lewis, prohibition, and midget golf, she belongs to a particular period. No one interested in that period will fail to be interested in Miss Millay's poems. This is not to say that she, or the other authors, was a spokesman. The notion that a creative author can be a spokesman is a convenient and unanalyzed confusion. Creative authors are not elected like Congressmen or chosen like committees, and a creative author can only write well what he truly believes. But there is an inherent sympathy or rapport between the unique talent of some authors and the leading tendencies of the age. The age draws forth and often helps to fecundate what it can use or what it finds interesting and significant in an author. And this is often a sad thing, for some authors are used and then discarded, after groundless illusions have been forced upon them; soon, for example, no one will remember who James Branch Cabell was. But this fate will not overtake Miss Millay. Her lyrics were used by the period, and she was made famous by their usefulness; but now they are inseparable from the period, and they will always illuminate the liberated Vassar girl, the jazz age, bohemianism, and the halcyon days of Greenwich Village. Who can forget the famous quatrain in which a lady's candle burns at both ends, and will not last the night, but gives a lovely light? How could this point of view have been stated with greater economy of means or more memorably? Yet not all that is memorable is admirable.

Some authors can survive a *Zeitgeist* success, especially if, like Mann, they are profoundly frivolous as well as serious. And some, like Yeats, learn and gain a great deal precisely because their hour in the limelight has come and gone. But Miss Millay has perhaps been defeated by her very success. "Fatal Interview," the volume of sonnets she published in 1931, is probably her best book, but there is nothing in it which represents an advance in perception or insight over her first book, which was published in 1917. To compare the two books is to see how all that is good in her work, all that is of permanent interest, is circumscribed by the period in which she became a famous poetess.

Consider, as an example, the view of love which recurs without exception in these lyrics and in many of Miss Millay's sonnets; in one of her best-known sonnets, "What lips my lips have touched and how and why/ I have forgotten," Miss Millay compares the female protagonist of the poem to a tree and "the unremembered lads" who were her lovers to birds. Is this not the eternal feminine of the day when woman's suffrage was an issue and not yet an amendment? If one has a weakness for visualizing images, then the dominant image of the poem certainly presents the female and the lads in unfair proportions. Elsewhere some lovers are assured that a love affair is not any the less true love because it has been rapidly succeeded by several more love affairs, an assurance which might come gracefully from Catherine the Great, let us say, but which is not really the kind of attitude that makes great poetry. Is it not, indeed, just as shallow as its opposite, the squeezable mindless doll whom Hemingway celebrates? Yet just such attitudes explain Miss Millay's popular fame at the same time as they exhibit her essential failure. The late John Wheelwright remarked that Miss Millay had sold free love to the women's clubs. Yes, this has been at once her success and her failure; and one should add that another attribute of this kind of famous authoress is that of inspiring epigrams.

When we look closely at Miss Millay's poetic equipment—her images, diction, habits of style, and versification—we find the same twins of success and failure. Her diction especially is poetic in the wrong sense: the candles, arrows, towers, scullions, thou's, lads, girls, prithees, shepherds, and the often-capitalized Beauty and Death are words which come, not from a fresh perception of experience, but from the reading of many lyric poems by the Elizabethans, Heine, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and Christina Rossetti. The alternative is not the simple one of substituting electric lights for candles and machine-guns for arrows; Sandburg is just as falsely poetic as Miss Millay because he embraces this opposite. If there is an alternative, it is perhaps to be seen flickering in the poems in which Miss Millay draws upon what she has actually looked at on the New England coast or in the Maine woods: "the soft spitting snow," "the silly bleating sheep," "the scratching of dry leaves," the pines, the hemlocks, the apple orchard, and the blunted ax.

But if Miss Millay had cultivated and searched out the actuality of this experience instead of using it as a stage set, she would not be the first text of all the girls who are going to write poetry; she would not have depended upon attitudes which are as characteristic of literate youth as the sophomore year; after her second volume she would have abandoned the obvious and banal poses she has struck in the face of love and death. She would not be the most famous poetess of our time, and she might have composed a body of poetry characterized by the nonesuch originality—however often warped, thin, fragmentary, exotic, or ingrown—of Marianne Moore, Leonie Adams, Louise Bogan, and Janet Lewis, four poets who will never be as popular as Miss Millay.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Life of a Hero

THE DUKE: A LIFE OF WELLINGTON. By Richard Aldington. Viking Press. $3.75.

RICHARD ALDINGTON has cultivated many literary crops, but hitherto he has not attempted to raise a biography. Nevertheless, he has succeeded in producing a fine, sturdy plant even though its shape and color are rather unexpected. Readers who recall "Death of a Hero"—a notable example of the post-1918 anti-militarist school of fiction—may be surprised to find its author treating a general with respect and even affection. But national heroes have come into their own again. In the twenties they were ruthlessly cut down to pigmy size; today they are back on their pedestals with new cubits added to their statuary.

I do not wish, however, to convey the impression that Mr. Aldington has idealized the Duke of Wellington so as to make him unrecognizable. His is a flesh-and-blood portrait, and the blemishes have not been painted out, although they have not been high-lighted either. But if the author has inhibited his considerable gift for irony so far as his hero is concerned, he has given it full rein in treating the minor characters who crowd the scene, and has been something less than just to many of them. No one has cause for complaint when he directs his sarcasm at the fatuous Duke of York, who for many years was commander-in-chief of the British army and its worst affliction, or at other royal incubi of the time. But Wellington did not beat Napoleon on his own or in spite of his subalterns, as Mr. Aldington sometimes seems to suggest. And some of the Duke's political coadjutors had more sense and patriotism than they are given credit for.

Since Wellington—born Arthur Wesley—was a younger son of a noble but temporarily impoverished house, in an age when family meant almost everything, it is a little hard to make an Alger hero of him. But Mr. Aldington has tended to stress the odds he had to overcome to conquer fame. True, he was neglected and unhappy in his youth, and his mother had a low opinion of him, announcing at one point that he was "food for powder and nothing more." His education might have made a rebel of him; instead, it confirmed him in all the prejudices of his caste.

For want of better preferment Wellington entered the army as an ensign at the age of eighteen. Six years later he was a lieutenant colonel. Such rapid promotion at that time could only be achieved by powerful patronage. Yet he was very dissatisfied and was constantly seeking more lucrative employment—a fact which his latest biographer records with obvious sympathy.

There is no need here to summarize Wellington's military career. Nearly two-thirds of this book is devoted to his battles in India against Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, and the Mahrattas, the Peninsula War, and the brief campaign of Waterloo. Mr. Aldington gives a clear and readable account of these wars and avoids entanglement in too much detail. He brings out well the Duke's eye for terrain and his genius for logistics. Above all, he emphasizes his hero's unfailing common sense, which proved an invaluable asset in dealing with over-romantic opponents. This quality was displayed to the best advantage in the part he played in the pacification of Europe, when he used his influence against the imposition of crushing burdens on France.

Wellington lived on for thirty-seven years after Waterloo, and for twenty or so he was perhaps the most influential figure in British politics. The history of this period is a prolonged drama, in many of the most stirring scenes of which the Duke appears in the role of a Canute bidding the wild waves of reform to halt their advance. In the years that he had been campaigning abroad forces had been born which he did not understand. The Industrial Revolution had gathered increased momentum, the country had become rapidly urbanized, and a new middle class and new proletariat were demanding with growing insistence that the landed aristocracy surrender its political monopoly.

Wellington, said Disraeli, "knew nothing about England," d Mr. Aldington, for all his contempt for Dizzy, is forced agree with this verdict. The result was that fifteen years er he returned from Waterloo, a national hero, he had come the most execrated man in the country. Throughout ose years he had defended stoutly the divine right of the glish ruling class. He saw the movement for parliamentary form either as a reckless attempt to upset an almost perfect nstitution or as a conspiracy fostered by foreign gold. wice he led the Tory forces to defeat reform bills, and the ndon mob smashed his windows. Yet in the end he grasped e fact that the alternative to reform was civil war and used s influence to insure enough absenteeism in the House of ords to allow the bill to pass. Nor was this the only occasion hen he finally aided the passage of measures, such as the peal of the Corn Laws, which he and his fellow-Tories had hemently opposed. As Mr. Aldington justly observes:

> The Duke knew perfectly well that a country can only be governed by one of two powers, the people or the sword, and on the whole, much as he disliked the people, he disliked the sword more. That is why he would oppose popular measures with which he disagreed, but never beyond the point where rioting might become revolution.

I think this passage explains why Mr. Aldington has hosen to celebrate this particular hero. Wellington was a reat soldier who never became a militarist.

KEITH HUTCHISON

iction in Review

AS I began James T. Farrell's "My Days of Anger" (Vanguard, $2.75), the fourth and final volume of he Danny O'Neill series, I was struck by how vividly Farrell's characters had remained in my memory from my reading, some years ago, of no more than a single one, the first, of the Danny O'Neill novels. Danny's father Jim (now dead), his mother Lizz, his cranky and wonderful old grandmother, his Uncle Al, who worships education as a holy mystery, and his drunken Aunt Margaret—all Danny's family recalled themselves with uncommon clarity. I found myself contrasting this experience with the experience I had had when I reread John Dos Passos's "U. S. A." Surely I am not the only reader who has difficulty remembering the people in Dos Passos's novels, and it occurred to me that perhaps the reason we forget them so quickly is that while Dos Passos gives them an intellectual understanding, he gives them no real love. Even his pity is a kind of symbolical literary pity rather than pity out of his own feeling. This is quite the opposite of Farrell's relation to his characters. Of the two writers, Dos Passos undoubtedly has the more various and dramatic imagination; indeed, it is Farrell's great weakness as a novelist that his people have so little dramatic possibility; he seems unable to permit his literary creations to grow up and have a life of their own in the big world. But he has the more creative heart: his characters endure in memory because they were created in profound affection.

Of course, in the measure that the material of Farrell's fiction is autobiographical, his love must also be called self-love. His long fictional obsession with the theme of his own background is so revealing in this regard that the reader is

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almost embarrassed, and perhaps it is embarrassment that accounts in some part for the gruffness with which each new iteration of the Chicago subject is received by certain critics. But even granting that Farrell's love of mankind is love only for that section of mankind from which he drew his own being, there are few contemporary writers who have the power to trace their sources and their growth with so much talent for observation and in such a disciplined prose. For some reason or other, in the years since I last read one of his novels, I had got the impression that Farrell was a careless writer—quite as if, being like Dreiser a realist, he had necessarily to be tarred with the brush of Dreiser's stylistic slovenliness. But actually Farrell is a meticulous if limited craftsman, choosing both incident and language with thought and skill; in fact, the contradiction between the apparently uncontrolled flow of his narrative (and the rapidity with which novel follows novel) and the care with which each scene is chosen for its place in the whole pattern of the story is one of the paradoxes of his work. There is another paradox which relates to Farrell's obsession with his past: although his energies are so disconcertingly devoted to self-portraiture, his basic objectivity of approach and his refusal to intervene on behalf of Danny O'Neill's author could surely serve as a lesson to many writers who would condemn him out of hand for his excessive self-concern.

"My Days of Anger" covers the years 1924-27—the years in which Danny comes to young manhood. He earns his own living, studies at the University of Chicago, breaks with Catholicism, and, perhaps most important, makes his first eager steps as a writer. O'Neill-Farrell is moving out from the family group and testing its values; and because he is young and soon to be an artist, the education of his mind and emotions is the education of his taste in poetry. In literature he finds meaning for the environment in which he was raised, and in the promise of literature the promise of the righting of its wrongs. At the end of the novel, his grandmother dead, Danny is leaving for New York, and he thinks: "His people had not been fulfilled. He had not understood them all these years. He would do no penance now for these; he would do something surpassing penance. There was a loyalty to the dead, a loyalty beyond penance and regret. He would do battle so that others did not remain unfulfilled as he and his family had been." In other words, it is on a call to battle, at once touching in its naive inadequacy and moving in its personal passion, that Farrell concludes the education of his novelist as a young man.

But literature is not made from calls to battle, and it is one of Farrell's grievous errors to think that it is, just as it is his error and misfortune to see even his purely literary problems as the continuing conflict between two dreadfully opposing sides. On the one side is truth, on the other side lies; and since he knows that he tells the truth, he thinks that whatever someone else wants him to say is untruth. Thus in "My Days of Anger" Danny is studying with a professor of creative writing, a not very subtle caricature of the academician. "You want to be a realist," says this thin voice of criticism. "But is it realism to say that all life is unhappy?" The professor goes on to take the young author to task for omitting a "glimmer of hope" in his stories. Danny replies, "I didn't make unhappiness. I didn't invent Chicago. I'm only trying to describe Chicago as I know it." That is, Farre would seem to sum up all possible objection to his metho as objection to his unpleasant truthfulness. Well, perhap some unimportant section of opinion has expressed itself o this low level; it would be the same opinion that acclaims book like "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn." But Farrell deceive himself harmfully if he regards all serious adverse criticism as so essentially without seriousness.

For, clearly, his pleasantness or unpleasantness is quite beside the point of his ultimate success as a novelist. The people he writes about could be rich and beautiful instead of poor and woeful and superstitious, and he would still be subject to the same criticism for the limits within which he has held his imagination. One of the finest things about Farrell is his love, but even love, and certainly all the accuracy in the world, cannot compensate for his preference for the actionless, the plotless, and the unvarious. He seems to believe that to intensify by dramatic action or by the invention of plot is to falsify; but this is as if, telling the story, say, of Othello, he should think it more truthful to record a lifetime of Othello's emotional insufficiencies and racial inferiorities than to introduce an Iago to precipitate Othello's uneasy innocence into violence. And his rigid refusal to allow his characters movement in the world has a significant resemblance to the loving-cruel family authority which so crippled all the O'Neills and made it necessary for his grandmother to die before Danny O'Neill could leave Chicago.

DIANA TRILLING

When Freedom Is Forgotten

FREEDOM, FORGOTTEN AND REMEMBERED. By Helmut Kuhn. University of North Carolina Press. $2.50.

WE HAVE had many books on the cultural and spiritual, as well as on the economic and political, roots of Nazism. Of the many I doubt whether there is one which is equal in sanity, breadth, and depth to Kuhn's "Freedom, Forgotten and Remembered." This is something more than a simple and self-righteous interpretation of Nazism as the consequence of German romanticism, after the manner of several recent expositions of the cultural roots of Nazism. Kuhn, who was once a professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin and a secretary of the Kant Society and who is now teaching philosophy at the University of North Carolina, sees the German sickness in the context of the total spiritual problem of the Western world. He understands the demonic force of Nazism more profoundly than most non-German critics; but he also understands the static corruption of the Western world which gave this dynamic corruption the chance to grow. "There are," he writes, "two ways of consigning freedom to oblivion. It may suffer a gradual loss of substance and thus fade away. This process is reversible. The forgotten freedom may be remembered. Or freedom is repudiated and cast out by an irrevocable act of despair; from it there is no return save through rebirth." He believes that the democratic world is guilty of forgetting freedom in such a way that it may yet be reclaimed and that Nazism represents the repudiation of freedom by an irrevocable act.

Guilty of Cowardice

by Leon Henderson

America loves courage.

America loves success.

Not long ago we honored ourselves as Americans by applauding two old friends, Sweden and Denmark, for conspicuous gallantry and success on the field of action. Our citation should read, "For unexampled moral bravery."

How I wish that we might also make an American citizenry award to the United Nations for similar moral courage towards Jewish people in Europe.

But you know and I know that this is impossible.

The Allied Governments, in the face of a clear call of moral duty, have been guilty of cowardice.

For years, the leading Allied National Governments have known that the major political weapon of Nazi bestiality was extermination of the Jews.

But this war issue has been avoided, submerged, postponed, played down and resisted with all the forms of political force available to powerful governments.

One of the aims of warfare is the destruction of the political structure of the enemy. Woodrow Wilson knew this well. The Allies knew how to help break Fascism under Mussolini.

But the Allies have left the Nazis taunt them, and by so doing have made conspicuous a frightening moral and political weakness within our own structure.

I say, in all earnestness, that Sweden and Denmark have proven the tragedy of Allied judgment. At a time when the ideals for which we fight need illumination and fortification, these two brave countries have shown America the path of leadership.

Make no mistake. This is a concern, this is a responsibility for all Americans and all Allies. This is a matter of national honor and not a very private and confidential business of those who happen to be of Jewish descent.

Our leaders know how America flamed about the extermination of Lidice. Well, Lidice has been repeated on a monumental scale and the Nazis have announced their intent to make every Jewish community in Europe another Lidice.

Why do we stand idly by?

We hear vague statements of "military expediency." This is an abuse of the rightful use of military expediency. Why not let the public conscience judge between expediency and Jewish extermination?

I know, far better than many of you, that the Allies have engaged in many a bold, risky and concealed venture to handle special situations of high political and strategic importance. But I know of none which are more justifiable than specific aid which the Allied Governments might extend to European Jews.

Let the United Nations, with all solemnity and force, tell Hitler and everyone who assassinates the Jew that they are being set down for trial for murder.

Let them know we care.

Let the United Nations open the doors of the slaughter house from the outside.

Let the United Nations make provision for temporary asylum, for temporary visas, so that agonized Jews may help themselves.

Let the United Nations tell satellite countries like Bulgaria and Roumania, and neutrals like Turkey and Spain, that it wants to help Jews to be saved. Above all, let the United Nations speed their own self-redemption by bold action through a recognized, formal organization so that all the world, enemy, neutral and friend, may know their clear intent.

This is no postwar problem.

This is no matter to await the Peace Table, a peace table that will be haunted by the ghosts of millions that have already perished. It calls for moral action now, action that will nourish our moral fibre.

If this be a war for civilization, then most surely this is the time to be civilized.

(From an address at a mass rally in Carnegie Hall, N. Y. C., organized by this committee in honor of Sweden and Denmark.)

We are trying to do our duty. Do your share, too!

There are four million Jews still alive in Europe.

They can be saved. Experts agree on that. Sweden and Denmark have just proved it by saving 6,000 Jews in a few days.

This committee considers it a sacred duty to do all humanly possible to save them. Our offices and representatives in Washington and in London, in Palestine and in Turkey, are steadily working in this direction, trying to get large-scale government action. This action will have to express itself in the creation of an Intergovernmental Agency to save the Jewish people of Europe and in declaring the doors of Palestine and other countries under United Nations control open for escaping Jews. For it is now strictly a race for time against death. *Every day that passes dooms thousands who can be saved.*

This Committee is asking the American people for substantial financial support with which it hopes—and believes—results can be secured effecting the rescue of the four million martyred Jews in Europe.

We need your financial help immediately. By your support will be determined the speed, scope and effectiveness of our work to save the Jewish people of Europe.

Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe

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....

In expounding this thesis he illumines many of the perplexing issues of our day. He shows us why a democratic government which allows freedom for the expression of various creeds and philosophies cannot save the democratic way of life if meanwhile a high sense of purpose no longer animates those who claim this freedom. In such a case they may think of freedom as no more than the right to pursue conflicting interests and may interpret interest in merely economic terms. Professor Kuhn gives us a penetrating account of the emptiness of our bourgeois world, which the Nazi devils sought to fill; and in doing so he carefully estimates the contribution which historical relativism, the "either-or" philosophy of existential philosophy, and other cultural forces made to either the liberal or the Nazi sickness.

Professor Kuhn deals with the future as profoundly as with the past. He sees no easy possibility of rebirth for Germany, and he has a lively sense of the political realities which must be incorporated into a decent peace. He hopes that the war will not end "with a compromise between a generous fiction and a brutal reality," the fiction incorporating the ideal of universal justice in some unworkable league of nations and the brutal reality expressing the vindictiveness and will to power of the victors.

On the inadequacy of a purely military victory I know of no better word than the author's:

> It is not intolerable, either to an individual or to a nation, to be defeated by a real victor, that is, by one who believes in the truth of his triumphant cause. Only the meaningless adversity is utterly crushing and demoralizing. It would be a meaningless catastrophe for Germany and Italy to be defeated by superior resources rather than by men who believe in the freedom for which they fight. We must hope that the despondency of the politicians will not belie the valor of the fighting men. Only a true victory will prompt the enemy to acquiesce, morally as well factually, in the defeat as final and decisive.

This is definitely a book worth reading with care. Incidentally it is written so imaginatively and in so robust a style that one suspects the author of no ordinary linguistic gifts. The retouched prose of average émigré writing is usually more labored. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

DRAMA

SINCE "Carmen Jones" (Broadway Theater) falls mainly into Mr. Haggin's province, you will find a review of it on page 742. I shall confine myself to a few remarks about Katharine Cornell and her latest production "Lovers and Friends" (Plymouth Theater). Miss Cornell plays the well-known part of the understanding woman to whom all men turn—and return. The other characters are merely foils. The play, in short, is what is known as a vehicle.

I know that good new plays are as scarce as hens' teeth, and Miss Cornell may have her reasons for not producing a good old play—though the success of "Othello" by one Shakespeare and the easy money flowing through the box offices make me wonder what they are. But her choice, as a producer, of this particular bad play points up what seems to me her great defect as an actress. In "Lovers and Friends" she gives a characteristic performance which her admirers will like. I enjoyed it up to a point, for Miss Cornell is good to look at and she is an experienced and trained actress. But I find her acting less than satisfactory for the very elementary reason that she creates no illusion. I have never seen her surrender to a part, though I should add, perhaps, that I have seen only a limited number of her performances. Whether from a lack of imagination or a lack of humility or both, she appears to be incapable of making the spectator forget that she is Katharine Cornell. In the present play it hardly matters; one may even be glad to believe that Stella Boswell is really Katharine Cornell. It does matter in such a play as "The Three Sisters," which she produced last season. For when one of Chekhov's characters insists on being Katharine Cornell as well, it leads to a serious disturbance of the piece.

Raymond Massey has a limited range as an actor, and he is not well cast as an English barrister. But even if he were well cast, and a first-rate actor besides, he would be hard put to it to give life to the many wooden lines he has to speak, partly because the play gives him no support. The scene in which he tells his wife (Miss Cornell) that he has fallen in love would not be quite so unconvincing, for example, if one believed for a second that his sally into romance might turn out to be a one-way journey instead of a quick round trip. In other words, the play has neither the common garden variety of suspense growing out of uncertainty about its ending nor the tension of good writing, which also creates suspense of a different sort.

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This is the time of year when lists are in order. Here are the productions that seem to me worth seeing for one reason or another.

"Carmen Jones"—reviewed elsewhere in this issue. Broadway Theater.

"Othello," for Margaret Webster's clever production and José Ferrer's brilliant portrayal of Iago. Shubert Theater.

"One Touch of Venus," for Mary Martin's charming presence, Sono Osato's dancing, Mainbocher's gowns, and a general sophisticated gaiety. Imperial Theater.

"Innocent Voyage," for the excellent performances of Abby Bonime and her pirate friends, Oscar Homolka and Herbert Berghof. Belasco Theater.

"Winged Victory," for the G. I. cast. Forty-fourth Street Theater.

"A Connecticut Yankee," mainly for Vivienne Segal. (Not reviewed before.) There are dull moments in this revised revival of the Rodgers and Hart musical, but you will enjoy Miss Segal's lusty performance and especially her singing of "To Keep My Love Alive." There is also Vera-Ellen's fast and, to my taste, a bit too furious dancing. I need hardly say that Mark Twain would be as surprised at what goes on here as the Yankee was in Camelot. Martin Beck Theater. MARGARET MARSHALL

Stop Press: "The Voice of the Turtle," which I have seen since writing this review, belongs well up on the list. I shall discuss it next week. Morosco Theater. M. M.

FILMS

"HAPPY LAND" tells how the ghost of a man who fought in the Civil War comes to comfort his middle-aged grandson, whose own son has just been killed in the present war. The old man leads him through the small town and through his own remembrance and his remembrance of the life of the son. Some of this is idyllic and pretty, which is fair enough. But you get no impression that the son had any troubles that a glass of Pepsi-Cola wouldn't cure; so that you wonder whether such a life could have been lived and whether it was worth the bother. The idea advanced here is, quite to the contrary, that the son's life, being American, was worth dying for. This idea seems to me arguable, at least as it is served up here; far too much of it is the sort of boiled-and-buttered native corn, fresh from the can, for which MacKinlay Kantor is beloved by some.

However, the thing is quietly and sincerely played, especially by Don Ameche and Henry Morgan, and as quietly and sincerely directed by Irving Pichel. Also, it was shot in a real town (the more Iowan-looking parts of Santa Rosa and Healdsburg, California; Santa Rosa was first used for Hitchcock's "Shadow of a Doubt"); so a real town's irreducible beauty and validity keep forcing the softly handled theme toward its proper dignity. All of Joseph La Shelle's photography is good; some of it is so cool, flexible, and sensitive that—along with the work of Alfred Valentine in "Shadow of a Doubt"—it takes up the Magna Charta for American films from the cellar corner where it was tossed along with the lost thirty-two reels of "Greed." Also I am glad to see even an attempt to show what a war death means to a family. Therefore, though I think "Happy Land" is tainted with dextrose and with that nasty-nationalistic self-pitying self-congratulation for which we plain Amurrican folks—in more ways than one like ostriches—are developing an ever more sinister and indiscriminate appetite, I also think it is worth seeing.

"What a Woman!" (what a title!) is about Rosalind Russell, a high-paid genius peddler who harpoons a college professor (Willard Parker) to play the romantic lead in a filmed best-selling piece of trash his fantasy life had spilled on to paper. As a profilist for the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, Brian Aherne looks on, and tells her that she is using only 10 per cent of her womanliness—a generous estimate—in the sort of life she leads. The professor goes gaga. I suppose it is amusing if, like me, you are at all likely to laugh at a kind of smartness on the screen which you—or I, anyhow—would yawn at on Broadway. Either sophistication is highly relative to context or I am. I suspect, and had better worry about, the latter. Anyhow, some of the interiors are nice pieces of kidding.

"Girl Crazy" has nothing in it I can recommend unless you are curious to see what makes one of the biggest box-office successes of the year; unless, like me, you find Mickey Rooney much more bearable since he quit putting his soul into his comedy—he seems now just a detached and very competent vaudeville actor; and unless, like me, you like Judy Garland. Miss Garland is a good strident vaudeville actor too; and has an apparent straightness and sweetness with which I sympathize. Judging by her infrequent "emotional" moments I would like very much to see her in straight dramatic roles.

"The Gang's All Here" highlights Alice Faye singing "No Love, No Nothing," as torturing a piece of torching as the war has evolved, but is mainly made up of Bushy Berkeley's paroxysmic production numbers, which amuse me a good deal. There is one routine with giant papier-mâché bananas, cutting to thighs, then feet, then rows of toes, which deserves to survive in every casebook of blatant film surreption for the next century. But then, for anthropological reasons, so does "No Love, No Nothing," as here filmed.

"The Heat's On" is a stale-ale musical in which a lot of good people apathetically support the almost equally apathetic Mae West. There is one wonderful shot, epitomizing a flop legshow trying to be dirty, in which a lot of peeled girls writhe rather wearily on a flight of steps. Victor Moore is good except for his big seduction scene with Mae, at which both of them merely sniff as if it were a saucer of black-market dog food. Mae West is mainly as good as ever, which is still plenty good enough for me; but evidently she and her colleagues feel that too few people agree with me.

"Madame Curie" is a smooth, rather horrible romanticization of a subject I am sorry to see romanticized. More about that later.

JAMES AGEE

ART

EILSHEMIUS: Paintings of 1909. At the Valentine Gallery through December 31. *NICHOLAS MOCHARNIUK:* Wood Sculpture. At the Marquie Gallery through December 11.

ARBITRARY though it might appear, no better selection of Eilshemius's work than his production of 1909 could have been made as a starting-point for the revaluation of his art. The quality is surprisingly high and consistent; yet the year marks a critical station in the artist's career. The simplification of his later—or what I choose to call "deranged"—period, with its yellows, acid greens, oranges, tans, and pinks, begins to emerge even as the comparative academicism of his earlier period reaches its fruition. We see that Eilshemius was a comparatively thin but very intense talent. Within certain rather narrow limits he pushed landscape painting to a maximum; where and when he strains beyond these limits he may become more original, but he lacks the sustenance of total feeling and of learning. The febrile, erratic intensity comes from a level too near the agitated surface of Eilshemius's experience, is the result of a mutilation, is fancy without imagination. Like all the deranged, Eilshemius lived toward the end only in a province of himself. This having been said, it can be said further that he was one of the best artists we have ever produced. The brushing of the trembling, loosely defined masses of color in "Sunburst—Delaware Water-Gap" anticipates, yet with a sensitivity to texture all its own, the best post-Cézanne landscape painting. But Eilshemius apparently grew to want his immediate emotion first, his painting last. Almost every other picture here is successful within its own terms—especially "Girl Waving" and "New York Docks" —but there is a gaucherie in the emotional blues; or the flatter, less recklessly handled light greens and yellows, played off against the top elementary composition of lights and darks, turn into something of a picturesque formula. Really, Eilshemius became too radical. His painting was at its best when it retained enough of academicism to give it body, complication—and control.

The work of the young wood-carver Nicholas Mocharniuk is worth being concerned about—if only to point out that he is captured too readily by facile and decorative rhythms suggested by nature, primitive art, and his medium.

He should study the problems of form in its more abstract incarnations—and realize that whatever he may do he belongs to the Gothic-baroque, pre-expressionist tradition of wood-carving, with its closely articulated forms and concentrated detail, rather than to the smooth mass and simplified line of most modernist and primitive sculpture. The fact is, wood seems rarely an appropriate medium for modernist art.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

MUSIC

IN "Carmen Jones" (Broadway Theater) a large amount of Bizet's music is used with a libretto by Oscar Hammerstein II which translates the original story of Bizet's opera into one about Negroes of today: Carmen Jones, a worker in a parachute factory, lures Joe, a corporal of the guard at the factory, from his small-town sweetheart Cindy Lou, gets him to desert and go with her to Chicago where she throws him over for a prizefighter named Husky Miller, and so on. Much of what was serious in the original is translated into terms—Negro characters, situations, ways of thinking, feeling, talking, doing—which are humorous in themselves and in their relation to what they recall to us in the original: T-Bone flinging himself out of the crowd in the few dazzling dance-steps that accompany his invitation to Carmen, as against the decorous advances of the member of the chorus in the original; Carmen's song about "a cafe on de corner" owned by Billy Pastor, to the music of the original Seguidilla about the inn of "mon ami Lillas Pastia"; Husky's "Stan' Up an' Fight," to the music of the Toreador's Song; "Whizzin' Away Along de Track" (to Chicago), to the music of the second-act Quintet; the goings-on in the crowd waiting for Husky's arrival at the stadium, as against the milling-around outside the bullring; and so on.

But not everything serious in the original is changed in this way; and I think—judging by the results I saw on the stage—this is a mistake. It isn't merely that I enjoyed the words of "Stan' Up an' Fight" in combination with the music of the Toreador's Song, but was made uncomfortable by the words of "Dis Flower" in combination with the music of the Flower Aria. It is also that the humorous portions employed the wonderful natural capacities of Negroes for fun on the stage, and produced moments of amusing and exciting theater, but the serious portions demanded an equipment for serious acting—the knowledge, for example, of what to do with body and hands—which these people did not have, and the lack of which resulted in stiffness and awkwardness and amateurishness that were painful to observe.

Then the dancing. Obviously there should have been dancing, not "choreography by Eugene Loring"—which is to say that the dances in Spanish style that one sees in the original opera called for translation into straight Negro. But the first false note—and a terrific shock after the ease and naturalness of the opening—came early in the first scene, when the factory girls were singing their lilting entrance song, and unexpectedly (there is no dancing in the original at this point) dancers began to go through the movements of a piece of serious arty choreography. And worse was to come later: the rising curtain disclosed the most exciting spectacle of the evening—a scene of the crowd dancing at Billy Pastor's that might have been the Savoy Ballroom; but while the audience was still cheering the dancing changed to a choreographed orgy (which I regret to say the audience cheered even more loudly). The one successful bit of choreography was the kidding of Spanish dancing in the country club scene; but better still was the straight Negro dancing of the street crowd in the final scene.

Raoul Pene du Bois's costumes had extravagance and humor that made them part of what is exciting in "Carmen Jones"; and there were excellent settings by Howard Bay. The singing of the principals on the second night was good; the playing of the orchestra under the direction of Joseph Littau lacked mere precision—to say nothing of character or style.

The best works and performances on records issued during the past year were Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5, with the solo part played by Schnabel (V Set 939, $5.50); his Trio Opus 97, played by Rubinstein, Heifetz, and Feuermann (V Set 949, $5.50); and his Quartet Opus 127, played by the Budapest Quartet (C Set 537, $5.50; poorly recorded). Other good works and performances were Beethoven's First Symphony, played by Rodzinski with the Cleveland Orchestra (C Set 535, $4.50; performance tense and hard-driving); his Piano Sonata Opus 27 No. 2, played by Serkin (C Set X-237, $2.50; fair performance, badly recorded); Corelli's Concerto in C, played by Biggs and the Fiedler Sinfonietta (V Set 924, $2.50); Griffes's Poem for flute and orchestra, played by Mariano and the Eastman-Rochester Symphony under Hanson (V 11-8349, $1); Lalo's Overture to "Le Roi d'Ys," played by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony (V 11-8489, $1); Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony, played by Beecham with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (C Set 538, $4.50; first and last movements badly recorded); Sibelius's Seventh Symphony, played by Golschmann with the St. Louis Symphony (V Set 922, $3.50), and by Beecham with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (C Set 524, $3.50; badly recorded); Tchaikovsky's "Manfred" Symphony (a diffuse work), played by Sevitzky with the Indianapolis Symphony (V Set 940, $7.50); Verdi's *Ah, fors è lui* from "La Traviata," sung by Sayao (C 71451-D, $1); his *E il sol dell' anima* from "Rigoletto," sung by Bjoerling and Schymberg (V 11-8440, $1); Wagner's Bridal Chamber Duet from "Lohengrin," sung by Flagstad and Melchior (V Set 897, $2.50); his songs "Träume" and "Im Triebhaus," sung by Lehmann (C 71469-D, $1). And some of the beautiful music from oratorios of Handel and Haydn in V Set 927 ($3.50) is well sung by Eleanor Steber, some of it poorly sung.

Works I don't care for that were well performed were Bach's Violin Concerto in E, by Busch with his Chamber Players (C Set 530, $3.50); Brahms's Sonata Opus 120 No. 1 for viola and piano, by Lifschey and Petri (C Set 487, $3.50); Schumann's song-cycle "Frauenliebe und Leben," by Lehmann, with very poor accompaniments by Bruno Walter (C Set 539, $3.50).

There were a number of good works poorly performed which I will list next week.

The best jazz performances were the Bechet-New Orleans Feetwarmers "Georgia Cabin" and "I'm Coming, Virginia" (V 27904); the Duke Ellington "C Jam Blues" (V 27856); and some of the performances in Decca's "Gems of Jazz—Volume 5" (Set A-324, $3) and in a few of the volumes of reissues in its Brunswick Collectors' Series: "Ellingtonia—Volume 1" (Set B-1000, $3.50); "Barrel House Piano" (Set B-1008, $3.50); "Riverboat Jazz" (Set B-1010, $3.50).

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

quality of Sacrifice

ear Sirs: For months our government as been conscripting the persons of its oung men to fight and perhaps to die the defense of our country. In many stances the drafting of these men has volved and will further involve not nly economic sacrifice but disruption f family life in many of its phases. total war government has no choice the matter—it must call on its eligile men and their dependents to make is sacrifice.

But having done so, is it too much ask the Congress to make "equality f sacrifice," so far as is possible, a eality instead of a slogan by bending very effort to enact a tax law which ill conscript our dollars also? A man iding from the draft is an object of ontempt; are weasel dollars, hiding rom taxation, less so?

It seems to me that, over and above he exemption permitted to every taxayer, in this time of emergency no inome, regardless of source, should be eft untouched by taxation.

During the debate on the previous ax bill, when the question was disussed of rescinding the tax exemption of certain securities, it was stated that o do so would be "an unpardonable reach of faith toward the holders of hese issues."

When conscription was in the offing, do you remember the assurance our President gave to parents in his Boston speech—that our young men were not being conscripted for service outside the United States? Mr. Roosevelt spoke in ll good faith, but events nullified his ssurance. In other words, circumstances altered cases. But if, even in the midst of total war, circumstances alter cases for persons and not property, then surely that brave phrase "equality of sacrifice" will ring hollow in the ears of many of our fellow-citizens who have already made *their* sacrifice.

I have heard it estimated that about eighteen billion dollars' worth of tax-exempt securities are outstanding! It is unlikely that many of them are investments of people of moderate means—they are more likely to be found in the investment portfolios of citizens in the upper income brackets.

While no member of my family happens to own any of the above-mentioned securities, there is another tax inequity of which my mother happens to be beneficiary—through an inheritance which takes the form of annuities.

The income-tax law states that 3 per cent of the amount paid for an annuity shall be considered taxable income. The result in this case is that only $370.92 of an annuity income of $1,080 is taxable. In the case of an insurance annuity amounting to $1,200, only the annual dividend—this year $93.90—is taxable until the beneficiary has received a sum equal to the commuted value of the policy. This means that after deducting personal exemption of $500 my mother has no taxable income, although her actual income is $2,280.

Please contrast this with the tax liability of a single person with no dependents whose earned income could cease at any moment. An annuitant, on the other hand, receives income year in and year out, and because of its certainty is further favored, since there is no obligation to save for a rainy day—not to mention the peace of mind which a sense of security brings.

With the best will in the world there can never be complete equality of sacrifice, for to equate the sacrifice of taxation with that made by families of men in the service would be unthinkable. But surely those of us who are called upon for economic sacrifice only should stand and deliver for the sake of common decency. M. L. S.

New York, November 28

The Children of Europe

Dear Sirs: Recently Dr. Howard Kershner, former director of European relief for the Quakers, made a valiant but fruitless attempt to induce the British and American governments to relax their inflexible blockade of European ports of entry. His purpose was to bring aid to starving and disease-ridden children and babies of the occupied regions before it is too late. It goes without saying that the blockade is chiefly effective and deadly against the innocent victims of Nazi aggression, since the Germans are continuing to plunder ruthlessly their helpless slaves. As Dr. Kershner says, the present policy of Britain and the United States will leave all the peoples of Western Europe so weakened by starvation and sickness that the Germans will be the only people having the strength and health to rebuild Europe. The Anglo-American blockade indirectly works a terrible hardship upon the victims of the Nazis, thousands if not millions of whom are condemned to slow starvation, sickness, and even permanent impairment of health. A winter of untold misery awaits these unhappy peoples unless steps are taken to allow the entry of a few boatloads of foodstuffs and desperately needed medical supplies, for which the peoples of Europe can pay. They don't want charity. Now that victory is assured, can we not afford to take a chance on an experiment which has worked well in Greece, it seems, despite the attitude of the British Foreign Office? Is any effective military purpose being served by this slow torture of millions? The responsibility of the authorities who have made the decision is tremendous. I should not want to be in their place.

A. J. JOBIN

Ann Arbor, Mich., November 21

Three Against Kronenberger

Dear Sirs: "Motivate" is given as a verb in Webster, Century, and Winston—in case Louis Kronenberger should scare you. G. W.

New York, December 11

The Case of Winfred Lynn

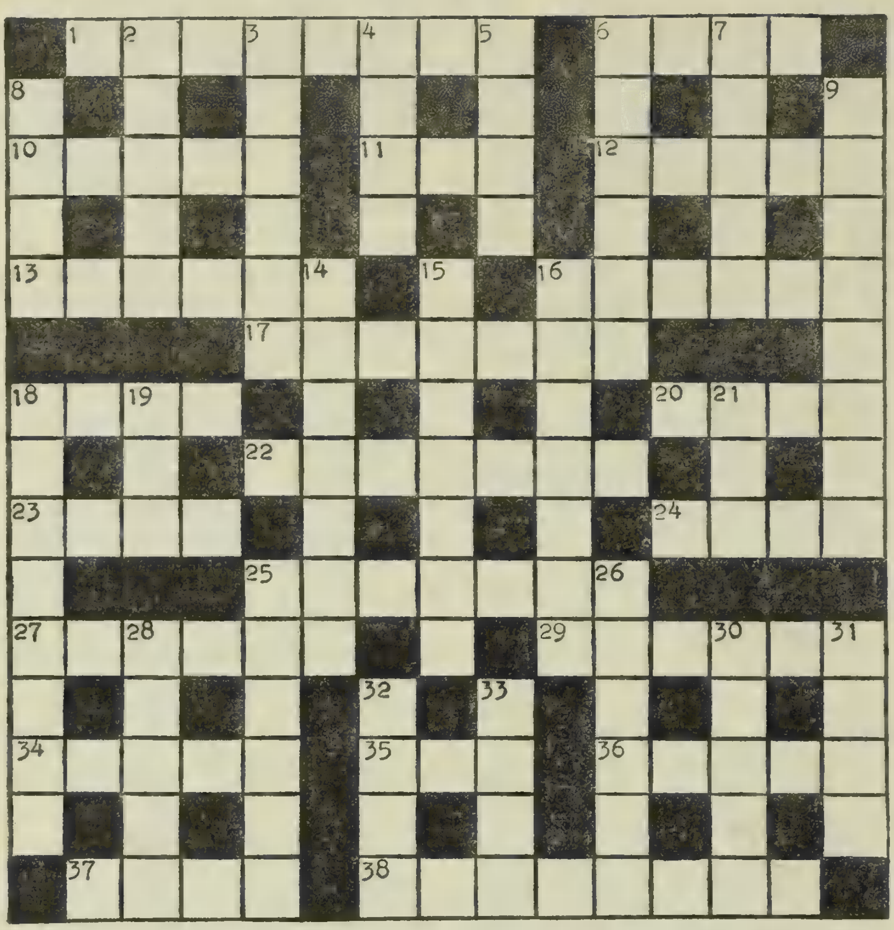
Dear Sirs: We know that you, along with all democratic-minded citizens, are ashamed of the racial discrimination now being practiced in our armed forces. We know you share our concern at the sight of a Jim Crow American army fighting against Nazi racialism.

But what can we do about it? The army has disregarded all protests. How can we get action?

There is something practical and immediate you can do about it! The present racial policy of the military authorities is in flagrant violation of the 1940 Draft Act, under which the army is being selected and trained. Almost two years ago a Negro gardener named Winfred Lynn began his long legal fight to force the military authorities to obey the law. This fight is now nearing its climax. In 1944 the Lynn case will come before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 43

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 An office with salary but without work! Yet it might be insecure
6 Dress back!
10 A sort of frill: ask your wife
11 Trouble resulting from a swindle?
12 City of Paris
13 Good thing to do to a bad character
16 Appears to provide limited openings for Chinese
17 Wine on tap makes for fellowship
18 Black guards?
20 By Jane Austen
22 Wriggles
23 The mother of safety, if early and provident, said Burke
24 Unlike Adonis
25 Lowered in value
27 The greatest mother of all
29 It's bored
34 Cedar (anag.)
35 Our lightest word
36 Does this work of fiction never lose its freshness?
37 Knock out
38 Every year a friend winds up

DOWN

2 Location of a body at rest (two words, 2 and 3)
3 Girl never found out of her set
4 The two-toed sloth, you know
5 English school of note
6 Intelligent, and correct headless
7 No native
8 Partly open
9 The spy in this case is Miss E. Ray
14 Am queer under canvas
15 One sort of illusion
16 The M.P. fails to pass the cruet
18 Babes in arms?
19 Sweet or green
21 Gum up
25 The poet shows why a beast does not suffer from rheumatism
26 The dragon of a woman whose end is turning Anne back
28 Act it in modern dress? No, without words
30 Engagement that is usually terminated by one side or the other
31 Flower supposed to have sprung from the tears of Eve as she left the Garden of Eden
32 Cossack's heart goes out to Greece
33 An unknown but prolific writer

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 42

ACROSS:—1 IDAHO; 4 DEN; 6 TAILS; 9 FORCEPS; 10 ULYSSES; 11 RELIEF; 13 CAROUSAL; 15 ARBITER; 16 CHASTE; 17 ISIS; 19 SIMILES; 21 SOHO; 23 REIGNS; 25 THE EAST; 27 RASPUTIN; 28 EARNER; 31 PULL OFF; 32 KNOWING; 33 DORIS; 34 LAP; 35 THEME.

DOWN:—1 INFER; 2 AURELIA; 3 OVEREATS; 4 DUST; 5 NOUGAT; 6 TAYLOR; 7 INSISTS; 8 SISAL; 12 FREIGHT; 13 CITIZEN; 14 REVERSE; 16 COS; 18 SOS; 20 SET ABOUT; 22 HOSTLER; 24 GUNFIRE; 25 TUDORS; 26 EIFFEL; 27 ROPED; 29 ROGUE; 30 SKIP.

In 1857 the Supreme Court decided that an obscure Negro slave named Dred Scott must be returned to slavery. This reactionary decision was one of the causes of the Civil War. Today the Supreme Court must decide the case of the obscure Negro gardener, Winfred Lynn. *Slavery was historically outworn in 1857, and second-class citizenship for the Negro is outworn in 1944.*

The legal side of the Lynn case is being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union. The noted civil liberties lawyer Arthur Garfield Hays is Lynn's counsel. Funds are needed for legal expenses. And funds are also urgently needed to arouse American public opinion in support of the case. Contributions may be sent to the National Citizens' Committee for Winfred Lynn, 1 West 125th Street.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, JAMES T. FARRELL, WILLARD S. TOWNSEND, NORMAN THOMAS, GEORGE S. COUNTS, ROY WILKINS.

New York, December 6

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The Shape of Things

EVER SINCE THE SURRENDER OF ITALY A handful of monarchist generals have been trying to polish up the royal crown, reupholster the throne, and patch the motheaten ermine, but the little King looks shabbier than ever and behaves worse. All the same, the most recent scheme to popularize the monarchy took in so trained an observer as Herbert Matthews of the New York *Times*. For the first time an Italian force was thrown into action against the Germans. Picked with care, this shock unit went into battle under the cross of Savoy, the royal emblem sewed on its uniforms and painted on its vehicles. The men made a brave enough showing but were badly mauled and suffered heavy losses. Nevertheless, wrote Mr. Matthews, they had showed fighting spirit under royalist leadership, and the Italian liberals would have to swallow their notion that a political change was essential before the army would throw itself into the struggle. But Count Sforza quickly pointed out that the military forces raised by the democratic parties have been disbanded by Badoglio and Basso, and that it was in the King's name that "our most valorous soldiers were sent to their deaths . . . in the service of Hitler." The Italian Committee of National Liberation condemned the King as "one of the gravest obstacles to the rebirth of the nation"; anti-royalist meetings in the University of Naples were broken up by Fascist-appointed officials—backed, we regret to say, by the AMG; and Signor Croce raised the possibility of a formal trial for the King unless he abdicated quickly.

*

IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT WAS NOT THE liberals but Mr. Matthews who had to do the notion-swallowing. Four days after the dispatch cited above he reported anti-monarchist sentiment so widespread that "barring Allied support, it looks as if Victor Emmanuel's days as king are numbered." Unhappily it looks even more as though that support will be forthcoming. The Badoglio regime has been vested with a greater degree of authority, and in violation of pledges made at Moscow the Allied governments, through AMG, are threatening a drastic curb on political activity in southern Italy. The Committee of Liberation, whose scheduled conference in Naples was canceled by Allied authorities, has protested vigorously, and a joint decision by London, Washington, and Moscow is awaited. The moment is ideal to get behind the plea of the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy for suspension of the authority of the monarchy—as in Sicily—and recognition of the Committee of Liberation as an interim administrative agency pending the decision of the Italian people.

*

HAS THE ITALIAN FRONT BEEN RELEGATED to a minor place in Allied strategy? Certainly our progress there has slowed down to an extent which does not seem entirely attributable to the difficulties of the terrain, the weather, or the stubborn resistance of the enemy. These are obstacles not to be despised, but with the Anglo-American forces believed to be available in the Mediterranean at the time of the invasion of Italy, our overwhelming naval strength, and our marked superiority in the air there can be little doubt that Rome could have been captured by this time if the high command had considered that objective worth a comparatively high price. The fact that no attempt has been made to outflank the Germans by means of amphibious operations has suggested to some commentators a reservation of landing craft for more important work elsewhere. The use of Italian and French troops as reinforcements for the Fifth and Eighth armies may mean the transference of some British and American divisions to other theaters. In this connection it is natural to think of preparations for the coming western front, but an invasion of the Balkans—so often prematurely anticipated that amateur seers no longer like to refer to the subject—cannot be entirely ruled out in view of General Patton's visit to Cairo. Meanwhile the Yugoslav Partisans continue to pin down a very considerable German force. Supplies are being shipped across the Adriatic to this gallant and effective army, though not yet on anything like an adequate scale. One recent cause of delay may have been the devastating German air raid on the Adriatic port of Bari, in which, according to some accounts, as many as seventeen Allied ships were destroyed. The success of this attack is a warning against underrating the Luftwaffe. It still has a high nuisance value.

*

WINSTON CHURCHILL CAN ILL BE SPARED AT this stage of the war by either Britain or the United Nations, and it is good to learn, as we go to press, that he is on the mend. He showed the courage with which he has fought germs and Nazis alike by carrying on with the grueling round of conferences which began at Cairo, despite the fact that he was far from well when he left London. Before he took to his bed he had shared in the formulation of decisive plans for the achievement of victory. We wish him now a speedy and complete recovery so that his leadership will be available when the time comes to translate those plans into action.

WITH EVERYTHING ELSE HE HAS ON HIS mind, President Roosevelt must now decide whether Negro firemen shall function in the locomotive cabs of Southern railways. Evidence taken by the Fair Employment Practices Committee shows that the roads of the country need 850 more firemen and that many now employed are dangerously green. But the roads refuse to accept the order of the FEPC to cease their discriminatory practices because, they say, to execute the order would be to violate their agreement with the union and thus to "impair the whole war effort." The President is in an extremely difficult position. The FEPC, created by him rather than by Congress, lacks statutory authority. Using his war powers, he might take over the roads in order to force compliance, but it is unlikely that public opinion would indorse so drastic a solution. He could cancel war contracts with the affected roads, but not without almost crippling the war program. A likelier course would be to throw the weight of the Administration behind the Marcantonio bill to give the FEPC statutory power. But a far better solution would be a reversal of policy by the Railroad Brotherhoods, which are at this moment planning a nation-wide strike for higher wages. If white railroadmen are entitled to what they deem adequate pay, surely Negro railroadmen are entitled at least to jobs.

*

THE CALL OF THE BROTHERHOODS FOR A series of strikes will present another critical challenge to the Administration's efforts to hold the line against inflation. This challenge comes at a time when, as Chairman William H. Davis of the War Labor Board has declared, there seems to be an excellent chance of winning the home-front battle if the line can be held for another ninety days. Since a general railway strike at such a critical stage in the war is unthinkable, most observers assume that the Administration will be forced to give way even to the extent of scrapping the Little Steel formula. The recent action of the Senate in voting an eight-cents-an-hour increase to non-operating railway employees against the recommendation of Price Stabilizer Vinson suggests that Congress is prepared to throw over the Little Steel formula if the Administration is not. There is, of course, a feasible alternative. Congress could even at this late date rally to the support of the OPA's efforts to reduce the cost of living to the level of September 15, 1942, thus drawing the teeth of the brotherhoods' assertion that they are striking "against inflation for the privileged few and deflation for the many." If Congress continues to legislate inflation for the few in disregard of its plain duty, the Administration has no choice but to fight a delaying action on railway and other wages in the desperate hope that the people will force Congress to its senses.

ON THE SUBSIDY FRONT THE PROSPECTS FOR a compromise that will prevent an abrupt shattering of the stabilization program have substantially improved. Passage of a special resolution extending the life of the Commodity Credit Corporation for sixty days will give consumers and the general public more time to convince Congress that anti-subsidy legislation would be not only bad economics but bad politics as well. The crucial question of how much money will be voted for food subsidies remains, however, to be thrashed out. For an effective job, achieving a sufficient reduction in the cost of living to permit the Little Steel formula to be retained, at least $2,000,000,000 will be required in 1944. The prospects are for a much lower figure unless constituents get in some good work on their Congressmen during the Christmas recess. The news from the even more important tax front is extremely discouraging. Although the Senate Finance Committee added $144,000,000 to the House bill and eliminated the special 3 per cent levy on low incomes, the bill it reported to the Senate is utterly farcical as an anti-inflation measure. The Senate Finance Committee, like the House Ways and Means Committee before it, seemed far more concerned with extracting the last drop of revenue from the low income groups than with drawing off the excess spending power in the hands of the middle and upper income groups. Hence the reimposition of the notorious victory tax and the elimination of earned-income credit, with no increase in the rate on corporations and a reduction in the $10,000-a-year brackets.

*

A FARSIGHTED POST-WAR FARM PROGRAM for returning veterans was presented to the Cooley committee in the House of Representatives last week by Russell Smith, legislative representative of the National Farmers' Union. It calls for the establishment in the Department of Agriculture of an "RFC for family farmers," with special authority to assist veterans after the war. Veterans and family farmers would be given preference in the sale of farmland which had been acquired by the government for war purposes, and there would be a revolving fund to enable them to get started. Loans would also be provided for family-farm cooperatives. The National Farmers' Union presents its plan as a means of reversing dangerous trends in American agriculture. The family farm is in danger of dying out. From 1910 to 1940 the number of farms containing 1,000 acres or more increased more than 100 per cent, and the aggregate number of acres in farms of this class rose in the same period from 167,000,000 to 364,000,000 acres. At the same time the number of small family farms decreased. Since the New Deal there has been a slight downward trend in farm tenancy, and if this could be continued and the number of family farms increased, the basis of post-war democracy would be strengthened.

Letter to a Pfc

Pfc. John Doe, Somewhere in the Pacific

DEAR JACK: It's just as well the morning paper hasn't been slung into your foxhole these past few weeks, because our duly elected representatives in Congress—I'm tempted to say unduly elected in some cases—have been expressing themselves on the question of giving you a chance to vote next year. And a good deal of the discussion, if you can call it that, is not the kind of free speech you'd be particularly interested in dying for.

From where I'm sitting, it does seem that if Congress really wanted "our boys," as they call you so fondly, to have a say in choosing a President in the crucial year of 1944, it could be arranged. From where you're sitting, it must look even more plausible. Some of the ordinary and essentially minor rules about absentee voting would have to be suspended. But after all there's a war on, and several other rules have been suspended for the duration.

All this and a good deal more was pointed out by the sponsors and supporters of a bill that would have simplified the process sufficiently to allow you to cast a vote without taking too much time out from your war work. But in the end the Senate passed a substitute measure which leaves the matter in the hands of the state governments.

If you voted, or tried to vote, last year, you know what that means. Only eight state legislatures will meet in time to simplify absentee voting regulations. In only fifteen states are more than thirty days allowed for obtaining and casting absentee ballots; and all kinds of complex requirements—notices of intent, affidavits, applications, etc.—must be complied with. As a soldier wrote to the New York *Times*, "Anyone who like myself tried to vote in the 1942 election while in the army knows that it would take a very hardy soldier indeed to bother his commanding officer with all the problems of casting one simple vote. In most cases at least *four* interviews would be necessary" (my italics). It's easy to understand why only 28,000 of you voted.

I've already indicated the basic reason that motivated the opposition, which was made up of Southern Democrats and some Northern Republicans. It's very simple. They hate Roosevelt, and they're afraid he'll pick the Democratic candidate next year if he doesn't run himself. They know that the vote of some 9,000,000 of "our boys"—that means you—might decide the election, and they are afraid you might cast your votes for Roosevelt or his candidate. Of course the people who tried to get the vote for you were not unaware of your potential power either, but that doesn't make the behavior of the opposition any more savory.

The most violent and—shall we say?—picturesque orators for the opposition were Senator E. D. Smith of South

Carolina and Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi. Both come from poll-tax states where you have to pay to vote. As *PM* pointed out, Rankin owes his political career to the high art of keeping the vote low. In 1942 when he was reelected as usual, only 7,079 votes were cast for him, though the population of his district is given as 263,367. No wonder he believes in the state's right to keep the vote to a manageable size.

Naturally the people who put through the substitute measure don't admit that they don't want you to vote. The very suggestion not only outrages them; it moves them to tears that a crocodile would envy. They rest their case—on the Constitution! Listen, for instance, to "Cotton Ed" Smith. "Mr. President," he said, "I have one platform on which I shall live and die—my loyalty to the Constitution, my loyalty to states' rights, and my loyalty to white supremacy." He apparently never heard of the Fifteenth Amendment, which contains that little phrase about "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Then he went on to tell a filthy joke about Negroes—on the floor of the United States Senate.

The question is now before the House, but apparently it isn't going to be voted on there until after the Christmas recess. Let's hope all your friends and relatives at home make such a fuss in the meantime that our duly elected representatives won't dare disfranchise you for the duration—and blame it on the Constitution. I'm designing a special New Year's card to send to Representative Rankin and Senator Smith. It's printed on asbestos.

M. M.

Crocodile Tears

"LITERALLY," Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long told the House Foreign Affairs Committee the other day, "the reports of the consular officers to the Department of State form one of the most thrilling and one of the most saddening and awful pages of our humanitarian history." We agree with Mr. Long, though in a sense other than he intended. "We have taken into this country since the beginning of the Hitler regime and the persecution of the Jews, until today," he said, "approximately 580,000 refugees." These figues were intended to impress the committee with the State Department's generosity. Figures could hardly be more deceptive. In the decade 1923-33 more than two million immigrants entered this country. The number given by Mr. Long for the Hitler decade is 75 per cent lower than for the pre-Hitler decade. It is false to describe these 580,000, as he did, as "refugees."

For the nine-year period 1933 to 1942, of 453,205 immigrants admitted to the United States, only 291,112 came from Europe. The rest were from non-European countries, with Mexico and Canada heading the list. Of the European immigrants, 243,420 came from countries now dominated by Hitler, and of all the immigrants during this period, 163,423 were Jews. "We did every legitimate thing we could do," Mr. Long declared. The best answer is the figures on immigration from the Reich itself since Hitler came to power. The annual German quota was 25,957. From the beginning of 1933 to the end of 1942 we admitted 123,573 immigrants from the Reich, less than half quota allotments. Here are the figures by years: 1933, 1,324; 1934, 3,515; 1935, 3,891; 1936, 6,073; 1937, 11,127; 1938, 17,868. In 1938 came the Anschluss, which added the Austrian quota of 1,413 to the German quota of 25,957. It was not until 1939 that we eased up on restrictions which had kept German immigration below quota since Hitler came to power. In 1939 we admitted 32,759 immigrants from Germany and Austria. Since then admissions have been below the combined quota (27,370). In 1940 admissions of German nationals were 26,083; in 1941 they were 15,051; in 1942 they were 4,883. The number admitted fell after the war began on the basis of a new excuse: Gestapo agents were invading the country behind rabbinical beards. The door, as Mr. Long said, "is open" but "carefully screened." Considering the thousands of applications, it should have been possible, if the department had been really generous, to do that "screening" and still admit the full quota each year.

Mr. Long made much of the fact that visitors' visas were used to permit some entries above quota, and gave the impression that this was largely to help Jewish refugees. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, the number entering on visitors' visas was 82,457 (2,292 of them Jews), the number departing 67,189 (1,250 of them Jews). Net: 15,268 on visitors' visas, 1,042 Jews. Most of the visitors were just visitors. In the last half of last year the net remaining on visitors' visas was 8,688, of which 134 were Jews. We do not believe that Jews require or ask more consideration than any other anti-fascist refugees, but they deserve at least as much. In the light of those figures we think it was hypocritical and unfair of Long to tell the committee that the State Department "cannot exclude persons from our sympathy and our sympathetic attention if they are not Jews," and thus inspire Mundt of South Dakota to reply, "It seems to me that would be treading a pretty dangerous path. It is sort of doing the Hitler thing in reverse." On the contrary, all that is asked is that Jewish refugees get as sympathetic consideration as non-Jewish and that some agency be established, as suggested by the Baldwin-Rogers resolution, to help save the stateless Jews of occupied Europe who have no government to speak for them. The need for some such agency, and the danger of leaving the fate of these people in the hands of professional Anglo-American diplomats, is thoroughly demonstrated by Long's attempt to confuse the issue and mislead the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Year's End

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHILE Mr. Churchill recuperates in the sun of Egypt, he should have a chance to do a little quiet thinking about this war in which he plays so pivotal a role. If he uses his enforced rest for that purpose, it will be time well spent—however it may irk his impatient spirit. For at the year's end the progress of the war bears thinking about.

Mr. Roosevelt, brown and healthy after his safe return from the Middle East, is reported as exuberantly optimistic. Mr. Eden, in his careful speech to the Commons, was also, if more soberly, cheerful. Neither one told much about the results of the conferences they had attended, and perhaps nothing further can be told; but both emphasized again the improved relations among the major Allied powers resulting from the talks. I hope their good spirits are genuine; but so far the only evident result of the new unity is a great increase in political activity on the part of the Soviet Union. It is as if Moscow and Teheran had served as green lights assuring Russia that it could now drive ahead in Central and Eastern Europe without arousing the opposition or fear of its Western allies. Nowhere can one discern that common action which the recent talks seemed so definitely to promise. While Britain and the United States pursue their traditional policies, Moscow's moves are rapidly changing the political structure of the Continent.

The Czech-Russian treaty is an example. Planned long before Moscow and delayed as a result of British pressure, the treaty is an important stone in the construction of a new Central Europe. It would be too crude to say that Dr. Benes is putting Czechoslovakia under Russian protection. But he is at least establishing a connection so close as to guarantee his country against any future German threat—or any future Munich. The much-advertised clause inviting Poland's adhesion may have been inserted on the insistence of London and Washington, but the fact that both Czechs and Russians freely discuss their "common frontier" suggests that only a Poland prepared to give up its 1939 eastern boundary can share the security provided by the new pact.

The Soviet Union is also hurrying matters toward a climax in the Balkans. No one knows exactly how far the direct influence of Moscow has penetrated, but it is certain that the Bulgarian Partisans, like their brothers in Yugoslavia, are encouraged and backed by Russia. In Bulgaria the division is simple. Lift off the small pro-German ruling clique and the country is solidly and traditionally with Russia. The chance of an early collapse of the Nazi-controlled regime is good; if it comes, only a full occupation of the country by German troops can prevent the establishment of a pro-Russian government and the rise of a Bulgarian army to fight the Axis.

Greece presents a somewhat similar picture, although the influence of Russia is less evident. As long ago as June, 1942, *The Nation* published an article by Leigh White which described the attitude of Greek patriots toward King George and his reactionary regime. It was clear even then that resistance to the Germans inside Greece was weakened by the unpopular leadership of the government in exile. But Allied support of the royal government continued until just the other day, when the King issued a statement in Cairo, obviously the result of British pressure, announcing that the time of his return to Greece would "be determined when the hour of liberation" strikes. King George cannot be expected actually to step down from his throne until he receives another prod. But his end is clear.

And so is the end of the royal government of Yugoslavia. Britain and the United States are deeply committed to King Peter's regime; to break relations with it will seem a breach of faith and throw confusion into the ranks of the other exiled governments. It will also, above all, announce to the world the failure of British-American diplomacy in the Balkans and the success of Russia's policy. But the issue will have to be faced, and soon; for the new Partisan government has formally requested recognition, and Russia is not likely to delay long in giving it. Tito's army constitutes the advance guard of the Allied invasion of the Balkans. If his government requires Allied recognition in order to function effectively, it will get it. The British and Americans will do what they must; but again, as in Greece, they will do it only after events drive them to. For they never see in advance—*never*—that the popular forces in each occupied country are the ones to which they must ultimately turn for help.

Nowhere is this more dramatically demonstrated than in Italy, where the happenings of the last few days bear out word for word the analysis by Gaetano Salvemini published in recent issues of *The Nation.* The latest results of AMG policy are discussed elsewhere in this issue; here it is necessary only to suggest that among the subjects Mr. Churchill might contemplate during his convalescence is the dismal failure of Allied strategy in Italy. For our political and military record in that country provides a good sample by which to judge British-American methods in general.

Let Mr. Churchill ask himself why it is that the whole of Southeastern Europe is swinging toward Russia as toward a giant magnet. Let him ask himself why it is that in France and French North Africa and the French Levant and in Sicily and Italy popular feeling has shifted from warm friendship for the British and Americans to dull resentment. Let Mr. Churchill consider, as the year ends, how he and Mr. Roosevelt have been conducting their entire political war.

A new power structure is being built on the Continent. Theoretically it rests equally on the resources and energy of the three great nations that have so recently pledged their united effort for the war and the peace. Actually its main underpinnings are being laid in Moscow. Day by day Russia is increasing its political strength in Europe. By clinging to their assortment of discredited kings and generals and dictators, Britain and the United States are day by day losing the good-will of the peoples. Even their military plans are threatened by their political mistakes. And this, above all, is something for Mr. Churchill to think about, now that he has a little time on his hands.

Grist for Goebbels

BY I. F. STONE

WERE the principal events of the past week in Washington to be broadcast by the Axis radio, listeners in occupied Europe and Asia would be inclined to dismiss what they heard as typical Axis exaggerations, if not downright lies. They would hear that in America race prejudice was still so strong that sixteen Southern railroads preferred to suffer from a shortage of firemen rather than hire unemployed Negroes qualified by experience for such work. They would hear that in America respect for authority was so weak, recognition of the need for discipline in war time so rudimentary, that when a Presidential committee ordered those railroads to cease discriminating against Negroes, they publicly announced their refusal to obey and were applauded for it in Congress. Listeners under the Nazi heel, aware of the uses to which prejudice can be put, might be tempted to suspect American railroad "capitalists" of pitting race against race. But they would feel certain that they were listening to some more of Goebbels's handiwork if the Axis radio ventured to tell them that the action of the railroads was largely due to pressure from one of the most advanced sections of the American labor movement, the Railroad Brotherhoods. Past experience with Axis propaganda might lead listeners to scoff at the statement that these progressive unions had been forcing railroads to discharge Negro firemen and give their jobs to white. The Axis radio would purport to quote a Malcolm Ross, chairman of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee, as explaining that Negroes had done most of the work as firemen on Southern railroads for half a century "until automatic stokers and Diesel-powered engines changed the dirty, heavy work into desirable jobs." The implications of this would seem another of those ugly Nazi canards, aimed this time at the working class of the South. These same brotherhoods—let us imagine we are listening for a moment longer to that Axis radio—are prepared to tie up the whole American railroad system on the eve of the second-front invasion. The five operating brotherhoods have ordered a strike to begin on December 30, and this order is the work not of an irresponsible minority manipulating the unions but of democratic processes and majority vote. The term "majority vote" is inadequate. For the vote was almost unanimous: 97.7 per cent of the 350,000 operating workers cast their ballot for strike action.

Their grievance is that a government board granted a four-cents-an-hour raise. They are prepared to strike for eight cents. (Sophisticated French workers accustomed to the tactics used by the "capitalist" press to inflame soldiers against workers will think this familiar propaganda when they hear it over their radios.) The non-operating unions are also threatening a strike. They want an eight-cents-an-hour raise "straight across the board." They were awarded a raise ranging from ten cents an hour for the lowest-paid workers to four cents an hour for the highest. The difference between the award and the demand in terms of total aggregate wage increase for non-operating railway workers is estimated at less than 10 per cent. (Imagine listening to this through the ears of a Chinese or a Yugoslav guerrilla.) Axis propaganda operates on the principle that the bigger the lie the harder it is for common folk to doubt it. But here we encounter the corollary: the more shameful the truth the harder it is for common folk to believe it.

I suppose many members of the brotherhoods will consider this unfair. Like everyone else, they have their grievances. The wages of the operating railroad workers have not risen as much as those of workers in manufacturing industries, but they were a good deal higher to start with. The question they must ask themselves is whether the difference between four cents an hour and eight cents an hour is worth a nation-wide strike call in the midst of a great war. I know that they feel pretty certain that there will be no strike. But what of the soldier abroad who hears of this strike call? What are his feelings likely to be? Will he be more friendly or less to the labor movement on his return, when American labor may face the greatest battle of its existence? Can brotherhoods which practice prejudice-as-usual and resort to strikes-as-usual expect to be considered on any better level than men who practice business-as-usual? The non-operating railroad workers have a stronger case than the operating, for they include some of the lowest-paid workers in the country. But the Vinson formula which they rejected would have given the lowest-paid third in their ranks more than an eight-cent raise. The question they must ask themselves is whether the minor difference between the Vinson award and the eight-cents-for-all that they want is worth the passage of the Truman resolution, a resolution which throws the doors open to a series of measures which will boost the cost of living.

The seventy-four-to-four vote in the Senate for the Truman resolution derived from many sources, few flattering to labor. One was the power of an organized minority like the brotherhoods. Another was the fear, expressed on the Senate floor, that the alternative would be a strike, and that the strike would lead to government operation of the roads, which are waxing fat on war profits. A third was the desire of the pro-inflationary forces in agriculture and industry further to compromise the hold-the-line fight, to make passage of subsidy legislation more difficult, to clear the way for similar legislation on milk, coal, oil, and a long list of other products. A Congress which talks as though it believes in laissez faire is entering with enthusiasm into the game of raising prices and wages by legislative fiat, an easy way to buy votes. The cost will be national disaster, with labor among the worst sufferers. A taste of what is coming may be obtained from the Disney bill to boost the price of crude oil, which passed the House 171 to 92, despite a brave fight by two oil-district Congressmen, Monroney of Oklahoma and Patman of Texas.

The pernicious parity concept, which tore a gap in the dike against inflation at the very beginning by boosting food prices, is extended by the Disney bill to petroleum. This threatens to launch a kind of leapfrog advance to inflation. The general commodity index, thanks largely to higher farm prices, has risen much more than prices of basic commodities like oil, which we have hitherto managed to hold down. "Parity" here means that we must provide an equivalent increase for crude oil. This in turn will push the general index still higher, laying the basis for further "parity" increases. Under this system the sky's the limit. There is no doubt that some marginal oil men have suffered from higher costs, and premium payments might well be used to stimulate the digging of new wells. But to grant a price boost of from thirty-five to seventy-four cents a barrel, as the Disney bill would, to all producers, further enriching some of the biggest profiteers in the war, is economically indefensible and politically scandalous.

O Little Town . . . (Restricted)

BY WILLSON WHITMAN

WREATHS on the doors of old white houses, wine-glass elms curving above quiet streets, snow caught on carved gateposts—in winter Litchfield, Connecticut, looks like a village on a Christmas card. It is beautiful in summer, too. But on Christmas Eve, with candles behind the fanlights on North Street, it is a lovely picture of Christmas peace.

No railroad and no movies—that we knew, but there had been an inn on the Green where travelers could spend the night. Now it wasn't there.

"No, no inn," they told us cheerfully at the drugstore after we got off the bus.

"But surely this isn't a town without an inn?" we said, up and down the street.

"I'm afraid so," replied the well-dressed customer at the grocery. She said it a bit smugly, as she might have said "no movies," and we began to feel unwanted. It hadn't been like this before. Then, though we had arrived after dark, unannounced, the people at the inn had made us welcome.

Finally we discovered the comfortable house which took tourists and the restaurant that furnished meals. It was at lunch that we got our next shock. The restaurant seemed to be patronized chiefly by townsfolk—there was, one gathered, a servant problem in Litchfield. Two Helen Hokinson ladies, natives, glared resentfully at the next table, where people were sitting whom we hadn't noticed until we followed the glare. Then it was unnecessary to hear what the ladies were saying. We were reminded of something we had heard or read— "They don't let Jews live in this town." Could it be true?

Was it true that even Einstein couldn't live in Litchfield? Why, right out there on the Green was a tablet to show where Lyman Beecher's church had stood, and Harriet Beecher Stowe was born here. Litchfield couldn't be a place for race prejudice. It couldn't be true, but we found it was—in America, in the United States, in New England, in the year of our Lord 1943.

Litchfield, Connecticut, was named for Lichfield in England. The T was put in by accident, but perhaps appropriately. T is for Tory, and many Litchfielders would have gone on drinking tea and paying the king's tax. Dates on the lovely old houses on North Street—1761, 1773—show that the people who lived there were good substantial citizens before the Revolution. One of the descendants, living in the same house, turned down membership in the D. A. R. "My ancestors sided with the British," she told them, "and I think I would have too."

Of course there is a Revolutionary tradition—George Washington slept here, and Ethan Allen, some say, was born here. But that is disputed; associations with Aaron Burr and Benedict Arnold are clearer.

It is the Civil War tradition that counts. This is the Beechers' own town. There were Howes here, too—today a Howe runs the Litchfield *Enquirer*, founded in 1825. And out in the hills, not far away, John Brown was born. Idealists, these, but there were fighters as well; the monument on the Green carries the names of boys who died at Cold Harbor and elsewhere in Virginia, and even down in Texas. You don't need the flag and the background of elms and white-trimmed red brick to tell you that here is a town in the sound American tradition, a town that should make two Southern visitors raised in the land of Jim Crow feel ashamed of themselves.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord; his soul goes marching on. But Governor Lehman couldn't live here, or Justice Frankfurter?

Litchfield doesn't work for its living, of course; it doesn't have to. There isn't a factory or a labor union in the town. It was not always so; at the start Litchfield had a lot of industries. In 1810, according to the *Gazeteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island*, the most important local industry was iron manufacture, requiring four forges, a slitting mill, and a nail factory. There were also a cotton mill, mills for oil and paper and grain, and no fewer than eighteen sawmills. Besides the five large tanneries there were "several on a smaller scale" and five saddlers to use the leather. There were two hatters' shops and two comb factories, two carriage-makers, a maker of fine furniture, and "a number of house carpenters, joiners, and smiths and other mechanics."

Not least worthy of mention is the builder who liked pineapple gateposts and Palladian windows. But all this was in the handicraft period, before the mills sprang up on the fall line and the railroads followed trade. After that happened, Litchfield's only money-making institutions were professional: Miss Pierce's school for young ladies on North Street, and Judge Tapping Reeve's law school on South Street. The young ladies married the young lawyers. One or two of the latter, like John C. Calhoun, got to be well known.

Lawyers and bankers lived on North Street, and preachers of course; and after the old families died out the new people coming in were those who conducted their business elsewhere. As we learned these facts, it was clear to a Southern mind that the pattern of old towns in Virginia and South Carolina was repeated here in the Connecticut hills.

But Litchfield has its great tradition of freedom. It was a station, they say, on the Underground Railroad. It can't be true that today Bernard Baruch or Robert Moses couldn't buy a lot in Litchfield.

"It isn't true. There is a Jewish lawyer living right in Litchfield and doing business there."

The exception proves the rule. The lawyer, still a young man, has lived his whole professional life in Litchfield; he came from law school in New York and Boston and went to work in Judge Hubbard's office. The old judge was an Episcopalian and a good solid citizen. The boy didn't "look Jewish," didn't "act Jewish," and had a name that might have been German. People liked him and still do. Even before the old judge died he was doing most of the work, and so people just went on with him. The firm name is the same, and some new people coming into the office call him Hubbard and make remarks about the Jews right before him, the way they are apt to do in Litchfield.

He takes it well; he belongs to the men's forum at the Congregational Church, and for a while he owned the *Enquirer*. Maybe he got a kick out of that. But he doesn't put himself forward otherwise. It was years before he bought a house, and then he had more sense than to buy one on North Street. When he sells North Street property now, he knows without being told that he is not to sell it to one of his own race.

Lonesome? Maybe, when people make thoughtless remarks. But he has money, and friends elsewhere, and he could leave if he wanted to. Maybe he likes staying to prove he has a right to stay. Maybe he thinks that in time the prejudice will die out.

Others think differently. A world-famous musician and composer, a playwright, a writer on public affairs—several people whose names are household words in America—Jewish by descent or marital connection, have seen the charm of Litchfield and, perhaps wisely, passed it by.

Won't the war make a change?

There are a hundred stars on the service flag at Litchfield's Catholic church, seventy-five stars on the Episcopal flag, and forty on the Congregational. The war has made changes in Litchfield life, brought many minor inconveniences. It is a wonder to an outsider where the Helen Hokinson ladies who come shopping on the Green get their gasoline.

There is war industry in nearby Bantam, and even a housing problem for workers. The Bantam plant makes aluminum devices for planes and has been doing war work since 1939. But although Bantam is the older community, its relatively modern ways leave Litchfield untouched, or, as Litchfielders would put it, unspoiled.

Litchfield shows no sign of reaction to world thought later than, say, the Nürnberg laws. The *Enquirer* had an editorial on "Our Town and Its Future" which suggested that the future might "differ, it may be radically in some respects, from conditions we have known at any other period in our past." Comments from "thoughtful men and women" were invited, and one citizen responded with a column-length letter containing this paragraph:

> Because of its isolation, the ideas of its founders, and the general type of the residents whom it has attracted through the years, Litchfield has from its foundation contributed more to the cultural values of life than to its material phases. . . . The town has been thought of chiefly as a cultural community. It therefore tends to attract new residents from those who seek cultural surroundings. These in turn spread the flavor of culture and enhance its reputation from that standpoint. Wherever Litchfield is known, its name is held in great respect because of the atmosphere which is thus attributed to it.

The writer continued along this line to the conclusion that any form of material progress that detracted from its cultural distinction would harm the town. Another reader corrected the newspaper's statement that in 1800 Litchfield had been the fourth-largest town in Connecticut; it was in 1810. There seemed to be no unfavorable reaction to the editorial disclosure that in 1940 the population was 600 less than it had been 130 years before.

Some kinds of population, of course, Litchfield just doesn't want. A good many people whose books are in the town library, whose music couldn't be kept off the air, are barred from buying property in Litchfield. Cannot a cultural community choose its own kind of culture? And, in truth, are there no cultural values—precious, irreparable old things—to be lost in the inrush of the vulgar and the foreign? No movie house on the Green—you were glad of that. No trains to smudge the white-painted fanlights. Why not let Litchfield and the few old towns that are left keep themselves to themselves, as wreaths and wax fruit were kept under glass bells in old-fashioned parlors?

Years ago James Truslow Adams wrote an article on what he called the law of diminishing returns applied to places. In his recollection, he said, Montauk Point on Long Island had been a lovely, quiet spot—a place of natural beauty. Now it was full of pop bottles. He didn't mind sharing Montauk Point, he said, but the fact was that nobody now had the Montauk Point that had been. Trampled by the herd, it was gone forever. It couldn't be shared. It no longer existed.

So Litchfield, shared, would cease to exist? It is one of those deep instinctive arguments hard to combat because they aren't brought into the open. It would be easy to love Litchfield to death. It's only a little town.

But what about Litchfield's contribution to cultural values elsewhere? Other Connecticut towns—Old Lyme, and Sharon of the beautiful Hebraic name—don't welcome Jews either. Jews aren't wanted in the New York suburbs of Bronxville and Jackson Heights. Only a little cancer, but it grows. Surveys show anti-Semitic prejudice throughout the country to be increasing, and to be greatest not in the prejudice-ridden South but in educated New England.

When we have to face the issue of post-war immigration, such prejudice must be considered. We could do worse than adopt a proposal made many years ago—that we continue to welcome immigration but assign the immigrants to specific regions. Professionally trained refugees could then be directed to parts of the country where doctors or lawyers are needed, farm workers could be absorbed in rural districts, and so on. Litchfield might be saved by this solution, though it could hardly be expected to show gratitude since the author of the proposal was a Jewish correspondent of the New York *Herald* named Karl Marx.

Meanwhile, why not leave Litchfield in peace, resisting modernization in all its ugly forms? Like Charleston *contra mundum,*[*] let the natives withstand any foreign invasion, bar Italians and Germans and all sorts of people with different cultures.

Only they don't say, in Litchfield, "We won't sell or rent property to Italians or Germans or White Russians or Poles." They say, "We won't sell or rent to Jews." The town of the Beechers has already changed, where it matters—in the head, in the heart.

Litchfield churches are important. St. Anthony's, Roman Catholic, is best attended; St. Michael's, Episcopal, has the most expensive altar. There is no synagogue, naturally, although a builder too lazy to construct a pentagon has put two six-pointed stars on the Methodist church. The Congregational church is oldest and most important. The building where Beecher preached is gone now, but the white church on the Green, with the boxed-in pews, is older.

Litchfield clergymen, like clergymen everywhere, are approachable. They will even talk about anti-Semitism.

"It's not a new idea in the town," one minister said. "It's just that Litchfield people are conservative."

"And they think they have a right to do as they please with their own property?"

"Exactly. And with their social life. They don't welcome strangers of any sort very readily, I'm afraid."

The minister seemed honestly not to understand, at first, a Southerner's questions about the race problem in Harriet Beecher Stowe's home town. A Litchfield lady who owned a house at Bantam had rented to Negroes, and it hadn't been a popular gesture, but otherwise he knew of no race problem.

"Then it isn't true that Jews can't buy property?"

[*] *The Nation*, November 20, 1943.

Oh, that. Yes, it was true, he believed. Just a sort of general agreement—yes, you could call it a Christian unity among Litchfield people on that point. He smiled at that. No, they didn't realize that it was Hitler's party line. Just didn't follow it through. And of course there had been people who admired Mussolini because he made the trains run. As for this Jewish question—

He was as polite and as distressed as a Mississippi minister asked why Negroes can't vote, and quite as helpless to mend matters. He saw no likelihood of change except as the older generation died off. "Certainly not because of the Four Freedoms," he said with a Republican glint in his eye. But there really was no problem because there were no Jews in the town, except of course the one lawyer who was well thought of.

"Just what they say down South—there's no Negro problem except when the Yankees try to make one. Southerners keep them in their place, in the Jim Crow car."

For some reason he didn't quite like that, but he was urbanity itself as he accepted a Southerner's compliments on Litchfield architecture.

"Yes. Yes. And shall we say, next time you come we hope you won't find North Street full of Jews?"

It was a time to wonder whether the successors to the Beecher pulpit in Litchfield ever had occasion to dust off the Beecher sermon preached sixty-six years ago on the occasion of an exhibition of anti-Semitism new and shocking to this country—the exclusion of Jewish guests from the Grand Union Hotel at Saratoga Springs. Dr. Beecher reviewed at length civilization's debt to the Jews in morals, politics, and social justice, and the particular religious debt of all Christians. He noted with approval that "they are becoming land-holders in America. . . . They come here to live and stay; and their children will intermarry with ours; their blood will flow into the common stream with ours; and if their virtues might be incorporated with ours it would be of unspeakable advantage to us." He added a hope: "May they understand that under this government there is no place to which they may not aspire—no sphere of finance, no walk in literature, no avenue to honor, no field of art or of science, which is shut to them. The heaven above their head is not more free to every one of them than all the ways of men in this land."

So spoke Beecher; and in Litchfield the great Beecher elm still lifts its branches to the heaven he saw arching above North Street. But the clergyman now standing in Beecher's shoes made it plain, in a pleasant-spoken way, that Beecher's hope was mistaken. St. Peter and St. Paul couldn't live on North Street.

Noël, Noël,
Born is the King of Israel.

Don't go to Litchfield for Christmas. The Son of David couldn't be born there, even in a stable.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE GOVERNMENT RECEIPTS for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, were about $2,000,000 in excess of the expenditures. For the present fiscal year it is expected that they will be $28,000,000 less than the expenditures.—*December 7, 1893.*

PROF. TYNDALL was one of the three or four men who have made English science in the nineteenth century famous for its union of German thoroughness of research with French lucidity of expression. . . . Tyndall came into great disrepute with the religious world in 1872 by his bold suggestion that the efficacy of prayer be made a subject of scientific experiment.—*December 7, 1893.*

THE PRACTICE, on the part of the athletic element in the colleges, of seeking them [athletes] out, and bribing them by offers of a free education to come to one college rather than another, has become unhappily common, and has ceased to seem discreditable; that is, very young boys are invited to become professionals, and to take what is in reality a salary for acting as football players in the guise of students. —*December 7, 1893.*

SOME ARTISTIC GIFT BOOKS for Young and Old: . . . "Zig Zag Journeys on the Mediterranean," by Hezekiah Butterworth; "Ruby's Ups and Downs," by Minnie E. Paull, author of "Ruby and Ruthy." (ADVT.)—*December 14, 1893.*

THE ONLY PRACTICAL EFFECT of the gathering of the striking Danbury hatters in town meeting to vote themselves $50,000 will probably be the speedy bringing of the absurdity into the courts to have the sawdust let out of it.—*December 14, 1893.*

IF THERE WERE no other reason for pleasure in the appearance of "David Balfour," it is enough that Mr. Stevenson has shaken off the spell of the South Seas and returned to those scenes which have provided his strongest literary inspirations.—*December 14, 1893.*

SENATOR VOORHEES has recovered from the lucid interval with which he was mysteriously afflicted when the repeal of the Sherman [silver-purchase] law was before the Senate, and is now quite himself again with his bill, introduced on Thursday, to "go the Sherman law several worse" and play the mischief generally with the currency. He acutely remarks that "no one will be surprised by my introduction of such a bill." Neither by that nor by any other bit of demagogy on his part.—*December 21, 1893.*

MR. DAMROSCH DESERVES and unquestionably has the support of the public in his struggle with the Mutual Musical Protective Union, which succeeded in preventing him from giving a concert on Sunday evening.—*December 21, 1893.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: Huxley, Prof. T. H., "Darwiniana." Irving, Henry, "The Drama."—*December 21, 1893.*

The New Pacific Front

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE outstanding war news of the past few weeks concerns the developing American offensive in the Central and Southwest Pacific. Though they have been cautiously conducted in order to avoid heavy casualties, the recent thrusts in these areas are the most important moves made by the United States in a year.

The offensive is two-pronged. In the Southwest Pacific the forces under General MacArthur have been moving west and north in the general direction of the Philippines. The story of their progress repeats itself: heavy air bombardment of a strong point is followed by an advance on land and sea from one base to another. Unfortunately, at each step stubborn Japanese resistance and the obstacle of the jungle cause a long delay which gives the enemy a chance to strengthen the base to which he retires. The desirability of this method of getting to Tokyo cannot be justly gauged at the moment, for we have used only small contingents in our attempt to advance. It should be recalled, moreover, that the southern route was not our choice but was forced on us by the necessity of defending Australia and New Zealand. Since the limited forces then available did not permit diversions elsewhere, we were obliged to wage war in an unfavorable area, where two years of fighting, though they have inflicted large losses on the enemy, have not brought us much closer to the Japanese mainland. The Solomons—most of them—a few outlying islands, and a third of New Guinea are piker profits from so long a struggle. At this rate twenty years might well elapse before our soldiers marched down the streets of Tokyo. The snail's pace cannot be attributed to defective direction, for our leadership in this area, with some lapses, has been sound though exceedingly cautious. Greater boldness may come with the greater military might we can now supply.

The length and difficulty of the southern road to Tokyo lend significance to the recent venture into the Central Pacific, by which the Gilbert Islands were captured in four days. The venture was an experiment with a different technique of war in a new and promising area, though it was aided by the bases so laboriously obtained farther south, which supplied many of the planes for the preliminary softening by air. The lessons learned from this experiment should enable us to shorten the Pacific war.

The details of the expedition, reported far better than has been the navy's usual practice, are of interest. After neutralization of nearby air bases, a huge fleet, covered by its own planes, moved in for the kill. Unlike the Japanese in similar cases, we did not send a boy to do a man's work but provided a naval force more than adequate for the purpose. There were two good reasons for its size: first, nothing short of the main Japanese fleet could have challenged us with any prospect of success; and, second, a large force could do the job more quickly and with smaller loss.

The last step, the landing of marines to mop up resistance, proved by far the hardest, and demonstrated the limitations of both air power and sea power. Despite the most intense bombardment from land and sea Japanese pillboxes had to be cleaned out the hard way. Inevitably losses at Tarawa were large, though well below those of the enemy. While better management in the future may reduce such losses, we must expect to pay a substantial price for further gains.

Nevertheless, the Central Pacific route to Japan has many advantages over island-hopping in the southwest. It avoids the long circuitous approach through the Southern Hemisphere, and it presents fewer natural obstacles. Most of the atolls of the Gilbert, Marshall, Caroline, Marianas, and Bonin groups are small, flat, and rather barren. Operations are hindered neither by the dense jungles of the South Pacific nor by the weather troubles of the Aleutians. An invaded island can be won in a few days, or even hours. Finally, a success would place American bases on the flank of all southward Japanese communications. Before the war these advantages were considered so important that the approach through the Central Pacific was regarded as the best if not the only feasible way to attack Japan.

In one respect operations in the Gilberts and Marshalls have been disappointing: the navy has failed to exploit fully the element of surprise by mounting other invasions immediately after seizing the Gilberts. True, the delay has allowed us time for the consolidation of gains and for making any tactical changes suggested by experience—in other words, it will help to keep down future casualties—but it has also afforded breathing-time to the enemy and given good notice of American intentions. However, the flexibility of our war plans in the Pacific makes a shift of attention to a new area always possible.

On the other side of the world, the Russian front has reached something approaching temporary stability, and it is possible to weigh the results of a year of fighting. During 1943 the northern part of the front has remained nearly stationary, but in the central and southern sectors the Red Army has gained hundreds of miles. The battle line has swung as on a hinge and at present runs almost directly north and south except near the Sea of Azov. The front has thus been reduced in length by several hundred miles.

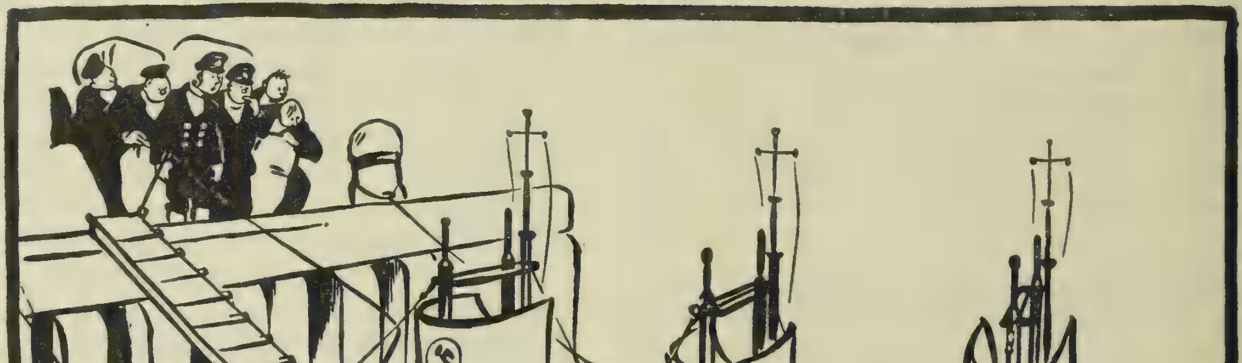
On two occasions during the past year the Wehrmacht came very close to the sort of disaster which could have ended the war. In February the German armies in the south were flanked and threatened with encirclement. More recently, in late October and early November, the simultaneous successes scored in sealing the Crimea and in pushing down from the Dnieper bend toward Krivoi-rog seriously imperiled perhaps sixty German divisions. None of the later Russian attacks on the central front have offered so serious a threat.

The escape of the Germans from these two traps is typical of what they have been able to do even in defeat. In both cases sharp attacks on Red Army units which had outrun their supply lines gave the threatened armies the chance to escape destruction. Bad weather also played a part in slowing Russian progress at critical moments.

Despite their stinging defeats the Germans are still extremely powerful on land. They have had to conduct some long retreats in order to survive, but these retirements, made with great skill, have usually served their purpose. Moreover, the logistics problem of the Germans has been eased while that of the Allies has been made harder. Both in Italy and Russia the Nazis are fighting skilfully and well. They cannot, of course, retreat indefinitely, but they can still fall back for hundreds of miles before Germany is subjected to the horrors of invasion. From time to time reports of lowered enemy morale make their appearance, but in general these have not been substantiated on the battlefield.

For several weeks neither side has made any large territorial gains. Minor actions have occurred on the central front, at the Kiev bulge, and in the Dnieper bend as the Germans have counter-attacked and striven to lessen the Russian threat. In all likelihood the present comparative lull, which is mainly due to the weather, is being used by both sides in preparation for a greater struggle.

The steps being taken by the Germans are certain to prove mainly defensive since all chance of a complete military victory has evaporated. While the Nazis can set up defenses farther west, they would probably prefer to anchor as much of their defense on the Dnieper as possi-


GONE BUT
SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
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LOW

"OUR U-BOATS WILL BE REDESIGNED"—*BERLIN* ble and will therefore fight to hold their present positions.

Far more important are the plans of the Soviets. Since a strong German offensive is a very remote possibility, they no longer have an incentive to hold huge armies in reserve as during former years. On the contrary, in 1944 the Red armies have every reason to attack relentlessly in an effort to win the complete military decision which so narrowly escaped them in 1943. Reserves may be thrown in now for another reason also. Stalin has certainly been promised in very definite terms the long-demanded Anglo-American assault on Western Europe. Only the time and place of the attack and its relationship to a Russian offensive remain uncertain. It is very possible that either the Anglo-American zero hour will be moved up or the Russian time-table slowed down to assure a simultaneous attack from many directions and prevent much shifting of enemy reserves.

While the main European front has been comparatively quiet, the Allies have scored tactical gains on the Atlantic and in the air over Europe. In both theaters Germany's widely heralded new weapons have been unable to reverse the trend toward defeat. The leveling-off of American shipbuilding, coming on top of record-breaking production, tells a story which is confirmed by news releases on submarine sinkings. Submarines are now a major nuisance, not a major threat.

Improved German defense against air attacks has been met by an alteration in bombing tactics. Feints, the use of cloud masses to hide attackers, the splitting up of fleets to attack several objectives, the repeated saturation bombings of an especially valuable target are not new, but they have recently been employed with singular imagination and effectiveness. The percentage of losses on R. A. F. raids has actually gone down in recent weeks. The losses of the American Eighth Air Force on its daylight precision raids, on the other hand, have mounted. However, there is little doubt that we can still afford the price exacted. With most of its forces tied up elsewhere Germany continues to be in a singularly unfavorable position to meet air attack. The constant pounding has certainly weakened German industry and eased the path of invasion. We should be on our guard, however, against expecting miracles from the air war. A large amount of German industry has yet to be bombed, and the repeated raids on Essen, Cologne, Emden, and other targets are admissions that some of the earlier attacks did less damage than was thought.

The Italian campaign continues to get the headlines, but it does not deserve them. The Germans have made no real attempt to defeat the Allied forces since they failed to do so at Salerno. Instead, they have waged a very successful delaying action, aided greatly by mountainous terrain and heavy rains. Both sides have fought cautiously and refrained from committing themselves too deeply, and neither has recently been guilty of many mistakes.

As the United States enters its third year of war there are many portents of success. The United Nations have moved far along the path to victory and are justifiably confident. But the war has not yet been won. Final triumph waits at the end of a long and bloody road.

Diary of the Future

BY VERNON BARTLETT

[This is the concluding instalment of "a cautionary tale . . . a rash attempt to write history before it has happened," by a distinguished British journalist and member of Parliament. In the preceding issue Mr. Bartlett outlined some of the problems with which the various commissions of the Washington Peace Conference were engaged.]

VII. The International Police Force

NOVEMBER 4. Several days of sensation and bad temper. The Armaments Commission has been meeting in even more somber secrecy than the other commissions. It has been able to use the argument that since the war against Japan is still on, secrecy is necessary for reasons of security. The reply to that one is that no plan for the general control of armaments, as against the unilateral and perpetual disarmament of an aggressor state, is likely to encourage the Japanese to fight with greater vigor or to give them valuable military information. Then the secrecy merchants trotted out the argument that all the conference needed to do was to regulate the disarmament of Germany and the other European aggressors, to which the reply is that the methods used for preventing Germany from ever making war against us must fit into the general pattern.

The Czechoslovak delegation had taken the lead in preparing a scheme for an international air police (*cf.* diary, September 17) and had won for it widespread support among the smaller European nations. Very correctly they had kept it secret until they could obtain the commission's agreement to its publication. There was a row last Tuesday because that agreement was not forthcoming, despite their argument that no international police would ever be established until public opinion had

had time to accustom itself to the idea. It was known that the opposition to publication came mainly from the British and Americans.

Then, on Thursday morning, Iverach Macdonald was able to send a very complete summary of the scheme to the *Times* of London and Drew Middleton an equally complete one to the *Times* of New York. Everybody accused everybody else of bad faith. Where the news came from I don't know, except that Iverach tells me he did not get his story from the Czechs themselves. Most of us newspapermen got nasty cables from our papers asking why we had been scooped. Ted Montgomery and I each had one from our editor, and in our distress we drank so much rye whiskey with Middleton, who had his success to celebrate, that I woke next morning feeling—in Drew's words—as though a dwarf had walked over my tongue with muddy boots on.

And this morning comes the cable to Anthony Eden signed by a couple of hundred members of Parliament. Their protest that the British delegation is handing over British defenses to foreigners would have been out of date at the end of the last war. In fact, it's even more misleading and deceptive than the warning that came to the Versailles Peace Conference from a roughly similar bunch of members of Parliament. But it has put the fear of the devil into the minds of our delegates.

November 11. This morning's sensation was produced by Victor Gordon-Lennox in the Chicago *Daily News.* General de Gaulle is in one of his Joan of Arc moods, and has told Anthony Eden that he has it in mind to leave the conference and to summon a rival one in Brussels or Paris. He hinted—according to Victor's story—that he had the support of the Russians for a scheme to enable the Europeans to decide their own future without the intervention of non-European states such as the British Commonwealth or the United States. He was particularly bitter that these two great powers should put forward their demands for the control of any international police force at a conference to decide the fate of Germany and Italy and their lesser European allies.

A French colonel, two American majors, and a British civilian had a terrific row at a table near ours in the Mayflower this evening. "Do you realize," Ted Montgomery asked me in the middle of it, "that today is the anniversary of the armistice that ended the last war?"

November 12. Axes are being ground so noisily and so aggressively that the voices of the smaller nations can scarcely be heard. Their first demand is of course accepted by all the delegations—that Germany and Italy shall not be allowed to build or to possess aircraft of any kind for fifteen years and after that time shall be entitled to do so only if the nations change this decision by a four-fifths majority vote. If all airfields everywhere in the world are open to the aircraft of the international air police and the commercial aircraft of all the signatory nations, these two countries will not be able to train pilots even if they are able in some way to get machines. You may be able to hide factories—although it is very doubtful whether you could manufacture so complicated an instrument as an airplane in secret—but you certainly cannot hide an airfield. Since aircraft and air-borne divisions are so vitally important in modern war, this restriction on Germany and Italy should make it unnecessary to maintain large Allied forces of occupation in these two countries.

Therefore the delegations of large and small powers agree on this first demand. They don't on the second, which is that the commander-in-chief and the majority of members of the chief of staff's committee be from the smaller states, so that too much strength shall not be placed in the hands of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. Nor do they agree on the third, which is that members of the international air police should wear no badge to denote the country of their origin. The over-fifties, whose opposition is based on nationalism, are making the most of the argument that this demand is incompatible with the fourth—that except in times of emergency, and particularly in the first few years, an effort should be made to keep a high proportion of members of this force in the country of their origin, so that public opinion will be helped to look upon the international air police as its own police force.

If there is a real row on this, I suppose I shall fly back to London in the hope of taking part in a House of Commons debate. It will be a great tragedy, it seems to me, if we lose this opportunity of starting off a real international force with an international loyalty. It could be done; in the early days of the League of Nations one found a real esprit de corps developing among men of all nationalities in Geneva. On a more limited scale, General Eisenhower achieved it in the Mediterranean. Also we went a long way toward it when men of several nationalities were brigaded together or flew in the same squadrons to fight the Germans. To succeed in this more ambitious scheme we should start with as few outward signs of different nationalities as possible. Some of my colleagues in Parliament are going on a deputation to the Prime Minister to urge this view on him and to try to counteract the effect of the cable from our two hundred other colleagues—confound them!

There is also likely to be a great deal of dispute about the proposal that all aircraft be produced under international license. One of the troubles in the old days was that the small nations depended for their defense on a few great armament manufacturers in a few great countries. This tempted them to set up factories of their own and thus to increase the competition for markets. Also their sense of insecurity made them ready to believe stories about the wicked intentions of their neighbors and inclined to order weapons they couldn't afford. And the manufacturers, with the money they received from these poor and nervous little countries, built up bigger and better armaments for use by the great powers.

It seems absurd that we should start this trouble and distrust all over again in the matter of aircraft. The American objection to internationalism is much more comprehensible than the British, since the States have built up such enormous production. On the other hand, the very immensity of it is proving the strongest argument for national, and ultimately international, control.

I have had enough of this. I drafted a cable to my editor asking for permission to come home. Dined alone in an atmosphere of gray misery and drank rye whiskey. The dwarfs with muddy boots on will be active during the night, but I tore the cable up. I suppose one will have to see it through.

November 15. Dined with Harold Nicolson, and we got to talking of the last peace conference and of the way in which so many of its mistakes are being repeated a generation later. He reminded me that we had both written books about it. "Yours was very good," I said. "Yours was very bitter, but not too much so," he replied, "I wonder what sort of books we should write about this one?" I quoted to him a sentence about the last peace conference from his own book, "Why Britain Is at War": "The conference was conducted in an atmosphere of angry and hysterical rush." I left him shortly to go up to my room and to run through the pages of this diary. Here, I thought, was the material for another book about another peace conference. But I was too bitter, too sick at heart, to polish it into a neat volume. Perhaps, even so, my publisher might be interested.

So much for my unlived diary, written now in the hope that I may not have to live it later on. A hundred and fifty years ago Thomas Paine wrote these words, which should still inspire men today: "We have it in our power to begin the world over again." They are more true now than they were when they were written by that extraordinary Anglo-American who was elected to the Convention in Paris during the French Revolution. For now words, arguments, and appeals can encircle the world in a fraction of a second, and oceans have ceased to be obstacles to the spread of ideas.

It is because I believe in our power, the power of ordinary humble men and women, that I have asked you, at a time when we still have to face the nagging anxieties of war, to realize how great an effort we shall have to make even when the war is over. Justice Brandeis said of the men who won American independence that they believed "liberty to be the secret of happiness and courage to be the secret of liberty." Millions of people, by their resistance to tyranny during the last few years, have shown that they share this belief. With so many allies there is no cause to be faint-hearted.

In the Wind

THE ARTICLE Charleston Contra Mundum in the November 20 issue of *The Nation* was roundly denounced by the Charleston press, but curious denizens of the city who wanted to read the article were unable to get it. The newsstands refused to handle that issue of the magazine. . . . Back in January, 1940, when the *Forum* published an article entitled Charleston: The Great Myth, the mayor bought up all newsstand copies.

AN NLRB ELECTION will be held this month by the 1,500 employees of the Corn Exchange Bank Trust Company of New York to determine a collective-bargaining agency. The United Office and Professional Workers of America reports that the bank, which ranks twenty-second in size among the fourteen thousand commercial banks of the country, pays lower wages than any other bank in the city. The election will be the first to be held in a major banking institution. Opinion in Wall Street is that the management will yield gracefully to the inevitable.

FROM AN ARTICLE on the evils of grade labeling in the Dallas *Morning News:* "You apparently haven't minded too much. You thought, 'This is war time. Everything will be all right once we whip Hitler.' But will it? Will you be able to go into a store and say, 'I want some of those good old Del Monte peaches'?"

THE TRANSPORTATION ASSOCIATION of America hopes that after the war the government will not continue "the present policy of compelling competition among modes of transportation," particularly as there is "a vast over-supply of basic transportation facilities."

FOOD MEN, says *Printers' Ink,* are worried sick over an unpublished study by the FTC showing that the present distributive system tends to inflate prices.

THE BITUMINOUS COAL INSTITUTE, in an advertisement designed to build good-will for the mining industry, offers this explanation of company stores in mining towns: "Company stores were originally started for the convenience of miners, before the days of the automobile."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The French underground movement has issued a handbook giving general instructions in sabotage for the use of men and women being conscripted for forced labor in Germany. . . . The Nazis are taking the doors, windows, woodwork, and radiators from Belgian hotels to repair bombed houses in Germany. . . . The occupation authorities in Prague recently planned a "Day of Czech Youth" to demonstrate the loyalty of youth to the New Order. No Czechs took part in the demonstration.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

How Fascism Came to Argentine

FROM the beginning this section has taken a serious view of the situation created by the coup d'état of Ramirez. To those who look upon this war as just another, greater military struggle, the only important question was whether the new Argentine regime would or would not break with the Axis. Nothing else mattered. That Ramirez was ideologically identified with the Axis, that he would never rupture relations if there were any way to avoid it, did not interest them. Nor did they realize that even if a break were accomplished, it would be only a formal gesture which left untouched the fundamental aspect of the Argentine problem—the existence in the greatest country in South America of a fascist dictatorship, born at the very time when fascism was being defeated on every battlefield.

I have declared a hundred times that the only way to win this war for democracy, to assure collective democratic security, is to establish firmly the principle that the survival of a single fascist state in Europe, in Asia, or in America is a menace to the rest of the world and as such intolerable.

Full understanding of the gravity of the Argentine situation cannot be obtained from isolated news items or comments in the daily press. The threat implied by the existence of the Ramirez regime can be measured only if the present circumstances are placed in their historical context, if the incidental is separated from what is a natural consequence of the past. As in every country of Latin America, the middle class in Argentina has never had enough organized strength to thwart the repeated attempts of military cliques to gain control of the government. The Partido Radical, considered the strongest party in the country, ruled for fifteen years without a clear political line, much less an economic or social program. Its outstanding figure, Irigoyen, President of Argentina from 1916 to 1922, was brought back to the presidency in 1928 by an impressive majority at the polls. He was a myth; not much of a ruler. I visited him in 1922 in my capacity as delegate of the Nansen Mission, which helped fight the famine in the Ukraine. He impressed me as a generous and well-meaning man. But neither he nor his party, at that time or later, was able to evolve a program based on anything more solid than an inarticulate desire for freedom.

In 1930, therefore, General Uriburu and his officers found it an easy matter to put an end to fifteen years of Radical administration. But if Radicalism had failed to define a program, the military men who took its place had nothing more constructive to offer. Moreover, they lacked the popular appeal which characterized Irigoyen and explained his large following. A few months of Uriburu's dictatorship were enough to reinstate the Radicals in public favor. The Argentine masses could not reconcile themselves to the abandonment of constitutional methods. They rallied around the three anti-dictatorship parties—the Partido Demócrata-Progresista, the Partido Radical, and the Partido Socialista. And the strong men of the government, forced by the opposition to institute elections, adopted every device of corruption to prevent a genuine expression of the people's will. Since 1930, whatever may have been believed in the United States, Argentina has had no truly representative government.

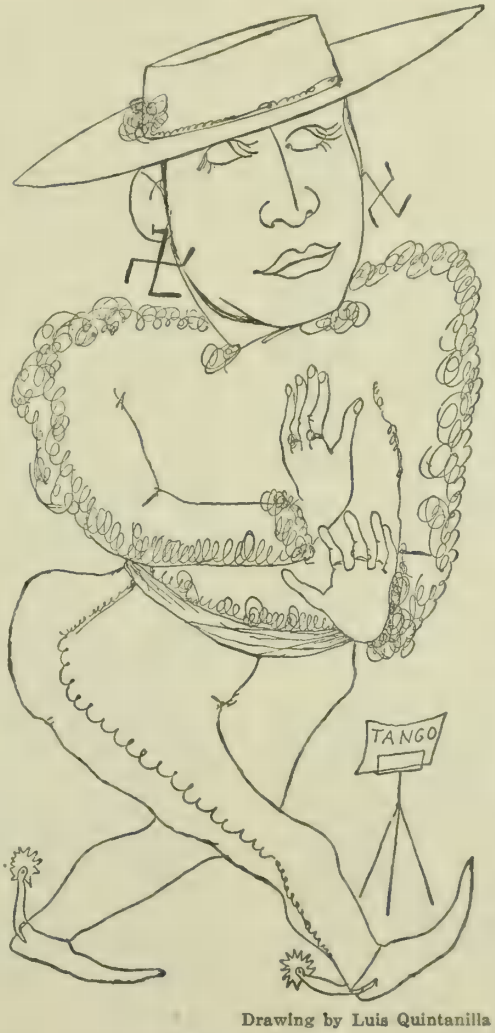
On this ground, fertilized by thirteen years of arbitrary rule, the colonels established their government in June, 1943. That is what makes their presence in the Casa Rosada so grave. It is not a mere temporary reflection of fascism. It is fascism with a past, with deep roots, growing out of a period during which the people's franchise was never honored but always falsified and twisted to suit the will of the powerful.

The war has played into the hands of the colonels. Their most ardent supporters, the landowners and the big cattle-raisers, are interested only in profiting from this war as they profited from the last, when they sold their products to both camps at fabulous prices. The importance of the role of the cattle-raisers and landowners in the political life of Argentina may not be fully appreciated in the United States. Or the role of the cattle. It is more than thirty years since the last census of human beings was taken in Argentina. But every year a detailed estimate of livestock is published. We don't know how large the Argentine population is today, but we do know that in 1942 Argentina counted more than thirty-one million head of beef cattle, fifty million head of sheep, five million head of pork, seven million horses, and three million goats. The land which produces the excellent Argentine meat and cereals is vast, but it is owned by a few thousand families. Millions of people live in miserable circumstances, barely able to obtain their livelihood. Certainly it is not difficult for the landowners to play a decisive role in any major Argentine crisis. Today they want neutrality and no idle chatter about the century of the common man.

The disparity between the activity of the Axis and that of the democracies in Argentina also helps the colonels. The Axis is energetic, dynamic; it has enlisted the support of the Spanish Phalanx and the Spanish clergy in its machinations. As late as December 12 a cable from Lisbon reported the departure of forty Spanish priests for Buenos Aires. In contrast, the democracies are weak and hesitating. Americans and British vie with each other in trying to establish a firm hold on Argentina for the period following the war. The office of the Coordinator of Latin American Affairs publishes a magazine, *En Guardia,* which every liberal Argentine considers an insult to his intelligence. Allied diplomacy flirts now with one Latin American dictator, now with another. American universities welcome the opportunity to confer honorary degrees on tyrants, great or small. If Ramirez would only break with the Axis, they would gladly make him a Doctor of Laws—even though he is destroying the universities in Argentina. All these errors and contradictions are effectively used by Axis agents to discredit democracy.

The Ramirez coup d'état cannot be interpreted as anything so dignified as a revolution, despite Colonel Perón's easy use of the arrogant and pompous phraseology of National Socialism. The overturn of June 4 was not a revolution but a *cuartelazo,* a military coup. Even the entrance of the "G. O. U.," the conspiratorial group which brought Ramirez to power (the initials stand for "Government, Order, Unity"), was no innovation. Secret cells have always existed in the Argentine army. The only novelty is the extreme and clearly defined fascist tendency of the G. O. U.

The growing strength of Argentine fascism has not, however, eliminated internal weakness and confusion. The coup d'état was achieved without previous consultation with the army and without the support of the navy, which continues to be hostile to Ramirez. The coup was a child of the city of Buenos Aires, in whose vicinity lies the Campo de Mayo, the traditional gathering place for regiments which perform the *cuartelazo.* Since its inception the movement has lacked a chief with prestige. The previous public record of General Ramirez was confined to a broadcast to Brazil which praised the *Estado Novo* of Getulio Vargas. The movement was born without a program, basing its appeal on a few commonplace and rhetorical slogans against the corrupt administration of the Castillo regime and a few ambiguous words about the "fulfilment of the continental pacts." The widespread hatred of Castillo made the denunciation of his administration very palatable to the masses. And in their desire to see Argentina end its unpleasant isolation, the Allied embassies took his reference to the "continental pacts" as a happy sign that Ramirez intended to break with the Axis. Those two facts explain the popular acclaim accorded Ramirez in his first days of power and the speed with which the United States recognized his government, against the advice of trustworthy pro-Allied elements in Argentina.



Drawing by Luis Quintanilla

Colonel Perón

For about six months the colonels succeeded in concealing growing differences in their own ranks and between themselves and the army. But now the disunity has become apparent, and measures have had to be taken to alleviate it. To begin with, the colonels' government has been reduced to three effective members. The triumvirate has been formed outside the Cabinet because, in one respect at least, Ramirez respects the constitution. That document limits the Cabinet to eight members. And so, when the new Department of Labor was created, Juan Perón, Ramirez's right-hand man, was necessarily appointed Under Secretary instead of Secretary. The power of government is concentrated in the hands of Perón, Enrique González, Secretary of the Presidency, and Emilio Ramirez, Chief of Police. Each one tries to extend his control at the cost of the others.

González fancies himself as a Goebbels, and under his direction a true Ministry of Propaganda has been installed, in the image of the one set up in 1933 by the shrewd and malignant Nazi. It already controls the press, the radio, book publishing, the theater, the movies.

Lieutenant Colonel Hector J. Ladvocat, Under Secretary in charge of press relations, has made it clear that no editor can fool with the colonels. Now and then the great papers, which for years were the pride of all Argentines, still allow themselves the satisfaction of publishing an editorial praising freedom and reaffirming their solidarity with the United Nations. But they measure every word, and no reference is ever found in the Argentine press to persons whom the police arrest in the night and abduct from the capital.

One of the functions of the new department is to "cooperate" with the foreign correspondents in Buenos Aires to make certain that no news goes out from Argentina inimical to the "national interest." This determination to control the news may arise from a desire to conceal the efforts the dictatorship is making to extend its influence throughout South America by creating a strong military bloc under Argentine leadership. The plan is very ambitious, and in the minds of its mysterious promoters it includes Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru. I say "mysterious" because the best observers in Buenos Aires begin to think that some hand which is not that of Ramirez directs the plot. But whoever directs it, the idea behind it is clearly of Nazi origin. It can be summarized as follows: As a consequence of the concessions which, for military reasons, the United States and Great Britain are obliged to make to Russia, the Soviet Union will emerge from the war as the strongest political power among the Allies. The United States and Great Britain may perhaps have found a way to avoid bolshevization. But if these five countries of South America remain separated, or if they rely solely upon the protection of the United States, they will be the object of a powerful Communist penetration. The only way to avoid this is by the creation of "strong" governments in each country, composed, of course, of colonels and generals, and dependent upon Argentina for political and military guidance. Together they may successfully resist the Communist plague.

It is in relation to this plan that one must consider the picturesque details of the current visit to Argentina of the dictator of Paraguay, General Morinigo, who has been received in Buenos Aires with unprecedented pomp, reminiscent of the reception given the heads of the small satellite states by Hitler before the war. Indeed, the Hitlerian aspect of the new regime strikes even the visitor. I talked the other day with an American business man who had just returned from Buenos Aires. He is connected with the film industry and spent many years in Europe. "How would you define Argentina today?" I asked him. He said, "Germany in 1933."

Juan Perón, the most capable and audacious member of the triumvirate, tries to manipulate the working class through the newly created Department of Labor, combining demagogic promises with repression, inviting minor labor leaders to his office while suppressing the two strongest unions in Argentina, the Unión Ferroviaria and the Fraternidad. Perón is undoubtedly the driving force in the regime, but even his motor occasionally fails. He did not reveal himself as a very clever statesman in his recent interview with the *Mercurio de Chile*, later reprinted in the *Prensa* of Buenos Aires, which created a new storm after the one that followed the exchange of letters between Foreign Secretary Storni and Mr. Hull. Perón declared that he had on his desk the pledge of fealty of more than 2,500 army officers, ready to forfeit their careers, if necessary, to thwart any attempt to oust Ramirez from power. Perón's statement had a dual purpose. On the one hand, he wanted to show that he was the real boss. On the other, he wanted to present Ramirez outside Argentina not as he is in reality—a prisoner of the colonels—but as the genuine head of the army. The immediate reaction in army circles forced Perón to publish hasty explanations which did little to increase his prestige. Perón may be a potential Führer. But in his attempt to grasp at power he may also provoke the envy and opposition of his colleagues.

The one solution of the present Argentine crisis that would accord with the interests of the Argentine people and of the United Nations is that proposed by the Socialist Party of Argentina at its last congress in October, 1942. It called for the union of all anti-fascist forces in the country, without exclusions or limitations. Only a government emerging from such an alliance and formed by men with a solid reputation for honesty and consistency can put an end to the regime of the colonels without risking the substitution of one dictatorship for another. Only such a government can make a clean break with Germany and Japan and incorporate Argentina in the anti-Axis coalition.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Political War in Bulgaria

THE British Broadcasting Company's European Service, supervised by the British army's Board of Political Warfare, has entered upon what appears to be a major campaign in a war of nerves against Bulgaria. The first big guns were fired immediately after the bombing of Sofia on December 10. The Bulgarian Parliament was in session at the time, and American planes are said to have dropped leaflets urging the Bulgarians to force their government to get out of the war. The B. B. C. followed this up with similar appeals.

The British broadcasts point to Marshal Tito's Partisan army as an example to patriots who want to implement their anti-Nazi views. "The Bulgarian people know," they say, "that the Yugoslav National Liberation Movement, which numbers Macedonians and Bulgarians among its armed forces, and which has in its program the elimination of racial domination and chauvinistic irredentism, can be no enemy of theirs. And there can be no doubt that the anti-Nazi popular forces in Bulgaria have been greatly strengthened by the Allied attitude toward their fellow anti-Nazis. . . . It remains to be seen whether the Bulgarian people and army have the courage . . . to save themselves from the dishonor and disaster of going down to defeat as an ally of Germany."

After the Cairo conference of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Inönu, London let Bulgaria know that Turkey is taking an increasingly unfriendly attitude toward Hitler's Balkan satellites. The Ankara correspondent of the London *Times* then reported that "up to one year ago, the Bulgarians would have fought gladly against the Turks with the hope of conquering eastern Thrace and Istanbul. Now, however, they seem to be in a much more sober mood, and, in fact, they went out of their way recently to give warm demonstrations of friendship for Turkey." London implies that Turkey might serve as intermediary between Bulgaria and the United Nations.

It is doubtful whether this war of nerves has as yet had any real effect upon the Bulgarian government. There seems to be a major Cabinet crisis at the present time, but the pro-Russian sympathies of the people have made Cabinet shake-ups a fairly normal occurrence in Bulgaria for the past two years, particularly since the death of the iron-fisted King Boris. Recent reports of Bulgarian peace feelers must be taken with reserve. They seem to come from the same sources which reported the resignation of Premier Bojilov on a day when he and all his ministers were touring the country in a frantic effort to enlist support for the government.

If Turkey enters the war, Bulgaria will be between the Turkish army and Marshal Tito's army. Its capitulation would naturally expedite our advance into Central Europe. Under the present pro-German political and military leadership of the country, an immediate Bulgarian collapse cannot be expected, but the United Nations are bolstering internal forces which may be able to bring it about when the Balkan invasion begins.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

WHAT books are read in Germany today? An answer as significant as it is authoritative is found in the Finnish newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* of November 15. The newspaper interviewed the general secretary of the so-called Association of European Authors, one of the institutions of the Nazi "New European Order," and this gentleman, Herr Dr. Carl Rothe of Berlin, gave out some surprising information.

First he made it clear what kind of books Germans are not reading today. Books which have anything to do with the war are "completely neglected" by both buyers and readers. This is because the war makes itself felt in every sector of daily life, and the public does not wish to be reminded of it also in books. What people do read was a more interesting revelation. They are reading the classics, and among these their favorite is the poet Friedrich Hölderlin, who composed his poems and his one novel some 150 years ago. Hölderlin's works are having a "sensational revival throughout Germany." "They are being very widely read."

Their present popularity is indeed sensational, for as persons with a knowledge of German literature will recall, Hölderlin sought refuge from the turmoil of war and revolution in the early 1800's through a flight into antiquity, into Hellenism. He was the first of those brilliant German intellects who bitterly hated their own country. Hölderlin called the Germans "calculating barbarians." "I tell you there is nothing so sacred that these people do not desecrate and debase it." "The virtues of the Germans are but a brilliant curse"—and so on. To quote Stefan Zweig, he poured forth "the fiercest maledictions a German had ever hurled at his own people." And now we hear from a Nazi source that in the fifth year of the war this author is enjoying a "sensational revival" in Germany!

One of the riddles of the war is how cities that have been destroyed from the air continue to exist. Even in Berlin, which has been at most 30 per cent destroyed, the stubbornness with which life goes on is astonishing. "People simply dig in somehow in the ruins," says a report to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. But Berlin is not yet in the same class as Hamburg. In the *Dagens Nyheter* of November 27 a Swede who has seen both cities compares them: "In Hamburg," he says, "the destruction amounts to 70 or 80 per cent. Conditions are indescribable. One can drive for half an hour in the heart of the city without seeing a house standing." And yet this did not mean the death of the city. "Despite everything, the inhabitants are returning. Nearly a million are back already, food distribution continues as usual, and traffic has been resumed." Why do they return? Why do the authorities make the effort to bring them back? How do these million people who have found lodging in the ruins gain their livelihood?

A considerable number of the inhabitants refuse to live like ghosts in a dead city. The *Nya Daglight Allehanda* of November 27 speaks of an extensive new phenomenon—persons who vanish without leaving a trace:

> Workers are forbidden to leave Berlin under any circumstances; they are ordered to report at their place of work after each raid. But many disobey this order. A hundred thousand persons are registered as missing today in Germany. They left their home town after a raid and are living somewhere in the country, paying no attention to the constant appeals to them to return. Despite heavy penalties the number of workers in hiding is increasing constantly, and will be further swelled by the Berlin raids.

I might add that it is not easy, unless one has numerous accomplices, to hide in a country which has strict food rationing.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

In Memoriam Stratton Christensen

Laughing young man and fiercest against sham
Then you have stayed at sea, at feckless sea,
With a single angry curiosity
Savoring fear and faith and speckled foam?
A salt end to what was sweet begun:
Twenty-three years and your integrity
And already a certain number touched like me
With a humor and a hardness from the sun.

Without laughter we have spent your wit
In an unwitnessed fight at sea, perhaps not won,
And whether wisely we shall never know;
But like Milton's friend's, to them that hear of it,
Your death is a puzzler that will tease them on
Reckless out on the thin, important floe.

WILLIAM MEREDITH

Seurat, Science, and Art

GEORGES SEURAT. By John Rewald. Translated by Lionel Abel. Wittenborn and Company. $6.

THE mystery of intuition must be taken for granted in aesthetic experience. The calculation that lies under the maker's activity seems at times more mysterious than the intuition. This is nothing new. Originally, the operations of reason were in the charge of priests—the first geometry, the Pythagorean pseudo-science of numbers, and magic. The hieratic tone of Seurat's art and of his personality was a concomitant of his effort to reduce or expand painting into a rational method. He had a system; the artist who professes that the role of his genius is to apply a system rather than create originally comes as one armed with secrets. It is implied that we can all become artists in the same way as we can all be saved by true faith. This means in effect the socialization of art, as Protestantism by making every man his own priest meant the socialization of religion. The temple of the artist's genius is broken into and its sanctities made common property. Seurat was not the first to have this idea, but he was the first to invoke the aid of the natural sciences. Not that he proposed really to socialize art; he was jealous of his "discoveries" and exploited them privately, or wanted to, like a good capitalist. And he realized quite well the gap between a system and its application. He never bothered to answer the critics who charged him with attempting to eliminate the role of original talent.

The impressionists tended also to make painting scientific, but Seurat was the first to seize the full implications. He was one of those fanatics whose mission it is to realize and fulfil immediately what others have only groped toward. He found nothing that can be called a solution, but by drawing the logical conclusions he exhausted the question. It has not been raised again except by crackpots.

Seurat's enterprise, no less than Zola's delusions about scientific novel-writing, involved really the general purification of the arts undertaken by the French avant-garde after the decline of romanticism. Hitherto the practical theories of painting had been concerned chiefly with the reproduction of nature. Seurat's interest was to secure for painting most economically and expeditiously the maximum of the effects proper to it as a two-dimensional art imprisoned on a plane surface. Scientific method exemplified a way of eliminating irrelevant factors from a problem. With such precedent in mind, Seurat unwittingly arrived at the notion of pure painting *überhaupt*. He himself seems not to have recognized it, but it was there, in his practice and in his theory. The emphasis of his system lay mostly upon the abstract elements of painting—tone, color, mass, line. He was the first to take the frame into account as part of the picture and to insist on indicating it by painting a border within the picture itself, and he was thus the first to attack the concept of the easel painting as a window.

Seurat was concerned above all with formulating a theory of color and tone; yet his own painting excels by the inviolable order and mathematical calm of its arrangements of line and mass, especially in the landscapes. And toward the last such pictures as "Le Chahut" and "Le Cirque" show abstruse and dazzling counterpoints and harmonies of contour. But color and surface remain unsatisfactory. They make a shimmering, variegated mist which contour and mass have to break through; *pointilliste* color does not inhere in or define form; surface is paper-thin and translucent, ready to be peeled away. It vibrates outward only—but in this it foreshadows some of the effects that post-cubism aimed at: surface and texture as elements which spring toward the spectator instead of drawing his eyes on into the depths of the picture.

For the "inhumanity" of which modern art has been accused we can blame history, but Seurat was one of the principal channels by which it entered painting. In this his subject matter played almost as great a part as his theory and technique. Like Manet, Toulouse-Lautrec, Renoir, and other contemporaries, he was fascinated by the mass-produced recreations of city life which the nineteenth century had conventionalized into circuses, night clubs, dance halls, cafes, and variety theaters. Seurat seems to have been sensitive to the outside-looking-in attitude that modern entertainment forces upon the spectator. More than the entertainment itself, the inhuman glamour of the entertainers keeps us at a distance. Both the entertainers and the spectators in "Le Chahut" and "Le Cirque" are cartooned; their faces and bodies are part of a weird, alienating humor that speaks from every diagonal, vertical, horizontal, and curved line. See how the forked coat-tails of the man dancer in "Le Chahut" echo his moustache, the bows on the slipper of the girl next to him, her fixed smile, and the smirk on the face of the single visible spectator. It is a world most of us will never enter. Twenty years after Seurat, painting entered a world not unlike it and left a good many of us standing outside.

The objectivity, coolness, and carefulness of research in Mr. Rewald's monograph show how facts about art should be presented. I think it unfortunate, however, that he limited his intention so strictly. "This study," he writes, "is limited to an account of Seurat's life, of the process by which his ideals—and paralleling them, his works—developed, and of the reception accorded them. . . . It is for others to study Seurat's place in the history of art or to analyze his paintings." This disclaimer does not excuse a certain sketchiness, even as to the facts. We gather that Seurat never had to work for a living. What sort of income did he have then? A small point, but it has its own importance. I think too that the exemplifications of Seurat's theories in his work could have been examined in more detail. And as a matter of editing, the locations of the works reproduced—all in black and white—should have been given. The translation by Lionel Abel from Mr. Rewald's French is remarkably smooth.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

John Applegate

MAINSTREAM. By Hamilton Basso. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

LIKE James Truslow Adams, Hamilton Basso is in quest of "the American." But, of a more critical turn of mind, he is more fully aware that "the American character" is "an ideal figment," shaped by "that other ideal figment we call the American tradition." "It is impossible," he asserts, to strike an average or a norm. The happier inspiration would be not to try."

Yet Hamilton Basso tells us in the next sentence that we must speak of that myth. I wonder why. When astrology was discovered to be a myth, a working hypothesis that utterly refused to work, the proper method was to discard it altogether. Myths are not harmless, and the myth of "a national character" is the most dangerous of all. It leads to hundred-per-centism, which leads to totalitarianism, which leads to "My country, right or wrong!" which leads to eternal damnation.

I do not deny that there are "Americanisms." You can, as a rule, tell an American abroad at first sight or hearing. These traits or tricks are of the surface only: they are phonetic, sartorial, and tonsorial rather than spiritual. What we express in the American idiom are human thoughts and passions. The modifiers are period, faith, education, social standing, rather than the abstraction called "national character."

To trot out again a weary but convenient phrase, I agree with Hamilton Basso better than he agrees with himself: it should not be done. But I agree with him, presumably, on a second point: he has done it very well. He takes a John Doe whom he calls John Applegate: corner druggist in a middle-sized town of the Middle West; middle class, middle-aged, and wearing medium-weight underwear. And he wonders what characters in American tradition or folklore have left their imprint on this John Applegate. The list includes Cotton Mather, John Smith, Jefferson, Calhoun, Lincoln, Carnegie, Barnum, Henry Adams, Bryan, Teddy Roosevelt, Huey Long, and F. D. R.

A strangely assorted Pantheon. We miss Benjamin Franklin, Washington, Jackson, John Brown, and perhaps Robert E. Lee, far more of a national legend than U. S. Grant. On the other hand, we wonder whether John Applegate ever was conscious of Cotton Mather, Calhoun, and Henry Adams. There is some uncertainty about the method. Are the heroes of this book presented as individuals, as "representative men," or as "myths"? Only incoherent metaphors can express our delighted bewilderment. The author shoots at an impalpable quarry with protean weapons. He bids us to an Alice in Wonderland croquet game. The book is singularly vivid in tone; intellectually it is a dance of ghosts in the mist at midnight. So let us sweep aside the thesis and treat each sketch as an independent essay. In that light the work becomes of commanding interest. For every one of the men studied presents a unique problem, at times historical, at times psychological; and the problems are, if not solved, at any rate stated with a clarity which is an intellectual joy. Nor do these ten studies lack unity. Only the link between them is not the mythical and lackluster John Applegate, but Hamilton Basso—a decided gain.

Perhaps the best pieces are the portrait of Carnegie—a perfect Horatio Alger success story—and that of P. T. Barnum, "the educator." That term applied to the Greatest Showman on Earth may sound strange until we reflect that evangelizing, education, and advertising are fundamentally the same process—inducing the public to get what it does not want. This, by the way, is the essence of the democratic way of life. The alternative is the doctrine of the absolutists, in religion, art, politics: those in sole possession of the truth have the right, not to preach, but to impose the truth.

Barnum is, of course, "Americanism" pure and undefiled. No other country offers so brilliant a combination of devouring energy and blatant cheerfulness. In the world's mythology Barnum is the god of advertising. But that glorious eminence is due solely to his obviousness. There were greater Barnums than he; only they were more artfully camouflaged. There was a bespangled Barnum in the incredible Marquis de la Pailleterie, alias Alexandre Dumas. There was a second-rate Wagnerian Barnum in William II —and a Barnum in excelsis in Wagner himself. I have attempted to show the part played by the circus element in the Napoleonic legend. If Balzac had had his chance, he would have been Barnum—or Napoleon. The perfect Barnum, infinitely more subtle than our P. T., was Beaumarchais, one of the forgotten founders of this republic. And because Disraeli was a supreme Barnum, England is most reluctant to give up the pomp and circumstance of empire, complete with caparisoned elephants, diamond-studded maharajahs, and durbars of breath-taking gorgeousness.

Let us forget John Applegate. Here are ten conversations with Hamilton Basso, on all the problems which have been vexing us for the last two centuries, and will vex us to the end of time. The book provides unrationed food for thought, and entertainment with a most reasonable price ceiling. In other words, it is a rare bargain.

ALBERT GUERARD

Champion of Zionism

THE FORGOTTEN ALLY. By Pierre van Paassen. The Dial Press. $2.75.

IT WOULD be difficult to find a more doughty champion of any cause than Pierre van Paassen. His sense of justice is all-embracing, so that he serves many a cause. Like most of us he wields a single weapon. His weapon happens to be a very broad sword and not a rapier.

It is no reflection upon van Paassen to suggest that he has but a single weapon, for the weapon happens to be a good one. Van Paassen writes in the white heat of passion and brings the rich experience of a long journalistic life in many corners of the world to bear upon the issue which he is arguing. His books abound in anecdotes, vivid illustrations, personal confessions of the motives which prompt him to espouse the particular issue which engages him, and personal denunciations of those who oppose his cause. The books are discursive and not too logical in their development. They are for all that, or perhaps because of that, extremely effective instruments of his purpose.

His most recent book was inevitable, for van Paassen has been, for a long time, the most effective Gentile champion of the Zionist answer to the Jewish problem. In this book he brings all his polemical skill to bear upon this issue. He denounces the Jewish leaders who imagine that a "nationalist" answer to a great issue is too low to engage their conscience, and who do not understand the difficulty of rising beyond nationalism for a people denied the basic security of national existence. He tells some rather effective stories of European Jews who imagined themselves secure in their assimilation and discovered too late that their security was an illusion. To support his various subordinate themes he regales us with other stories of the heroism of Jewish soldiers in the armies of the Allies and of the duplicity of Arab chieftains and politicians.

This mass of rather diffuse journalistic material is held together by a central thesis. It is that Britain, and to a lesser extent the allies of Britain, are appeasing an essentially unreliable Arab world while betraying the absolute loyalty of the Jewish community in Palestine. He is convinced that the enmity of the Arab world toward the Jews in Palestine has been largely, if not wholly, created by the "divide-and-conquer" technique of British imperialism, and that the British encourage this Arab hostility by a specious display of objectivity and impartiality.

I doubt whether van Paassen does full justice to the complexities of the imperial task in the Mediterranean world; and some of his charges may be too extravagant. But he makes a convincing case for his main thesis. Britain is tender with its dubious allies, precisely because they are dubious, and also because they are involved in its Indian dilemma through the Mohammedanism which partially unites the Arab with the Indian world. The Jews are unable to bargain as the Arabs do, just because they can have no alternative loyalty. This is one among many reasons why Britain alone will not be able to do justice to Palestine. Since American Jewry has become the most powerful single force in the Jewish world community, this is also a good reason why America should become organically and intimately related to the solution of this problem. Our military power in that part of the world has developed more recently than the British, but it is not less potent. Our stakes in Palestine are different from the British stakes, but not less important. Our embarrassments in dealing with the issue are less. That can make for irresponsibility; but if rightly handled it could contribute to a more creative settlement of the issue.

The critical reader may occasionally wish that van Paassen were a little less passionate and more discriminating. Yet the complacency of the non-Jewish world toward the tragic problem which the Jews face is so great that someone must speak with a loud voice. Sometimes his passion betrays him into an absurdity. He declares, for instance, that if only Roosevelt and Churchill threatened reprisals against the German policy of destroying the Jews it would bring results. He writes, "If the Führer should announce that he is going to make Europe *Bulgarenrein*—and if the governments of Britain and the U. S. A. warned him that for every Bulgarian slain they would exact ten German lives, the Nazis, I am sure, would desist at once." Van Paassen understands the Nazi terror, and he cannot really believe such a statement. It is made because he rightly feels that more support should be given to the Jews.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Detroit Riot

RACE RIOT. By Alfred McClung Lee and Norman Daymond Humphrey. The Dryden Press. $1.50.

LIKE both the trivial and important happenings that provide "news" for our rapidly changing urban civilization and are soon forgotten, the Detroit riot of six months ago has become an incident in the history of race relations in America. But the conditions which were responsible for that tragic outbreak have not ceased to exist. This little book, written by two sociologists one of whom was assaulted by a mob when he attempted to save the life of a Negro youth, is a dramatic and at the same time a scientific account of the human passions and the social forces that make possible such racial clashes in our American cities.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part shows in a vivid manner the role of demagogues who play upon nervous tensions and prejudices in race riots, and the costs of rioting in terms of individual insecurity, the cessation of forward-looking movements, and the degradation of democracy. The six chapters of the second part contain a well-documented chronological account of the riot, a description of the manner in which it was handled, an analysis of its social and economic causes, and a comparison with the outbreaks in Los Angeles and Harlem. Unlike most studies of such happenings, this book includes in the third part an account of symptoms that presage the advent of race riots and a program of action to avoid anticipated outbreaks.

This small volume is not only informative; its authors understand what they are talking about. It should be read not only by government officials and others who have the responsibility for maintaining order but by everyone who is interested in maintaining a democratic way of life in America.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

DRAMA

"THE VOICE OF THE TURTLE" (Morosco Theater) is a pleasant little comedy with an excellent cast of three, amusing dialogue, and an ingenious single set which shows three rooms at once—living-room, bedroom, and kitchen—like a child's playhouse open on one side. Margaret Sullavan is the romantic young actress who has had two affairs and has lost faith in love. Elliott Nugent is the matter-of-fact American young man, an army sergeant, who restores her faith by the end of the play. Audrey Christie is the disillusioned trouper who is still romantic at heart.

Miss Sullavan is too darned adorable at times, and it is hard to believe that the sergeant, as Nugent depicts him, has ever been a playboy in Paris—his similarity to the professor in "The Male Animal" is also a bit unsettling. Miss Christie is right. The three of them play well together and keep the slight piece moving smoothly.

The only "significant" thing about John Van Druten's bit of froth is its resemblance to a movie. One has the impression not of seeing a play but of watching a film—in this case one of those light, smart, sentimental films which Hollywood does often and does well. In such a film the characters are well-groomed stereotypes—no matter how lowly the heroine may be, she wears the very smartest clothes and her living conditions are elegant. The dialogue is amusing and clever and sounds as if it were written by the yard. The plot is the one about boy meets girl. The desired effect is the illusion of a daydream, not of reality. Entertainment, not catharsis, is the objective, and to hell with Aristotle.

Every element of the patented Hollywood daydream is present in "The Voice of the Turtle," which with a few concessions to the Hays office can be made into a very successful film. The heroine is the adorable child-female that all women are presumed to dream of being. Elliott Nugent is the gruff protecting male. Miss Christie is the battered woman of the world who throws in racy lines but who would also like to be an adorable child-female. It is all pretty adolescent. And dramatically too it is a study in arrested development: the characters do not grow at all, let alone up; the theme, if any, is still-born; and there is really no climax, only a clinch.

I enjoy the light Hollywood film, and I enjoyed "The Voice of the Turtle." But the film industry manufactures an adequate supply of daydreams, and I hope the theater isn't going in for them on a large scale. The occasional purge of a good adult play, comedy or otherwise, wouldn't do any of us a bit of harm. And that goes for actors as well as audiences. I for one should like to see Margaret Sullavan in such a play, because I think she has the makings of a good actress. In her present role she makes a few valiant attempts to turn a type into a character, but she doesn't get much help from the script and falls back on prettiness and charm. She possesses a great deal of both—so much, indeed, that if she wants to be a legitimate actress with more than one role in her repertory rather than a stereotyped star in the streamlined Hollywood daydream—at daydream money—she had better watch out.

MARGARET MARSHALL

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FILMS

Prize Day

A YEAR is ending. It ends our second at war, the fiftieth—or twentieth, as you prefer—in the history of the great recording, communicative, educational, and artistic medium of our time. In another fifty years—or ten, I am willing to bet—moving pictures will no longer be the central medium. Radio will have taken their place; television, very likely, will have taken the place of both.

Let us try to assess what has and has not been done in moving pictures, particularly those made in this country, during the year.

Our only really good films have been our straight record films. Of these, the best have been of war, whose special intensity requires a minimum of intelligence to do fairly well with. Of these, we can still have no idea how much is kept from us or for what good or insufficient reason. Of the material we have seen it is clear that nearly always, when there has been a chance to prepare for the shot through the mind and the mind's eye rather than the eye purely of courage and of the camera, the mind has been painfully inferior to the possibility offered. The presentation invariably has been worse. The prevailing quality has been that of American commercial romanticism, as taught, for example, by the *Life* school.

In Russia, in occasional shots, great records of war have been made. But much is still staged and falsified and rhetorical in the shooting itself, and the editing, still more, has been posterish, opportunistic, and anti-human. In neither camera work nor editing have I seen anything which was not derived, and degraded, from Dziga-Vertov or Eisenstein.

In England warmly casual, humane, mature, cinematically firm films have been made; the most essentially good and perceptive which I have seen from anywhere this year—good enough, and strange enough to us, so that I am not surprised by what amounts to a conspiracy in this country against showing them at all widely. But there is no use thinking too well of these films. "Desert Victory" is unquestionably the best film of the year; but it is the result of a great subject handled rather with thorough cinematic common sense than with cinematic creative energy. Humphrey Jennings's "Listen to Britain" so uses the one first-rate creative idea of the year that after making a few clear—and several fuddled—statements the idea apologizes and limps out quietly by the back way.

In this country the spectators are treated as fools, more often than not by other fools. Or call them misled. The proof is in every commentator's voice, his phrasing, his abject mawkishness and political childishness, and in the puff-paste, onanistic, heartless quality of most of the camera work, whose nearest equivalent is the tradition Leni Riefenstahl froze in Germany. In Russian films people are photographed and appealed to essentially as animals and are treated as human individuals only to force-feed inhuman, anti-individualistic points. In England they are regarded as human individuals, and the jumbled leftish-democratic line accordingly holds more hope; but here too, when creativity is not absent, it is tempered to shorn lambs or is abdicated for equally sorry reasons.

Here, the only films I can feel any

well-grounded excitement over are the army orientation films. Of these only two out of the six completed have reached the civilian public. Of these the first, "Prelude to War," was treated like a poor relation by most exhibitors, and the second, "The Battle of Russia," was gelded of its already sterile political equipment. "Battle of Russia," next to "Desert Victory," is the best film of the year. But like the other orientation films it is saturated with words and only begins to use the possibilities of the screen, as such, to show and teach. And like all the others it can make you sick to the very soul with its political timidity.

Nearly all of the most talented people in moving pictures work in fiction, and most of the greatest possibilities lie within fiction. The record in fiction is not a happy one.

In disagreement with most qualified people I think more well than ill of "Shadow of a Doubt"; but I must admit that its skill is soft and that it is distinctly below the standard set by Hitchcock's best English work. "The Hard Way" is one of the few films of the year worth seeing again; but seeing it again, group-theatricality, Bette-Davism, and compromise impair even its justly famous first half hour. "The Ox-Bow Incident" I underpraised; it stands in memory very firm, respectable, and sympathetic. But I still think it suffers from *rigor artis*. "The Watch on the Rhine" was a carefully screened play about which, cinematically, I feel little beyond respect for Paul Lukas's beautiful performance. "Casablanca" is still reverently spoken of as (1) fun, (2) a "real movie." I still think it is the year's clearest measure of how willingly, *faute de mieux*, people will deceive themselves. Even "Jeannie," hardly a movie at all, was better fun; or even that affable imitation-of-an-imitation, "Tartu."

As for those pictures in which Hollywood "grew up," or began to pull its weight, I won't waste space even naming them. The solemn, expensive anti-fascist and war dramas like "The Moon Is Down" are just as depressing; even "This Land Is Mine" is just sincerely polished bone. The stertorous underground melodrama "Hangmen Also Die" stands up better than most of them. "The Human Comedy" and "Happy Land" put up the so-called home front in syrup but deserve at least a polite bow each, the first for a few moments of genuine sweetness, the second because, along with "Shadow of a Doubt," "The Hard Way," and some of the RKO shorts, it is photographically the only hopeful work of the year.

The semi-documentaries — such as "Air Force"—learned absolutely nothing of value. All alike they tried to combine hopelessly ill-appreciated primer smatterings of technical realism and studio combat with romanticized men and talk which chemically guaranteed the defeat of all possible reality. The easier, more traditional task of making war melodramas brought "Bataan," "Sahara," and "The Cross of Lorraine." However essentially formularistic they were, and however rectally fed their cinematic, psychological, and political intelligence, they were among the few cinematically alert and pleasing jobs of the year.

In the line of plain "entertainment" there was no indication that anybody realizes that entertainment and artistry are inseparable and virtually synonymous. The musicals I saw gave perhaps twenty seconds of genuine pleasure with each two hours of annihilation. "The More the Merrier" was fair fun until the whole cast began dancing the joke into my ribs. "A Lady Takes a Chance" was amusing when you could see past Jean Arthur's *moues* and the thick snow of Captain Billy's *Whiz-Bang*. I can recommend "Lassie Come Home" to any dog who will check his interest in films in the theater lobby. But if you want simple pleasure you may as well go to another Maisie picture or a Laurel and Hardy or an Abbott and Costello; and even there you have to work for it. I regret my failure, still, to see "Holy Matrimony," which I hear is really good. I wish it well; but I wonder whether Aristophanes himself could alter the balance of this year.

The whole business has been dying here, ten years or more. Last year, it seems to me, was the all-time low—so far.

And a very good New Year to you, too.

JAMES AGEE

Art Note

JOHN MARIN: Oils, Water Colors, and Drawings. At An American Place, through January 9.

For several years now Marin has been seeking to advance his development through oil rather than water color. He is better in oil, I think, than is generally admitted. Yet in this show of his latest work the only oil that comes off at all is "The Three-Masted Schooner," which has a four-square pictorial compactness which is strange to Marin and to which

Harold J. Laski

in

THE *Nation*

WILL Britain's working men and women be willing to go back to their 1939 status when the war is over? If not, what reforms do they have in mind, how do they intend to go about securing them, and what are the chances of success? Will the post-war government be a labor government? If so, will it be aggressive or timid in its efforts to make a better society?

HAROLD J. LASKI, British labor's leading progressive spokesman, will discuss these and other questions in a series of articles for *The Nation* this winter.

▼

Also Coming:

War and the Doctors—two articles on the fight between progressive and reactionary elements in the medical profession. *By J. Mitchell Morse*

Puerto Rico's Problems — Statehood or Independence? *By Justine W. Diffie*

Business Bureaucrats—the difficulties created by "practical" men in government jobs. *By J. A. Sexton*

The C. I. O. in Politics—its aims, its methods, and its chances of success. *By Robert Bendiner*

Post-War Housing—the possibilities of prefabrication. *By Frances Westbrook*

Working Wives — the domestic dilemmas of the professional woman. *By Edith M. Stern*

the "self-decorated" frame may contribute largely. As for the water colors, vividness is gained from the introduction of a blood red, but there is nothing that expands the notion of Marin's style in the medium. More startling is the pink used against aquamarine in the oil "3 Figures and Sea Shore," where decorative nudes suddenly appear. At this point Marin's painting definitely stops threatening to retreat into black and white. The six excellent lead-pencil drawings "Pertaining to the Sea" show, however, the reason for this threat. The colorist in Marin has not yet got the complete ascendancy.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

RECORDS

DESCRIBED as the first of a new "Hall of Immortals" series, Victor's "Metropolitan Revivals—With Enrico Caruso and All Star Casts" (Set 953, $10) offers the 1912 recording of the Sextet from "Lucia" with Caruso, Tetrazzini, Amato, Journet, and others; the 1914 recording of the Quintet *E scherzo od è follia* from "Un Ballo in Maschera" with Caruso, Hempel, and others; the 1908 recording of the Quartet from "Rigoletto" with Caruso, Sembrich, Severina, and Scotti; the 1908 recording of the Quartet from "La Bohême" with Caruso, Farrar, Viafora, and Scotti; the 1912 recording of the Quartet *Dormi pur* from "Marta" with Caruso, Alda, Jacoby, and Journet; the 1912 recording of the Trio *Qual volutta trascorrere* from "I Lombardi" with Caruso, Alda, and Journet; the 1910 recording of the final Trio of "Faust" with Caruso, Farrar, and Journet; the 1919 recording of the Trio *Je viens célébrer la victoire* from "Samson et Dalila" with Caruso, Homer, and Journet.

The title of the set correctly describes its contents: Caruso was the featured singer in these recordings, the one whose phenomenal voice had to be reproduced in its full beauty and power; and one hears exciting recordings of this voice from 1908, when it was still light in color, to 1919, when it had achieved darker magnificence. It may be that with the limitations of early recording the clear reproduction of Caruso's voice in a large group could be achieved only at the cost of the other voices; the fact is that Tetrazzini's often is lost in the jumble above which Caruso's soars, and that even when it can be heard it has only a bare suggestion of the extraordinary loveliness we know it had; and that what one hears of Sembrich's singing is only enough to convey its superb musical style. In the first part of the "Bohême" Quartet, where the four voices are heard singly or two at a time, they are clear; and Farrar's lovely voice dominates the "Faust" Trio. In the later "Lombardi" Trio and "Marta" Quartet all the voices are clear; 1914 recording is able to keep Hempel's wonderful singing clear along with Caruso's in the "Ballo in Maschera" Quintet; and 1919 recording reproduces not only the rich beauty of Homer's contralto with increased fidelity, but the three-voiced texture with increased clarity and spaciousness.

I heard Caruso and Homer in "Samson"; I was already hearing opera at the Metropolitan when Caruso, Hempel, and others were singing in "Ballo in Maschera" and made the recording in this volume. These two recordings bring my own past experience into the living present for me; but even the others are exciting for me in the way they bring to life, however imperfectly, those historic occasions which I did not myself experience, when these legendary groups of singers were heard. One imperfection I am grateful for: possibly because of the Petrillo ban new orchestral accompaniments have not been dubbed in; and while, as a result, the recordings retain the original wheezy orchestral accompaniments, they also retain the original sounds of the voices, which would have been altered in the dubbing process. Some of the surfaces of my copy are quite noisy in spots.

Poorly performed on records of the past year were Beethoven's Eighth Symphony, by Walter with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (C Set 525, $3.50; badly recorded); his Quartet Opus 59 No. 1, by the Busch Quartet (C Set 543, $6.50; poorly recorded); Florestan's aria from "Fidelio," by René Maison (C71410-D, $1); Debussy's "La Mer," by Rodzinski with the Cleveland Orchestra (C Set 531, $3.50); Mendelssohn's "Scotch" Symphony, by Mitropoulos with the Minneapolis Symphony (C Set 540, $4.50; poorly recorded); Mozart's *Or sai chi l'onore* and *Non mi dir* from "Don Giovanni," by Rose Bampton (V 11-8466, $1); Prokofiev's "Classical Symphony," by Golschmann with the St. Louis Symphony (V Set 942, $2.50); Rimsky-Korsakov's "Russian Easter" Overture, by Stokowski with the N. B. C. Symphony (V Set 937, $2.50); Schumann's Piano Quintet, by the Busch Quartet with Serkin, who played well (C Set 533, $4.50); Strauss's "Don Quixote," by Reiner with the Pittsburgh Symphony and Piatigorsky (C Set 506, $5.50); Stravinsky's "Firebird" Suite, by Stokowski with the N. B. C. Symphony (V Set 933, $2.50).

"No doubt you have long since read 'The Man With the Baton' by David Ewen and are well acquainted with its contents," wrote a reader of this column. What he assumed I was familiar with was Mr. Ewen's rating of Weingartner, in that book, as one of the supreme conductors of all time; and he went on to describe and answer what he considered outrageous misstatements about Weingartner in Mr. Ewen's recent "Dictators of the Baton." They constituted, he thought, "a piece of knavery which merits your attention and possibly an exposé." I answered that my correspondent was mistaken in his initial assumption: Mr. Ewen's writing was something I would not read for myself; and its possible influence was, I thought, so small that I did not feel obligated to read and discuss the books for others.

This brought me a letter in which my correspondent presented factual evidence that the influence of Mr. Ewen's books was greater than I thought. He had, for example, gone through the card file of the University Library and gave me the appalling numbers of the copies of the various books of Ewen that were available. "The University Radio Station uses his books as references in writing musical scripts. And one teacher of music appreciation, who has been director of such courses, uses his books as semi-texts and esteems his opinions highly (it was from this woman that I borrowed 'Dictators of the Baton'—with her high recommendation); and the music appreciation courses are the most popular courses in the music school, with registration for the most part from other colleges in the university. . . . Ewen, because of his 'interesting, non-technical manner of writing,' is doing a great deal more corrupting of American musical thought than you realize."

So it appears from the evidence my correspondent presented; but still I am reluctant to waste my time and *The Nation's* space on discussion of Mr. Ewen's books. Let readers of this column be guided by the paragraphs they have just read.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Letter from London

Dear Sirs: You will have seen that small raids on London have been serialized for a month or so. They are very disagreeable and with a minimum of damage make a maximum of noise. One is less braced for them than for the big raids, which were so exhausting that one simply slept through them. I think, however, that, unpleasant as they are, they are excellent propaganda to the effect that the war is far from being over. We are all very ready to jump to the conclusion that the war will be over by next week, next month, next year, and these raids after a temporary lull remind us that it is by no means over. There is a lot of bugaboo about Hitler's "secret weapon" and fantastic descriptions of what this may be. While I should not put it past him to have brought nastiness to high achievement, I cannot help remembering that when we were in affliction and bombing was at its height, we also prated of "invisible rays" and other fairy tales which, for the moment, gave us comfort. I expect we shall have more shocks, but I do not really think that they can exceed those we have already managed to put up with.

One thing that strikes me in this fifth year of the war is a sort of general fatigue, especially among women. And if we have it, when things are so very much better, how greatly must it affect those whose fortunes are on the down, instead of the up, grade. The calling up of women of fifty aroused a good deal of feeling, more among men than among women, I think. And this was due to a sudden realization that the middle-aged woman was all that stood between a large part of the population and the complete disappearance of home. The middle-aged woman hasn't shone much in this war, except in so far as she has been commended publicly from time to time for working twenty-five hours a day. It has sometimes been mentioned that she is completely without service, without help; that she also works in factories, looks after her family, washes, scrubs, shops, when shopping means waiting in a crowd, looks after the old people, keeps a home for the young, and so on. Then came the call-up and with it the unpleasant realization of what life would be without "Mother," as husbands call her, and "Mum," as the children say. And suddenly it was considered very wrong that the poor old thing should be roused out of her dotage and made to work regular hours, instead of all hours, and, incidentally, that home should go to pot and that there should be no one to cook, or wash, or mend socks, or look after the cat, or make beds. August men have even been known lately to make their own beds without being asked, and some of them have realized that chops were not really so nice when cooked amid clouds of blue smoke as when "Mum" took a hand and curbed the exuberance of a fierce, masculine fry! I think perhaps American men do rather more for themselves than do our men, or rather, they do different things; and so the dependence of the Briton on the center of the household, who is also being asked to do factory or other work, has to be described to be realized. M. H.

London, November 15

Speaking of Profits

Dear Sirs: I quote the following from the editorial entitled the Showdown on Prices in your issue of November 27: "The elements that are seeking to break down the defenses against inflation—the large farmers, the food industry, the coal operators, *railway employees,* and a few other highly organized labor groups—are, on the other hand, among those that have gained most, relatively speaking, as a result of the war" (my italics).

As a representative of one of the railroad brotherhoods, I want to point out some facts in connection with wages paid to railroad employees and let you judge whether, relatively speaking, railroad employees are among those who have gained the most, as you put it, from this war.

Maintenance-of-way employees (track men) receive 48 to 52 cents an hour; yard switchmen or brakemen, $7.56 for an eight-hour day; yard firemen, $7.73 for an eight-hour day; clerks, from $70 to $150 per month; skilled shop men, boilermakers, machinists, blacksmiths, $7.20 for an eight-hour day. Road engineers, conductors, firemen, and trainmen average $9.50 for a day of 100 miles or eight hours. They get no money for expenses when they are away from home. About one-half of these men spend 50 per cent of their time away from home.

I regret that you classified us with the profit groups, of which we certainly are not a part.

You also failed to mention railroad management, which is surely profiting greatly as a result of the increased business in moving troops and material of war. G. F. IRVINE, Chairman,

California State Legislative Board,
Brotherhood of Locomotive
Firemen and Enginemen

San Francisco, Cal., December 1

Congress and World Organization

Dear Sirs: Many of your readers who believe in a democratic world organization and are looking for a means to make Congress understand that the American people are ready to assume the responsibility of such an organization will be interested to know that Free World groups are being formed all over the country for this purpose.

One of the activities of these groups is to distribute a ballot listing the following three questions: (1) Do you believe the United States should belong to an international organization with authority to settle disputes peacefully between nations? (2) Should such an organization have available a military force to be used solely to stop military aggression and maintain peace? (3) Should the United States take the initiative in calling the United Nations together to form such an organization now?

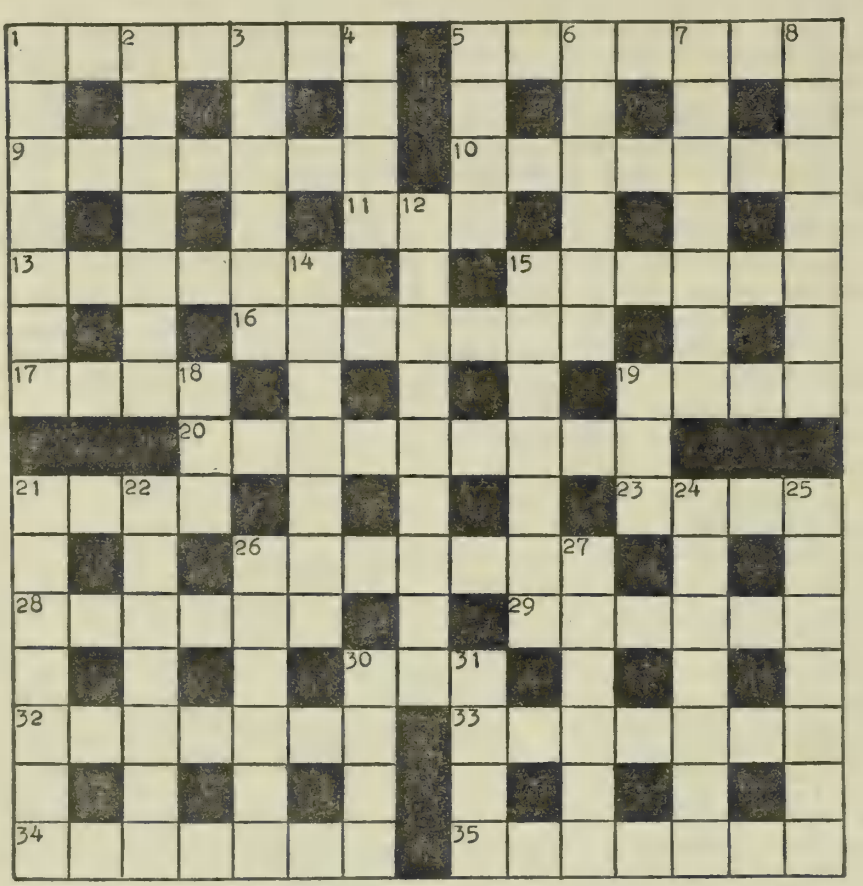
The Greenwich Village Group of American Free World, the first in New York City, has been conducting an intensive ballot campaign which we hope will be a pattern for a nation-wide effort. Congressmen will be informed of the results of the poll.

Appended is a list of regional headquarters of the American Free World Association. We urge all readers who want to mobilize mass public opinion behind the idea of world organization to ask the nearest regional office for information on how to start a local group or to join one already in existence.

New York Chapter: Anita Willcox,

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 44

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 U. S. Naval commander (1779-1820)
5 Storm which brings trouble to the Royal Navy
9 Is this ship in a Baltic port? No, just the other way about!
10 Unchilled, it will be observed
11 Convict
13 For each one a portion
15 Pet name for an A-A gun
16 Train put into words
17 Posthumous evidence of wisdom in a goose
19 These trees flower before they leave
20 A 100% American (two words, 3 and 6)
21 Loaf
23 Great dog, this
26 Salve
28 This board has divers purposes
29 If it hadn't been closed up it might have been leased
30 Bawled out Balaam in the Old Testament story
32 Preliminary skirmishes, as it were, in chess
33 In proportion (two words, 3 and 4)
34 It's dear (anag.)
35 Lies close

DOWN

1 Fed up with American food
2 The one on prices is beginning to look more like a colander
3 You will get this in a canter
4 Anglers use it, with or without a hundred on it
5 Flavor of a bay horse?
6 Parts of dynamos which revolve
7 In good spirits
8 Singularity
12 People frequently used to ask them when the balloon went up
14 ------- perspiration, perhaps
15 Appoints
18 You have seen this before in Cross-words
19 Time in sporting parlance
21 Not a hidden quality, it seems
22 He makes horse-furniture
24 Ancient form of greeting which is worse than "cats and dogs" in bad weather (two words, 3 and 4)
25 Ingratiates, like lobes
26 The sort of remarks that are better left unsaid
27 Singers whose notes have become slightly mixed
30 They juggle with these snakes in Egypt
31 Nine inches

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 43

ACROSS:—1 SINECURE; 6 BRAG; 10 JABOT; 11 ADO; 12 ILIUM; 13 REDEEM; 16 CHINKS; 17 RAPPORT; 18 IMPI; 20 EMMA; 22 SQUIRMS; 23 FEAR; 24 UGLY; 25 DEBASED; 27 NATURE; 29 TUNNEL; 34 RACED; 35 SUN; 36 NOVEL; 37 STUN; 38 ANNUALLY.

DOWN:—2 IN BED; 3 ESTHER; 4 UNAU; 5 ETON; 6 BRIGHT; 7 ALIEN; 8 AJAR; 9 EMISSARY; 14 MARQUEE; 15 OPTICAL; 16 CRUMPET; 18 INFANTRY; 19 PEA; 21 MUG; 25 DRYDEN; 26 DUENNA; 28 TACIT; 30 NAVAL; 31 LILY; 32 OSSA; 33 ANON.

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American Free World Association
New York, November 22

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